THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRE-

CIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED

together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chæronea:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMYOT, Abbot of Bellozane,
Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priny counsel, and great Amner
of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by

Thomas North.



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1579.



E MOST

AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE ELIZABETH

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, Fraunce, and ireland Queene, defender of the

faith: &c.

NDER hope of your highnes gratious and accustomed fauor, I haue presumed to present here vnto your Maiestie, Plutarkes lyues translated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highnes, and meete to be set forth in Englishe. For vyho is fitter to giue countenance to so many greatstates, than such an highe and mightie Princesse? vvho is fitter to revive the dead memorie of their fame, than she that beareth the lively image of their vertues? vvho is fitter to authorize a vvorke of so great learning and vvisedome, than she vvhome

Cycilian (, 1575)

all do honor as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly beseech your Maiestie, to suffer the simplenes of my translation, to be couered under the amplenes of your highnes protection. For, most gracious Souereigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maiesties selfe, vyho are meeter to be the chiefe storie, than a student therein, and can better understand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Englishe: yet I hope the common forte of your subjects, shall not onely profit them selues hereby, but also be animated to the better seruice of your Maiestie. For amonge all the profane bookes, that are in reputacion at this day, there is none (your highnes best knowes) that teacheth so much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuocion to Princes, as these liues of Plutarke doe. Hovve many examples shall your subjects reade here, of seuerall persons, and vvhole armyes, of noble and base, of younge and olde, that both by sea & lande, at home and abroad, have strayned their vvits, not regarded their states, ventured their persons, cast avvay their liues, not onely for the honor and safetie, but also for the pleasure of their Princes?

Then yvell may the Readers thinke, if they have done this for heathen Kings,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

vvhat should vve doe for Christian Princes? If they have done this for glorye, vvhat shoulde vve doe for religion? If they have done this vvithout hope of heaven, vvhat should vve doe that looke for immortalitie? And so adding the encouragement of these exsamples, to the forwardnes of their ovvne dispositions: vvhat service is there in vvarre, vvhat honor in peace, vvhich they vvill not be ready to doe, for their vvorthy Queene?

And therefore that your highnes may give grace to the booke, and the booke may doe his service to your Maiestie: I have translated it out of French, and doe here most humbly present the same vnto your highnes, beseeching your Maiestie vvith all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your most humble and obedient subject and servaunt, vvho prayeth God long to multiplye all graces and blessings vpon your Maiestie. VVritten the sixteene day of Ianuary. 1579.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient servaunt,

Thomas North.

TO





To the Reader.

HE profit of stories, and the prayle of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epistle to the Reader: So that I shall not neede to make many wordes thereof. And in deede if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your owne diligence and good vnderstanding: you shall not neede to trust him, you may proue your selues, that there is no prophane studye better then Plutarke. All other learning is private, fitter for Vniversities then cities, suller of contemplation than experience, more commedable in the students them selues, than profitable vnto others. Whereas stories are fit for every

place, reache to all perfons, ferue for all tymes, teache the liuing, reniue the dead, so farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to see learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philosophers writings. Nowe for the Author, I will not denye but loue may deceiue me, for I must needes loue him with whome I haue taken so much payne: but I beleue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitablest story of all Authors. For all other were sayne to take their matter, as the fortune of the contries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the speciall actes of the best persons, of the samosfest nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your solues. My onely purpose to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good entent. And so I wisheyou all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The four eand twenty day of Ianuary. 1579.

Thomas North.

* iii



Amiot to the Readers.

He reading of bookes which bring but a vaine and unprofitable pleasure to the Reader is instly missished of wrise and grauemen. Againe the reading of fuch as doe but onely bring propit, and make the keauer to be insentional or or in the position of the reading by some pleas auntines in the same: doe seeme some what harshe to divers delicate witts, that can not take fame: doe seeme some vuhat harshe to divers delicate wites, that can not taong ry long apon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure and profit, and doe both I delight and teache, have all that aman can delire why they should be wniuerfally liked and allowved of all fortes of men according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight, Doth winne the price in enery poynt aright.

Exther of these yeeldhis effect the better, by reason the one runneth wwith the other, prositing the more bicause of the delight and deliting the more bicause of the prosit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to have pleasure and profit matched together, ow hich kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this weife arme in arme, hath more allow ance then any other kind of veriting or invention of man. In respect we hereof it may be reasonably auoved, that men are more beholding to such good vvits, as by their grave and vvise vvriting have deserved the name of Historiographers, then they are to any other kind of veriters: bicause an historie is an orderly register of notable things said, done, or happened in time past, to mainteyne the continual remembrance of them, and to serve for the instruction of them to come.

Andlike as memorie is as a storehouse of mens conceits and deuises, without the which the actions of the other two parts should be unperfect, and welneare unprofitable: So may it also be fayd, that an bistorie is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wwonderfull aduentures & straunge cases (wwhich the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserved from the death of forgetsulnes. Hereuppon it riseth, that Plato the vvise sayth, that the name of historie was given to this recording of matters, to stay the sleting of our memorie, which otherwise would be some lost, and retaine litle. And we may well perceive how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we doe no more but consider in how v horrible darkenes, and in how v beassly and pestilent a quamyre of ignorance we shoulabe plunged: if the remembrance of all the thinges that have bene done, and have happened before we were borne, were veterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will overpasse the excellencie and worthines of the thing it selfe, for a smuch as it is not onely of more antiquiste then any other kind of variting that ever was in the worlde, but also we as weed among men, before there we as any wee of letters at all bicause that men in those dates delinered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songes, which they caused their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be seene yet in our dayes, by the xample of the barbarous people that inhabite the new vound landes in the VVest, who without any records of veritings, have had the knowledge of thinges past, welneare eight hundred yeares afore. Likewrife I leave to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leave of their doings in this woorld to confectate their names to immortality. For there is not her picture, nor image of marble, nor arche of triumph, nor piller, nor fumptuous sepuichre, that can match the durablenes of an eloquet history, furnished worth the properties wohich it ought to have. Again, I mind not to stand much upon thus that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alwayes professet to speake truth & for that the proper groud therof is to treate of the greatest & highest things that are done in the wworld; insomuch that (to my seeming) the great prosit thereof is as Horace sayth, that it is commonly called the mother of trothe & uprightnes, which commendeth it fo greatly, as it nedeth not els where to feeke any authority e, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very selfe. For it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past seacheth ws to judge of things present, & to foresee things to come: so as we may know ve what to like of, & what to follow, what to millike, and what to eschew it is a pi-Eture, which (as it were in a table) fetteth before our eyes the things worthy of remembrance that

To the Readers.

haue bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings & Princes, wife governors, valliant Cabteines & persons renovemed for some notable quality representing unto us the maners of straugenations the lavves & customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations & enterpriles, the meanes that they have vsed to compasse the withall, of their demeaning of them selves withen they wwere comen to the highest, or throwven downe to the lowvest degree of state. So as it is not poslible for any case to rise either in peace or wwarre, in publike or private affaires, but that the person which shall have diligently red, well conceived, or throughly remembred histories, shall find matter an them wwhereat totake light, & counsell wwherby to resolue himselfe to take a part, or to gene addice unto others, how to choose in doutfull & daungerous cases that, which may be for their most proffit. and in time to find out to what point the matter will come if it be well handled and how to moderate him selfe in prosperitie, and how v to cheere up and beare him selfe in adversitie. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacy, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe : forasmuch as examples are of more force to move and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of rea-Con, or their precise precepts, bicause examples be the very formes of our deedes, & accompanied with all circumstances. VV here as reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things. and to the beating of them into understanding : and examples tende to the showing of them in pra-Etile and execution bicause they doe not only declare what is to be done, but also wworke a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men have to follow examples. as also for the beauvitie of vertue, which is of such powver, that where soener she is seene, she maketh her felfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things with greater weight and gravitie than the inventions & deuces of the Poets: bicaufe it helpeth not it felfe with any other thing than with the plaine truth woher as Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the starres and their deserving, bicause the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth thinges with more grace and modestie than the civill lavves and ordinances doe : bicause it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historic also hath his maner of punishing the weicked by the reproch of everlasting infamie, where with it defaceth their remembrance which is a great meane to withdrawn them from vice, who other wife would be levedly and vvickedly disposed. Like vvise on the contrarie parte, the immortall praise and clorie vuherewith it rewardeth welldoers, is a very lively & sharpe fourre for men of noble corage and gentlemanlike nature, to cause them to aduenture upon all maner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high corage and vviledom, vvho for defire to continue the remembraunce of their name, by the sieve and certaine recorde of histories, have willingly yeelded their lives to the service of the common vveale, spent their goods, susteined infinite peines both of bodie and minde in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lavves and governments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life : for the faithfull registring vobereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue feeke no revvard of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe with the conscience of her well doing: yet not with standing I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honor of their vertuous deedes, feeing that honor doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the shadow doth the bodie. For wie commonly see, not to feele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, wile and cloynish nature : and that fuch as account it an unnecessarie, needelesse, or unseemely thing to be praised, are likewvife no doers of anythings wvorthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint corage, wwhose thoughtes extend no further than to their lives, vohereof also they have no further remembraunce, than is before their eyes. But if the counsell of olde men be to be greatlie esteemed, bicause they must needes have feenemuch by reason of their long life; and if they that have travelled long in Fraunge countries, and have had the managing of many affaires, and have gotten great experience of the doings of this woorld, are reputed for lage, and worthie to have the revnes of great governmentes put into their handes : how o greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, wwhich is able to furnishe us with mo examples in one day, than the wohole course of the longest life of any man is able to doe? Insomuch that they which exercise them selves in reading as they ought to doe, although they be but young, become fuch in respect of under standing of the affaires of this uvortains if they uvere old and

My name is skill, my Syre Experience hyght,

And memorie bred and brought me forth to lyght. Which thing was ment likewwife by the Philosopher that sayd that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason wwhereof it comes to passe ((ay they) that such as speake of matters of government and state, but specially of matters of warre by the booke, speake but as booke knights, as the Frenche prouer be termeth them, after the manner of the Gracians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the fure and certaine knowledge of the things that he speakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deede doing, where the hand is to be set to the wworke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reason of paynting or the disputing uppon colors, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any stead at all to make him a good paynter. But on the contrary part many have proved wife men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Besides this they alleage further that in matters of wvarre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes wwhereof the flights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will serue the turne no more than mynes that are blowven up. According whereunto Camby ses telleth his sonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musicke the nevvest songs are commonly best liked of for once, bicause they were neuer heard afore: So in the warres, those policies that neuer were practised afore, are those that take best successe, ocommonly have the best effect, bis ause the enemies doe least doubt of them. Neverthelesse I am not he that will mainterne that a vvise governor of a common vveale, or a great Captaine can be made of such a person, as hath neuer travelled out of his study, and from his bookes: how beit that which Cicero wiriteth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captainegenerall and Lieuetenant of the Romanes, to make wwarre against kinge Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the wvarres, and yet afterwardhe bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, and in conferring uppon enery point with the olde Captaines and men of longe experience, whome he caried with him, that by the tyme of his comming into Asia, where he was in deede to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: infomuch that by those wayes, cleane contrary to the common order of wwarre, he discomfitted two of the most puysfant and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his understanding was so quicke, his care so vigilant, and his courage so greate, that he needed no longe trayning, nor grosse instruction by experience. And although I graunt there have beene diverse Governors and Captaynes, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by longe continewed experience) have done goodly and greate exployees: yet can it not be denyed me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature with the knowledge of learning, and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater thinges, and they might have becomen much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning & skill-proherein a man intendeth to excell: so also to become a perfect & sufficient person to governe

To the Readers.

in peace and wwarre, there are three thinges of necessitie required, namely, nature, art, and practife. Three things Nature (in the case that we treate of) must furnishers with a good moother wit, with a bodie necessary for well disposed to indure all maner of travell, and with a good will to advance our selves: Art must or Captains. gene us indgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wife discourses that we have read and double read in good histories : and practife will get us readinesse, affurednesse, and the ease howe to put thinges in execucion. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde which teacheth a man the meane point, betweene the two faultie extremities of too much and too litle, vuherein the commendation of all doinges confifteth. And vuhofoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely triall of experience, and had lever to learne it at his overne cost, than at an other mans : he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this auncient prouerbe, which fayth, Experience is the schoolemistresse of fooles: bicause mans life is so short, and experience proverbe. is hard and daungerous, specially in matters of warre, wherein (according to the faying of Tamachusthe Athenian Captaine) a man can not fault tovice, bicaufe the faultes are fogreat, that most commonly they bring wwith them the overthrows of the late, or the loffe of the lives of those that do them. Therefore we must not tary for this wit that is woon by experience, which costeth so deere. and is folong a comming, that a man is ofttimes dead in the feeking of it before he have attained it. fo. as he had neede of a seconde life to imploy it in, bicause of the overlate comming by it. But we must make speede by our diligent and continuall reading of histories both old and never that over may enior this happine (e which the Poet (peaketh of :

A happie wight is he that by mishappes Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the way, as concerning those that say that paper will be are all things: if there be any that unwworthily take wpon them the name of historiographers, and deface the dignity of the story for hatred or fauor, by mingling any untrueth worth it: that is not the fault of the historie, but of the menthat are partiall, who abuse that name unvvorthily, to couer and cloke their owne passions withall, which thing shall never come to passe, if the writer of the storie have the properties that are nevel-(arily required in a storie veriter, as these: That he set aside all affection, be voyde of enuy, hatred, and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the world, of good vtterance, and good indeement to discerne wwhat is to be sayd, and wwhat to be lest wnsayd; & wwhat wwould do more harme to have it declared, than do good to have it reproved or condemned: for a finish as his chiefe drift ought to be to serve the common weale, and that he is but as a register to set downe the judgements and desinitiue fentences of Gods Court, whereof some are genen according to the ordinarie course and capacitie of our weake naturall reason, and other some goe according to Gods infinite power and incomprehenfible vvifedom, aboue and against all discourse of mans understanding, who being unable to reach to the bottome of his judgements, and to finde out the first motions and groundes thereof, do impute the cause of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought else but a fained deuice of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gaging of so bottomlesse a deepe hovobeit nothing commeth to paffe nor is done voithout the leave of him that is the verie right and trueth it selfe, with whom nothing is past or to come, and who knoweth and understandeth the very originall causes of all necessitie. The consideration wwhereof teachethmen to humble them selues under his mightie hande by acknowledging that there is one first cause which ouerruleth nature, vuhereof it commeth that neither hardinesse is alvuaies happie, nor vuisedom alvuaies sure of good successe. These so notable commodities are every where accompanied with singular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diversitie and novelty wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly desirous of: bicause we having an earnest inclination towards our best prosperity and advancement, it goeth on fill, feeking it in every thing wwhich it taketh to be goodly, or good in this wworld. But for a fruch as it findeth not wherewith to content it selfe under the cope of heaven, it is soone weary of the things that it had earnestly desired affore, & so goeth on waddring in the waskilfulnes of her likings wherof she neuer ceasseth to make a continual chaunging until she have fully satisfied her desires, by attaining to the last end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of varietie can not be better releeued, than by that wwhich is the finder out and the preserver of time, the father of all noveltie, and messenger of antiquitie. For if wve finde

To the Readers.

a certaine singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and doe report things which they have seene in strainge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lines, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so ranished with delight and pleasure as the hearing of the talke of some wrise, discreete, and wrell spoken old man, from whose mouth there flow with a streame of speech sweeter than honnie, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath ouerpassed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be ranished with delight and wondring to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the fetting up of Empires, the ouerthrown of Monarchies, the rifing and falling of Kingdoms, and all things elfe woorthic admiration, and the same linely set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so linely, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be so touched by them, not as though the thinges were alreadie done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we finde our felues caried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, well neere as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas not with standing we be not in any paine or daunger, but only conceine in our mindes the aductities that other folkes have indured, our felues sitting fafe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease.

Vpon the land, and safely thence to see.

How other folkes are to sied on the seases,

That with the blushring windes surmoyled be.

Not that the sight of others miseries.

Doth any way the honest bart delight,

But for bicause it liketh well our eyes,

To see harmes free that on our selues might light,

Also it is seene that the reading of histories doth so holde and allure good voits, that divers times it not only makes h them to forget all other pleasures, but also serves h very sittely to turne avvay their griefes, and somtimes also to remedie their diseases. As for example, we find it written of Alphonsus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renovumed in Chronicles for his vvisedom and goodnesse, that being fore sicke in the citie of Capua, when his Phistiens had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he favo that nothing prevailed; he determined with him selfe to take no mo medicines, but for his recreacion caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the waywwardnes of his disease. Whereupon hauing soone recoursed his helth, he discharged his Phisitions with such words as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, sith they can no skill to helpe me to recover my helth: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recour my helth. Nove if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicause they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with giftes and knowledge for the discharge of their dueties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of state, as warres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more sit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicause they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons, (as meete is for so great states to have) they take not To great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoweth those to take which will learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Againe, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wort more convenient for the, than the reading of histories in their owne tunge, which without paine is able to teache them even with great pleasure and ease, what soever the painfull workes of the Philosophers concerning the government of common weales can shewe them, to make them skilful in the vvell ruling and governing of the people and contries that Godhath put vnder their subjection. But the vvorst is, that they euer (or for the most part) have such maner of persons

To the Readers.

about them as feeke nothing els but to please them by all the wayes they can, and there are very feere that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: wohere as on the contrary part, an history flattereth them not but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of fuch as were like them in creatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a manrenovomed as vell for his skill in the good government of a common vveale, as for his excellent knovvledge other vile counfelled Ptolomy, first king of AEgypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the government of kingdomes, bicaufe (laydhe) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy fernaunts and familiar friendes dare not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thinge, that suche great personages can not easily travell out of the bounds of their dominions to voe view fraunce contries as prinate persons doe: bicause the ielousse of their estate, and the revarde of their dignitie, requires that they should never be in place volvere another man might comained them. And often times for wwant of having seene the contries, and knowwen the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upponattempts without good ground; to awayde the webseh, the instruction they may have by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Frinces to the often and diligent reading of histories, voherein are veritten the heroicall deedes of wife and valiant men, specially of kings that have bene before them, the considering voltereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage : bicause the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred with them selues, doe then quicken them vp with an emulacion towards those that have bene or are equall in degree with them, as well in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much lesse can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges . VV hereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so welknowen of it self, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needefull to proue it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an historie is the scholemistresse of Princes, at wwhose hand they may wwithout payne, in wway of pastyme, owwith singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Now according to the diversitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of veriting that it weth, it hath fondry names given unto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds. The one wwhich setteth dow one mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other wwhich declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their lines. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one yet doth the one re feet more the things, and the other the perfons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within: the one the euents, the other the confultacions: betweene the wwhich there is oftentimes great oddes, according to this aunswer of the Persian Stramnes, to such as maruelled how it came to passe, that his denises being so politike had so unhappy successe: It is (quod he) bicause my deuises are vibolly from my ovin invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amongs all those that ever have taken uppon them to wwrite the lives of famous men, the chiefe prerocative, by the judgement of such as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Cheronea in the contry of Baotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they lyft to read them through, with all his life long enen to his old age, had to deale in affayres of the common weale, as he him felfe witneffeth in diners places, specially in the treatise which he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and who had the hap & honor to be schoolemafter to the Emprour Traian as is commonly believed, and as is expressely presended by a vertaine Epistle fer before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to fay the truth) feemeth in my hadement to be some what suspicious, bicause I find it not among his worker in Greeke, besides that it speakesh as though the booke overe dedicated to Traian, which thinge a manifestly desproued by the beginning of the booke, and by divers other reasons. Yet not with fanding bridge the thinkes it what ell to gravely veritten, and weell beforming him: I have fet it above here in this place . Plutatke onto " Traian fendeth greeting . I know well that the mode fire of your nature of a nor defirom of some- " reintie, though you have alwayes indenoved to deferue it by your honorable connerfacion by reason "

To the Readers.

acertaine singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and doe report things which they have seene in straumge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lines, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so ranished with delight and pleasure at the hearing of the talke of some wife, discreete, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there flowweth a streame of speech sweeter than honnie, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath overpassed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be rauished with delight and wondring to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which ansiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the setting up of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the rifing and falling of Kingdoms, and all things elfe worthie admiration, and the same linely set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be so touched by them, not as though the thinges were alreadie done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we finde our selves carried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, well neere as though we were then at the doing of them whereas not withstanding we be not in any paine or daunger, but only conceine in our mindes the adversities that other folkes have indured, our selves sitting fafe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to fit at ease
Vpon the land, and safely thence to fee
How other folkes are to fied on the seases,
That with the blushring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the fight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest hart delight,
But for bicause it liketh well our eyes,
To see harmes free that on our selues might light.

Also it is seene that the reading of histories doth so holde and allure good writs, that divers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serveth very sittely to turne avvay their griefes, and somtimes also to remedie their discases. As for example, we find it written of Alphonfus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renovumed in Chronicles for his vvisedom and goodnesse, that being fore sicke in the citie of Capua, when his Phistions had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he fave that nothing prevailed he determined with him selfe to take no mo medicines, but for his recreacion caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing wwhereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the wvaywvaranes of his disease. Whereupon hauing soone recoursed his helth, he discharged his Phisitions with such words as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, fith they can no skill to helpe me to recour my helth: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recover my helth. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicause they have to do wvith charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with giftes and knowledge for the discharge of their ducties: seeing the ground of stories u, to treate of all maner of high matters of state, as warres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicause they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons, (as meete is for so great states to have) they take not To great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth those to take wwhich will learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Againe, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wort more convenient for the, than the reading of histories in their owne tunge, which without paine is able to teache them even with great pleasure and ease, whatsoever the painfull workes of the Philosophers concerning the gouernment of common weales can shew them, to make them skilful in the well ruling and governing of the people and contries that God hath put wnder their subjection. But the vvorst is, that they ever (or for the most part) have such maner of persons

To the Readers.

about them as feeke nothing els but to pleafe them by all the wayes they can and there are very fees that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrary part, an history flattiveth them not but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of fuch as were like them in creatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a manrenovomed as well for his skill in the good gouernment of a common vveale, as for his excellent knovvledge other vvile) counfelled Prolomy, first king of AEgypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the government of kingdomes, bicaufe (faydhe) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy sernaunts and familiar friendes dare not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thinge, that suche great personages can not easily travell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe view fraunge contries as prinate persons doe: bicause the islousie of their estate, and the regarde of their dignitie requires that they should never be in place where another man might comained them. And often times for wwant of having seene the contries, and knowven the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upponattempts without good ground: to anoyde the withich, the instruction they may have by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittell remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then onely this last, furely it ought to induce Frinces to the often and diligent reading of histories, voherein are varitten the heroitall deedes of wife and valiant men, specially of kings that have bene before them, the confidering vultereof may cause them to be descrous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage : bicause the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred with them selues, doe then quicken them vip worth an emulacion towwards those that have bene or are equall in degree wwith them, aswell in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much lesse can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges . VV hereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so welknowen of it self, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needefull to proue it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an historie is the scholemistresse of Princes, at wwhose hand they may wwithout payne, in way of pallyme of wwith fingular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Now vaccording to the diversitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of veriting that it weth, it hath fondry names given unto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds. The one which setteth dow one mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other wwhich declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their lines. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one re feet more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within: the one the euents, the other the confultacions: betweene the which there is oftentimes great oddes, according to this aunsover of the Persian Stramnes, to such as maruelled hove it came to passe that his deales being fo politike had fo unhappy successe: It is (quod he) breause my denifes are witholly from my owin invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amongs all those that ever have taken uppon them to wwrite the lives of famous men, the chiefe prerogetive by the judgement of fuch as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citic of Cheronea in the contry of Buotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they lyst to read them through, with all his life tong enen to his old age, had to deale in affayres of the common weale, as he him felfe witneffeth in divers places, specially in the treatise which he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and who had the hap of honor to be schoolemafter rothe Emprour Traian, as is commonly believed, and as is expressely pretended by a certaine Epittle fet before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to fay the truth) feemeth in my indement to be somewhat suspicious, bicause I find it not among his workes in Greeke, besides that it speakesh as though the booke overe dedicated to Traian, wohich thinge a manifestly disproved by the beginning of the booke, and by divers other reasons. Yet not with fanding broad whe thinkes it was eit of granely voritien, and well befeeming him: Thane fet it downe here in this place . Plutarke voto " Traian Sendeth greeting. I know well that the model fie of your nature owlas not defire mon Some- " reintie, though you have ake vayes indenoved to deferue it by your honoxable converfation : by reason "

To the Readers.

" wwhereof you have bene thought so much the wworthier of it, as you have bene founde the further of from all ambition. And therefore I do now veroice in your vertue & my fortune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that thing with instice, which you have obtained by desert. For other wife , I am sure you have put your selfe in hazard of great daungers, and me in perill of saunderous tonques. ", bicause Rome can not avvay vvith a vvicked Emperour, and the common voyce of the people is al-" wvaies wvont to cast the faultes of the schollers in the teeth of their schoolemaisters: as for example: " Seneca is railed upon by launderous tonges, for the faultes of his scholler Nero: the scapes of Quinti-" lians young schollers are imputed to Quintilian him selfe: and Socrates is blamed, for being too myld " to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall doe all things well enough, fo you keepe you as you are. If you first set your selfe in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things shall fall out according to your desire. I have set you downe the meanes in woriting, which you must ", observe for the well governing of your common weale, and have shewed you of how great force ", your behaulour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow those thinges, you have Plutarke 35 for the directer and guider of your life: if not, I protest unto you by this Epistle, that your falling into " daunger to the ouerthrown of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epillle writnessesh plainly that he was the schoolemaister of Traian, which thing seemeth to be auowved by this woriting of Suidas : Plutarke being borne in the citie of Charonea in Baotia, vvas in the time of the Emperour Traian, and somewhat affore. But Traian honored him with the dignitie of Consulship, and commaunded the officers and Magistrates that were throughout all the contrie of Illyria, that they should not do anything without his counsell and authoritie. So doth Suidas wwrite of him, And I am of opinion, that Traian being so vvise an Emperour, would never have done him so great honor, if he had not thought him felfe greatly beholding to him for some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh me most to beleue it true, is, that the same goodnesse and instice appeared to be naturally imprinted in most of Traians savings and doings, whereof the paterne and movuld (as a man might terme it) is cast and set dowwne in Plutarkes Moralls, so as men may perceive expressely, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wifely. For Dion writeth, that among other honors which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree unto Traian, they gave him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that even unto his time, when a new Emperour came to be received of the Senate, among the cries of good hanfell, and the wishes of good lucke that were made unto him, one was: happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Traian. Howe seuer the case stoode, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes unto him. But when he had lived a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne house, he fell to viriting of this excellent worke of Lines, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to fay, as a cupling or matching together bicause he matcheth a Grecian with a Romane, setting downe their lives ech after other, and comparing them together, as he founde any likeneffe of nature, condicions, or aduentures between them, and examining what the one of them had better or worfer, greater or leffer than the other: which things he doth with fo goodly and grave discourse every where taken out of the deepelt of most hidden secrets of morall and natural Philosophie, with so sage precepts and frutefull instructions, with so effectual commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with so many goodly allegacions of other authors, with so many fit comparisons, & with so many high inwentions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treasorie of all rare and perfect learning, than by any other name. Also it is sayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular learning, and a voorthie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar frendes (which fave him so earneftly given to his studie, that he forgate all other things) what author he had leverest to choose, if he vvere at that point that he must needes choose some one to holde him to alone, did aunsvere that he would choose Plutarke: bicause that if they were all put together, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasaunt to read, as be. Sosius Senecio to vy hom he dedicateth his vvorke, vvas a Senator of Rome, as vvitneffeth Dion, who wviteth that the three persons whom Train most loued and honored, were Sosius, Parma, and Celsus, insomuch that he caused images of them to be set up. True it is that he vorote the lines of many other men, which the flittfulnes of time hath bereft ve of among which he himselfe maketh mention of the lines of Scipio Africanus, or Metellus Numidicus. And I have red a litle Epiftle of a sonne of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an olde

To the Readers.

copie in the Librarie of S. Marke hole thice, wherein he wariteth to a frende of hu, a register of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the supples of lines, he fetteth downer the lines of Scipio and Epaintnonds, and tafity the lines of Augustus Cafar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having wied all the diligence that I could in ferching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could never finathern out. Onely I drew out certaine diuersities of readinges, and many corrections by conferring the old veritten copies with the printed hookes which have floode me in great flead to the understanding of many hardplaces : and there are a great number of them various & have reflored by conjecture; by the judgement & helpe of fuch men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in humane learning. Yes for all this, there remaine some places vnamended, howober very ferve, bicaufe some lines overe wanting in the original copies. whereof (to my feeming) it was better for me to writnesse the want by marking it with some flarre: than to geffe at it with all adurature, or to adde anything to it. Now finally, if I have our shotmy felfein any thing, as it is verie easie to do in for hard and tong a worke, specially to a man of fo Small abilitie as I am : I befeeche the Readers to wouchfafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horace giveth me, where he fayth: A man may well be ouerfeene

. In workes that long and tedious bene.

Specially fith that of formany good men, or men of skill as have heretofore fet hand to the translatino of it, there wo as never yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at least wife that I have feene or heard of and that fuch as have enterprifed to translate it, specially into Latin, have enidently vvitneffed the hardneffe thereof, as they may eafely perceive wwhich lift to conferre their translations with mine. Neuerthelesse if itso fortune that men find not the speech of this translation Co flouving, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I befeech the readers to consider, that the office of a sit translater, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his authors meaning, but also in a certaine resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his siyle and the many of his peaking : wnleffe he will commit the errour of some painters, who having taken vpon them to draw a man lively, do paint him long wwhere he should be short and groffe wwhere he should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude Coever my speech be, yet am I sure that my translation will be much easier to my contriemen, than the Greeke copie is, even to such as are best practifed in the Greeke tonge, by reason of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, wwhich is rather sharpe, learned, and short, than plaine, polished, and easie. At the bardest, although I have not compassed my matters so happily as ye coulde have wished and desired: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused which bath taken such paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labor be so happie, as to content you: God be praised for it, which hath ginen me the grace to finish it. .

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED BY

Plutarke of Chæronea.

Thefeus. pag.1.7 compared.41. Nicias. pag.579.7 Romulus. Marcus Crassus, pa. 600. pag.20. pag.44.7 compared.82. Lycurgus, pag.621.7 pag.641.5copared.654 Sertorius. Numa Pompilius, p. 665 Eumenes. pag.86.7 copared.120. Solon. Agesilaus. pag.655.7copared.719 Publicola. pag.107. Pompeius. pag.678. Themistocles. pag.123. Alexander. pag.722. Furius Camillus.pag.142. Iulius Cæsar. pag.763. Pericles. pag.167.7copared.208 Phocion. pag.797. Fabius Maximus, pa. 1915 Cato Vtican. pag.815. Alcibiades. pag.210.7 pag.237.5 copared.260 Agis & Cleomenes.pag.848.) Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, red, 894 Coriolanus. Paulus Æmylius.pa.2637 Timoleon. pag.286.5 copared 306 pag.875. Demosthenes.pag.897.2copared.938 pag.308,? pag.330. copared.349 Pelopidas. Cicero. pag.912. Marcellus. Demetrius. pag.941.? copared.1011 Aristides. Aristides. pag.352.?copared.391 Marcus Cato. pag.372. Antonius. Artaxerxes. pag.1013. Philopœmen, pag.395.? copared.424 Dion. Dion. pag.1029.7 copared.1081
Marcus Brutus.pa.1055. T.Q. Flaminius.pa.409 Pyrrus. pag.426. Aratus. pag.1083. Caius Marius. pag.451. Galba. pag.1108. Lyfander. pag.480.7 Otho. pag.1121. copared.525 Sylla. pag.499, Annibal. Annibal. pag.1131.7 Scipio African.pag.1157.5 copared.1173 Cimon. Lucullus.

Liues. 50.

GRECIANS AN MANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT

graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarche of Chœronea.



IKE as historiographers describing the world (frende Sossius Senecio) Sossius Senedoe of purpose referre to the vttermost partes of their mappes the of Rome. farre distant regions whereof they be ignoraunt, with this note: these contries are by meanes of fandes and drowthes vnnauigable, rude, full of venimous beaftes, SCYTHIAN ife, and frofen feas. Euen fo may I (which in comparinge noble mens lives have already gone fo farre into antiquitie, as the true and certaine historie could lead me) of the rest, being thinges past all proofe or chalenge, very well say: that beyonde this time all is full of fuspicion and dout, being delinered vs by Poets and Tragedy makers, sometimes without trueth and likelihoode, and alwayes

B without certainty. Howbeit, having heretofore fet foorth the lines of Lycurgus (which established the lawes of the LACED & MONIANS) and of king Numa Pompilius: me thought I might go a litle further to the life of Romulus, sence I was come so nere him. But considering my selfe as the Poet AEschilus did: What champion may with such a man compare?

or wwho(thinke 1) shalbe against him fet? Who is fo bold? or wwho is he that dare defend his force, in such encounter met?

In the end I resoluted to match him which did set up the noble & samous city of ATHEMS, A with him which founded the glorious and inuincible city of Rome. Wherein I would wishe that the inuentions of Poets, and the traditions of fabulous antiquitie, would suffer them felues to be purged and reduced to the forme of a true and historicall reporte: but when they square too much from likelyhode, and can not be made credible, the readers will of curtesie take in good parte that, which I could with most probability wryte of such antiquities. Now Thefeward furely me thinkes, that Thefew in many thinges was much like vnto Romulus. For being both begotten by stealth, and out of lawful matrimony: both were reputed to be borne of the seede

Both valiant wvere, as all the wworld doth known. Both loyned valiancy with gouernment. The one of them built Rome, and the other, by B gathering into one dispersed people, erected the citie of ATHENS: two of the most noble cities of the worlde. The one and the other were ramishers of women: and neither thone nor thother coulde an oyde the mischiese of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the reproch of staining them selues with the blood of their nearest kinsemen. Moreouer, they say that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill will of their citizens: at the least if we will beleue that reporte of Thefew, which carieth greatest show of trueth. Thefew of his fathers fide, was descended of the right linage of Erictheus the great, and of the first inhabitants which occupied the contrie of ATTICA, the which fince were called Autothones, as much to fay, as borne of them selues. For there is no memorie, or other mention made, that Pelips, king of they came out of any other contry then that. And of his mothers side he came of Pelops, who was in his time the mightiest king of all the contrie of PELOPONNES VS, not so much for his goodes and richesse, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he bestowed on the greatest Lordes of all the contrie: his sonnes al-

Pitheus the of Puhem.

AEgeus the

so, which likewise were many, he dispersed into diverse cities and free townes, findinge meanes to make them gouernors and heades of the fame. Pitheus, grandfather to Theseus on the mothers side, was one of his sonnes, and sounded the litle city of Troezen, and was reputed to be one of the wifest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisedom, which onely caried estimacion at that time, consisted altogether in graue sentences, and morall sayinges. As those are which wanne the Poet Hesiodus such fame for his booke intituled, The workes and dayes: in the which is read euen at this prefent, this goodly sentence, which they father D vpon Pitheus.

Thou shalt performe, thy promise and thy pay: to hyredmen, and that wvithout delay.

And this doth Ariftotle the Philosopher himselfe tellifie: and the Poet Euripides also, calling Hippolytus the scholler of the holy Pitheus, doth sufficiently declare of what estimacion he was. But AEgeus desiring (as they say) to know how he might have children, went vnto the city of Delphes to the oracle of Apollo: where by Apolloes Nunne that notable prophecy was geuen him for an aunswer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was returned against to Athens. And bicause the words of this prophecy were somewhat darke, & hard: he tooke his way by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto Pitheus. The wordes of the pro- E phecy were thefe.

O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace, plucke not the tappe, out of thy trusty toonne: Before thou do, returne vnto thy place, in Athens towone, from wwhence thy race doth roonne.

AEshrathe of Thefeue.

Patheus vnderstanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some deuise deceiued him in fuch forte, that he made him to lye with his daughter called AEthra. AEgens after he had accompanied with her, knowing that the was Pitheus daughter with whom he had Ang Puneus, & the mother lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a sword and a payer of shoes, the which he hidde vnder a great hollow stone, the hollownes wherof served just to receive those F things which he layed under it, and made no living creature privy to it but her alone, straightly charging her, that if the happened to haue a fonne, when he were come to mans state, & of

A strength to remove the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he lest there a that the should then sende him vitto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might knowe of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called Pallas, the which layers The Pallas. wayte and foyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight bicause he had no nanchildren, they being fiftie brethern, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed Pallat had from her. And AEthra within fewe moneths after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which fire some. from that time was called Thefeus: and as some say, so called, bicause of the tokens of knowledge VVby Thehis father had layed under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwardes at ATHENS Some of when his father knewe him, and autowed him for his fonne. But in the meane time, during, his infancie & childehood, he was brought vp in the house of his gradfather Pitheus, vnder the go-B uernmet & teaching of one called Conidas, his schoolemaster: in honour of whom the ATHE- connidas uernmet occasing of the day and the day before the great feaste of The few, having The few hans to this daye doe facrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of The few, having The few hans to this daye doe facrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of The few, having The few hans to this daye doe facrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of The few having The few hans to this daye doe facrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of The few having The few hans to this day in the few hans to this day in the few hans to the few hand to the few hans to the few hans to the few hand to the few h

more reason to honour the memorye of this governour, then of a Silanion and of a Parrhasius, matter. to whom they doe honour also, bicause they paynted and caste mowldes of the images of The-Ceus, Now there was a custome at that time in GRECE, that the yong men after their infancie A custome u and growth to mans state, went vnto the cittle of DELPHES, to offer parte of their heares in offer beares the temple of Apollo. The few also went thither as other did: and some saye that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer sence kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) Thefeia. Howbeit he dyd not shaue his head but before only, as Homer layeth, like the Thefeia.

facion of the ABANTES in oldetime: and this manner of shauing of heares, was called for the shauing of heares, which is the shauing of heares, which is the shauing of heares, was called for the shauing of heares, was called for the shauing of heares, which is the shauing of h C his sake, Theseids. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very first that uing shaued them selues after this facion: neuertheles they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it The Abante. was thought of some, neither dyd they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But bicause they were warlike and valliantmen, which did joyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were skilfullest in fight hande to hande, and woulde keepe their grounde: as the Poet Archilochus witnesseth in these verses.

They vee no slynges in foughten fields to have, nor bended bowves : but swords and trenchant blades. For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue, in bloody field: then every man invades His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand. then doe they deeds, right cruell to reconpt. For inthis vvise, the braue and wvarlike bande Doe (heve their force which come from Negrepont.

D

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not have The cause of the vauntage to take them by the heares of the head while they were fighting. And for this heares before. felse same consideration, Alexander the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the Ma-Alexander CEDONIANS to shaue their beards: bicause it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hande) a Magnus CEDONIANS to Inaue their pearus; of cause it is the cause it house (and cause to the man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to holde him fast by the same. But to returne to TheMacedonian feus. Methra his mother had euer vnto that timekept it secret from him, who was his true fa- shaue their E ther . And Pithens also had geuen it out abroade, that he was begotten of Neptune, bicause the bearder. TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worshippe him as patron and protector of their cittie, making offerings to him of their first fruites: and they have for the marke ness forme, and stampe of their money, the three picked mace, which is the figne of Neptune, called his Tri-name corne dent. But after he was comento the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the ftrength samed with of his bodie he thewed a great courage, joyned with a naturall wisedome, and stayednes of wit: Appendix then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollowestone laye, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers to-Thefeur

kens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counsell to goe by seato A THENS youthe. vnto him. The few easilye lyft vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: How-F beit he answered playnely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the fafer waye, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, bicause the waye by lande from Troezen to Athens was very daungerous, all the wayes

Great rabbing being befett by robbers and murderers. For the worlde at that time brought forth men, which A in The few in The fire for strong nesse in their armes, for swyftnes of feete, and for a generall strength of the whole bodye, dyd farre passe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or trauell they tooke in hande. But for all this, they neuer employed these giftes of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurte and wronge others: as if all the fruite and profit of their extraordinary strength had consisted in crueliye, & violence only, and to be able to keepe others under and infubiection, and to force, destroye, and spoyle all that came to their handes. Thincking that the more parte of those which thincke it a

shame to doe ill, and commend iustice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of fainte cowardly heartes, bicause they dare not wronge others, for seare they should receive wronge them felues: and therefore, that they which by might could have vauntage ouer others, had no- B thing to doe with suche quiet qualities. Nowe Hercules, trauailling abroade in the worlde, draue awaye many of those wicked theuishe murderers, and some of them he slewe and put to death, other as he passed through those places where they kept, dyd hide them selues for

feare of him, and gaue place: in so much as Hereules, perceyuing they were well tamed and

Hercules a destroyer of

Hercules ferueth Omphale.

broughtlowe, made no further reckoning to purfue them any more. But after that by fortune he had flayne Iphitus with his owne handes, and that he was passed ouer the seas into the countrye of Lydia, where he serued Queene Omphale a long time, condemning him selfe vnto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace and fecuritie from such kynde of people. Howbeit in GRECE, and all thereabouts, these olde mischieses beganne againe to renue, grow- C ing hotter and violenter then before: bicause there was no man that punished them, nor that durft take vpon him to destroye them. By which occasion, the waye to goe from PELOPON-NESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore Pitheus declaring vnto Theseus, what manner of theeues there were that laye in the waye, and the outrages and villanies they dyd to all trauellers and wayefaring men, fought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage alonge the feas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glorie of Hercules noble dedes, had long before fecretly fett his hearte on fire, so that he made reckoning of

Thefens for

none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto those which woulde seeme to describe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly vnto those which had seene him, and bene in his companye, when he had fayed or done any thing worthy of memorye. For then he dyd ${\bf D}$ manifestly open him selfe, that he felt the like passion in his hearte, which Themistocles long time afterwardes endured, when he fayed: that the victorie and triumphe of Miltiades would not lett him sleepe . For euen so , the wonderfull admiration which Thesew had of Hercules Defire of fame pricketh corage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the daye time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined with him felfe one daye to doe the like, and the rather, bicause they were neere kynsemen, being cosins removed by the mothers side . For AEthra was the daughter of Pitheus , and

wen forn ard

Alemena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lysidices, the which was halfe sister Harvalus nere to Pitheus, bothe children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be vtterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules trauelling through the worlde in that forte, dyd E feeke out those wicked theeues to rydde both sea & lande of them: & that he, farre otherwise, should flye occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meete on his waye. Moreouer, he was of opinion he should greately shame and dishonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in thonning occasion to fight, he should conuey him felfe by sea, and should carie to his true father also a paire of shooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a sworde not yet bathed in bloude. Where he should rather seeke cause, by manifest token of his worthie deedes, to make knowen to the worlde, of what noble bloude he came, and from whence he was descended. With this determination, Thefew holdeth on his purposed iorney, with intent to hurte no man, yet to defende him felfe, & to be reuenged of those which woulde take vpon them to affault him. The F first therefore whom he slewe within the territories of the cittle of EPIDAVRVM, was a robber called Periphetes. This robber vied for his ordinarie weapon to carie a clubbe, and

THESEVS: A for that cause he was commonly surnamed Corpnetes, that is to saye, a clubbe carver. So he first frake at Thefens to make him stande : but Thefens fought fo lustely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was fo glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after Thefeus cahe caryed it him felfe about with him, as Hercules dyd the lyons skynne. And like as this clubbe he spoyle of the lyon dyd witnessethe greatnes of the beast which Herenles had slayne: euen so wannes of Pepoyte or the foot day with the first clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, riphetes, at Theleus went all about, shewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes inuincible. And so going on further, in the streightes of PELOPON- the lions skin.

NESY's he killed another, called Sinnis furnamed Pityocamtes, that is to fave, a wreather, or Simis Pigobower of pyne apple trees: whom he put to death in that felfe cruell manner that Sinnis had cruelmanthestandard flayne many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former rer standard B practife or exercise: but only to shewe, that cleane strength coulde doe more, then either arte or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly fayer daughter called Perigouna, which fled awaye, Pericouna when the fawe her father flayne: whom he followed and fought all about. But the had hyd- Simiidanghden her selse in a groue full of certenkyndes of wilde pricking rushes called Stabe, and wilde 'er. sparage, which she simply elike a childe intreated to hyde her, as if they had heard and had

fense to vinderstand her: promising them with an othe, that if they faued her from being founde, the would neuer cutt them downe, nor burne them . But Thefeus fynding her, called her, and sware by his faith he would vie her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor displeasure at all. Vpon which promife the came out of the buthe, and laye with him, by whom the was conceyued of a goodly boye, which was called Menalippus. Afterwardes Theseus maried Theseus be-C her vito one Desoness, the sonne of Euritus the Oechalian. Of this Menalippus, the sonne of gaste Mena-Theseus, came Ioxus: the which with Ornytus brought men into the countrye of CARIA, rizonna.

where he buylt the cittie of IOXIDES. And hereof cometh that olde auncient ceremonie, IOXHI, Meneo observed yet vinto this daye by those of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryats of wilde spalippur some. rage, nor the Stabe, but they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wilde fauage fowe of Crommyon, otherwise sumamed Phea, that is to saye, ouergrowen with age: Pheathe the was not a beaft to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kyll, wide force of Thefeus notwithstanding targed for her, and kylled her in his iorney, to the ende it shoulde flaine. not appeare to the worlde, that all the valliant deedes he dyd, were done by compulsion,

and of necessitie: adding thereto his opinion also, that a valliant man should not onely fight D with men to defend him felfe from the wicked: but that he should be the first, to affaulte and flaye wilde hurtefull beaftes. Neuertheles others have written, that this Phea was a wo- Phea a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodye, which spoyled those that passed by the man these. place called CROMMYONIA, where she dwelt: and that she was surnamed a sowe, for her

beastly brutishe behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the ende she was also slayne by Thefew. After her he kylled Sciron, entring into the territories of MEGARA, bicause he robbed Sciron all trauellers by the waye, as the common reporte goeth: or as others faye, for that of a cruell, throw's downe wicked, and sauage pleasure, he put forth his feete to those that passed by the sea side, and the rocke by compelled them to washe them . And then when they thought to stowpe to doe it, he still Thefence fpurned them with his feete, till he thrust them hedlong into the fea: so Theseus threw him hedlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common reporte, and desirous (as Simonides sayeth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by pre-

fcription of time: dyd mainteine that this Sciron was neuer any robber, nor wicked perfone, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the wicked, and a friend and a kynseman of the most honest, and justest men of GRECE. For there is no man but will confesse, that Aacus was AEacus. the most vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that Cychreus the SALA- Cychreus. MINIAN is honoured and reverenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man also but knoweth that Peleus and Telamon were men of fingular vertue. Nowe it is certeine, that this Sciron was the sonne in lawe of Cychreus, father in lawe of Aacus, and grandfather of Peleus and of Telamon, the which two were the children of Endeida, the daughter of the fayed F Sciron, and of his wife Charielo. Also it is not very likely, that so many good men would haue had affinitie with fo naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and geuing him

that, which men loue best of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Historiographers

the MEGARIANS helde at that time, where he deceyued the gouernour of the cittie

called Diocles, and there he flewe Sciron. And these be the objections the M E GARIANS

alledged touching this matter. He flewe also Cereyon the ARCADIAN, in the cittie flaine of The-Danastes cruel marche-

Thefeus. Hercules doings. Termerus

Medea per-Swaded AEgeus to po) fon Thefeus.

of ELEVSIN, wreftling with him. And going a litle further, he flewe Damastes, otherfew by wrest. wife surnamed Prograstes, in the cittle of HERMIONIA: and that by stretching on him out, to make him euen with the length and measure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe vnto straungers that passed by . Theseus dyd that after the imitation of Hercules, who punished tyrannes with the selfe same payne and torment, which they had made others sufrer, flame of fer. For euen so dyd Hercules sacrifice Busiris. So he stufled Antheus in wrestling. So B he put Cycnus to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake Termerus heade, from whom this prouerbe of Termerus euill came, which continueth yet vnto this daye; for this Termerus dyd vie to put them to death in this forte whom he met: to iolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked cephifunari in like forte, justly compelling them tabyde the fame payne and torments, which they ner of Bassia. before had vniustly made others abyde. And so he helde on his iorney vntill he came to The Physicial the ruler of C EPH ISV s, where certaine persones of the house of the Physalides were men that feat the first which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him fied Thefess according to the ceremonies vied at that time : and afterwardes having made a facrifice in their hour of propitiation vnto their goddes, they made him great chere in their houses: and this was C This facilities the first notable enterteinment he founde in all his iorney. It is supposed he arrived in the Planarche cal cittle of ATHENS, the eight daye of the moneth of Iune, which then they called Cronius, He founde the comon wealth turmoyled with feditions, factions, and diuisions, and perticularly the house of AEgeus in very ill termes also, bicause that Medea (being banithed out of the cittie of C or Inthe) was come to dwell in Athens, and remained with Segem, whom she had promised by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children . But when the heard tell that Thefens was comen, before that the good king AEgeus (who was nowe becomen olde, suspitious, and affrayed of sedition, by reafon of the great factions within the cittie at that time) knewe what he was , the perfwaded him to poylon him at a feaste which they woulde make him as a straunger that D passed by . Thesew failed not to goe to this prepared seaste whereunto he was bydden, but yet thought it not good to disclose him selfe. And the rather to geue AEgeus occafion and meane to know him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drowe out his fworde, as though he woulde have cut with all, and shewed it vnto him . AEgeus seeing it, knewe it straight, and forthwith ouerthrewe the cuppe with poylon which was prepared for him: and after he had inquired of him, and afked thinges, he embraced him as his fonne. Afterwardes in the common affembly of the inhabitants of the cittie, he declared, howe he anowed him for his sonne. Then all the people receyued him with exceeding ioye, for the renowne of his valiantnes and manhoode. And some save, that when AEgeus ouerthrewe the cuppe, the poyfon which was in it, fell in that place, where E there is at this present a certen compasse inclosed all about within the temple, which is called Delphinium. For even there in that place, in the olde time, stoode the house of MEgens: in witnes whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of Mercurye (which is on the fide of the temple looking towardes the rifing of the funne) the Mercurye gate of AEgeus. But the PALLANTIDES, which before stoode allwayes in hope to recouer the realme of A THENS, at the least after AEgens death, bicause he had no children: when they fawe that Thefeus was knowen, and openly declared for his fonne and heire, and successour to the Realme, they were not able any lenger to beare it, see-The Pallon ing that not onely AEgens (who was but the adopted fonne of Pandson, and nothing at sides take a- all of the bloude royall of the Erictheides) had viurped the Kingdome ouer them, but F mes against that These also should enjoye it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and dividing them felues into two partes, the one came openly

A in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the cittie: the other laye close in ambushe in the village GARGETTVs, meaning to gene charge vpon them in two places at one inftant. Nowe they brought with them an Heraulde borne in the towne Lew on Heof A G N V S, called Leos, who bewrayed vnto Thefeus the secret and deuise of all their radiobatteron A sign of the state of the s ambuthe, and put them all to the fworde. The other which were in Pallas companie vn- Thefeur. ambuthe, and put them an to the two rec. The other which were in Fauge Companie the Thefeur kilderstanding thereof, dyd breake and disparse them selves incontinently. And this is the leib the Pale cause (as some saye) why those of Pallena doe neuer make affinitie nor mariadge with lamides. those of A g N V S at this daye. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer speake these wordes which are cryed enery where els through our the whole B countrye of ATTICA, Acouste Leas, (which is as muche to faye, as, Hearken, O people) they doe so extreamely hate this worde Leos, for that it was the Herauldes name which wrought them that treason. This done, Theseus who woulde not line idelly at home and doe nothing, but defirous there withall to gratifie the people, went his waye

to fight with the bull of Marathon, the which dyd great mischieues to the inhabitants The bull of of the countrye of TETRAPOLIS. And having taken him aline, brought him through Maraham of the country of The Range of the Inhabitants. Afterwardes he dyd facrifice by Thefem. him vnto Apollo Delphias. Nowe concerning Hecale, who was reported to haue lodged Apollo Delhim, and to have geven him good enterteinment, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the phisa. olde time, those townes and villages thereaboutes dyd assemble together, and made a C common sacrifice which they called Hecalession, in the honour of Iupiter Hecalian, where Iupiter Hethey honoured this olde woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, Hecalena: bicause calism. that when the receyued Thesew into her house, being then but very younge, the made muche of him, and called him by many prety made names, as olde folkes are wont to call younge children. And forasmuche as the had made a vowe to Jupiter to make him a folemne facrifice, if Theseus returned safe from the enterprise he went about, and that fhe dyed before his returne: in recompence of the good chere she had made him, the had that honour done vnto her by Thefeus commaundement, as Philachorus hathe writ-

ten of it . Shortely after this exployte, there came certaine of King Minos ambaffadours out of CRETA, to aske tribute, being nowe the thirde time it was demaunded, which The Athe-D the ATHENIANS payed for this cause. Androgeus, the eldest sonne of king Minos, view payed was flayne by treason within the countrye of A T T I C A: for which cause Minos pursuing Minos king the reuenge of his death, made very whotte and sharpe warres vpon the ATHE- of creas, f NIANS, and dyd them greate hurte. But besides all this, the goddes dyd sharpely pu- the death of NIANS, and dyd them greate nurte. But Denaces an this, the goddes dyd mappers put and influence and famine, as also with his some. plague and other milchieues, euen to the drying vp of their rivers. The ATHENIANS perceyuing these fore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of Apollo, who aunswered them that they shoulde appeare Minos: and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrathe of the goddes woulde cease against them, and their troubles should have an ende . Whereupon the ATHENLAN s fent immediately vnto him, and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they should be bounde to sende him yerely into C R E T A, seuen younge boyes, and as many younge gyrles. Nowe thus farre, all the Historiographers

doe very well agree; but inthe reste not. And they which seeme furdest of from the trothe, doe declare, that when these yonge boyes were deliuered in C RETA, they caused them to be denowred by the Minotaure within the Laberinthe: or els that they were shut within this Laberinthe, wandring vp and downe, and coulde finde no place to gett out, untill fuche time as they dyed, even famished for hunger. And this Minotaure, as Euripides the Poet

fayeth, was

A corps combynd, wwhich monstrous might be deemd: A Boye, a Bull, both man and beaft it feemd. A iii

F

The manner of the tribus condisioned.

saure what i

Laberinthe was a gayle or prisone, in the which they had no other hurte, sauing that they

which were kept there vnder locke and keye, coulde not five nor starte awaye: and that

Minos had, in the memorye of his sonne Indrogeus, instituted games and playes of prise,

where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, those younge children of ATHENS, the

which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the pri-

fone of the Laberinthe: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines

The Labefon in Creta.

Tumu one of Called Taurus, who was in best creditt with his master, wanne the prise. This Taurus was a Minor cap Churlithe, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very harde and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verifie the fame, the philosophet Aristotle him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the Bottleians, declareth very well, that hencuer thought that B Of the Bost with Minos dyd at any time cause the children of Athens to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and paine-

King Mines defaced by the Poets in

The shirde

The Athened to depart with their children.

dren inso

full service. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to satisfie an oldevowe of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent somtimes the first borne of their children, vnto Apollo in the cittle of DELPHES: and that amongest them they also mingled those, which were defeended of the auncient prisoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But bicause they coulde not live there, they directed their iorney first into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of Pvglla, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memory whereof, the daughters of the Bottieians in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe vie to singe the soote of this C fonge: Lett vs to Athens goe. But thereby we may efee howe perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmitie with a cittie, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence dothe florishe. For euer sence that time, Minos was allwayes blased and disgraced through out all the Theaters of ATHENS. The testimonic of Hesiodus, who calleth him the most worthie King, dothe nothing helpe him at all, nor the prayse of Homer, who nameth him Impiters famillier friende: bicause the tragicall Poets gott the vpper hande in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And vpon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gaue forth many ill fauored wordes, and fowle speaches of him: as against a man that had bene most cruell and vnnaturall . Yet most men thincke, that Minos was the King Radamathus. which established the lawes: and Radamanthus the judge and preserver of them, who cau- D fed the same also to be kept and observed . The time nowe being comen about for payment of the thirde tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet time of pay- maried, to genethem to be put forth to take their channe and lotte: the citizens of A THENS beganne to murmure against Ageus, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernment of the Realme, to fall into the handes of a straunger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forfake them. These just forrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, dyd pearce the harte of Thefens, who willing to yelde to reason, and The few effer. to ronne the selfe same fortune as the cittizens dyd: willingly offered him selfeto be sent thither, without regarde taking to his happe or adventure. For which, the cittizens greatly effeemed of his corage and honorable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection, he seemed to beare vnto the comunaltye. But AEgens hauing vsed many reasons and persivassions, to cause him to turne, and staye from his purpose, and perceying in the ende there was no remedye but he woulde goe: he then drue lottes for the children which should tons assets for the chil- goe with him. Hellanicus notwithstanding dothe write, that they were not those of the cittie which drewe lottes for the children they should sende, but that Minos him selfe went thither in persone and dyd chuse them, as he chose Theseus the first, ypon conditions agreed betwene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS shoulde furnishe them with a shippe, and that the children (hould shippe and imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that F after the death of the Minotaure, this tribute should cease. Nowe before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safetie of their children: therefore the ATHENTANS all-

* THESEVS. wayes fent a shippe to conucy their children with a blacke sayle, in token of affured losse, The Athe-Neuertheles The few putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good corage, and him fem promiting boldly that he woulde fett vpon this Minotaure: AEgeus gaue vnto the mafter into Gresa in promiting botony that he would lett your shall be a shippe with of the shippe a white sayle, commaunding him that at his returne he should put out the a shippe with of the shippe a white sayle, commaunding him that at his returne he should put out the a shippe with or the impre a since shad escaped, if not, that then he should settyp the blacke sayle, to sayle, the sayle sayle sayle. Thewe him a farre of his vnlucky and vnfortunate chaunce . Simonides notwithstanding doeth AEgew gr faye, that this fayle which AEgens gaue to the mafter, was not white, but redde, dyed in with the mafaye, that this tayle which Aegeus gaue to the maiter, was not write, but reade, ayed in fire of the graine, and of the culler of scarlett: and that he gaue it him to signific a farre of, their deliuerie and safety. This master was called Phereelus Amarstadas, as Simonides sayeth. But saile, wigniuerie and latery. This matter was cauch increases Campinana, and Thefeus a mafter called Naufi fe the fig. B theus, and another marriner to tackle the fayles , who was called Pheas : bicause the ATHE Thesen. NIANS at that time were not greatly practifed to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the children on whom the lott fell was his nephewe: and thus muche the chappells doe testifie, which The few buylt afterwardes in honour of Naufitheus, and of Pheas, in the village of Phalerus: ioyning to the temple of Scirus. And it is fayed moreouer, that the feastle which they call Cybernesia, that is to saye, the featte of Patrons of the shippes, is celebrated in honour of them . Nowe after the lotts were drawen , The feus taking with him the children al- semen. lotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called Delphinion, to offer vp to Apollo for him and for them, an offering of supplication which they call Hiesteria: which Hiesteria was an olyue boughe hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his offering. C prayer, he went downe to the fea fide to imbarke, the fixt daye of the moneth of Marche: Those uson which daye at this present time they doe sende their younge girles to the same temple keth shippe on which daye at this present time they doe lende their younge gittes to the fainte timple with the miof Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But fome faye, that but the but thinks, the oracle of Apollo in the cittie of DELPHES had aunswered him, that he should take the fixe of the oracle of Apollo in the cities of Deprins has all the first and Venus for his guyde, and that he should call vpon her to conduct him in his voyage: for figlish into which cause he dyd sacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the sea side, which was founde sodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they furnamed this goddeffe Epitragia, as one would Venus Epifaye, the goddefie of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arrived in CRETA, he flewe Trafeus flews there the Minotaure (as the most parte of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and the Mino helpe of Ariadne: who being fallen in fansie with him, dyd geue him a clue of threede, by same by D the helpe whereof the taught him, howe he might easely winde out of the turnings and riadne, king cranckes of the Labyrinthe. And they faye, that having killed this Minotaure, he returned Minotaure backe againe the fame wave he went, bringing with him those other younge children of the real ATHENS, whom with Ariadne also he carried afterwardes awaye. Pherecides sayeth more- sum of ouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the shippes of CRETA, bicause they Cresa. should not sodainely sett out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the captaine Taurus onerof Minos) was killed in a fight by Thefeus, euen in the very hauen mowthe as they were come of Thereadye to shippe awaye, and hoysevp sayle. Yet Philochorus reporteth, that king Minos ha- few, was a uing fett vp the games, as he was wont to doe verely in the honour and memorye of his sonne, euery one beganne to enuye captaine Taurus, bicause they euer looked that he should E carye awaye the game and victorie, as he had done other yeres before: ouer and that, his authoritye got him much ill will and enuye, bicause he was proude and stately, and had in suspition that he was great with Queene Pasiphäe. Wherefore when Theseus required he Tassus susmight encounter with Taurus, Minos easely graunted it. And being a solemne custome in putted with CRETA that the women shoulde be present, to see these open sportes and sights, Ariadne king Minese being at these games amongest the rest fell further in loue with Theseus, seeing him so good- wife. being at thele games amongett the reit, tell turther in loutewith Thejess, item in 10 good. How Ariadne ly a persone, so stronge, and inuincible in wrestling, that he sarre exceeded all that wrestled fell in loss. there that daye. King Minos was so glad that he had taken awaye the honour from captaine with Theseur. Taurus, that he fent him home francke and free into his countrye, rendring to him all the Minos finother prisoners of ATHENS: and for his sake, clearely released and forgaue the cittle of home with bis F ATHENS the tribute, which they should have payed him yerely. Howbeit Clidemus fear-prifours, and ATHENS the tribute, which they inoun have payed him yetty. The tributes the defining of the fethings to thutmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after the should be shoul

another forte. For he fayeth, about that time there was a generall restraint through out all about mibute.

Datalus pight.

marine

ted in the before the gates of the Labyrinthe, with all his garde and officers about him. By this meanes

Diners opinions of Ariadne.

GRECE, restrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein A there were aboue fine persones, except only Iason, who was chosen captaine of the great Thippe Argue, and had commission to sayle enery where, to chase and drine awaye rouers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas through out. About this time, Dadalus being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a litle barke: Minos contrarie to this restraint, woulde needes followe him with affecte of diuers veffels with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coaste of Sicile, fortuned to dye there. Afterwardes his sonne Deucalion, being marueiloufly offended with the ATHENIANS, fent to fummone them to deliuer Dedalus vnto him, or els he woulde put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. Pressure But These But These Excused him selfe, and sayed he coulde not forsake Dedalm, considering he was

form four to his neere kynfeman, being his cofin germaine, for he was the fonne of Merope, the daughter B them to de. of Erichthem. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, parte of them within ATTICA selfein the village of Thymetades, farre from any highe wayes: and parte of them in the cittle of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of Pitheus his grandfather, to the ende his purposes shoulde be kept the secretlyer. Afterwardes when all his shippes were readye, and rygged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they sawe them a farre of, they dyd take them for the barkes of their friends. The few landed without resistaunce, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing Dadalus, and other banished CRE-The few fap. TANS for guydes, he entred the cittle selfe of GNOSVS, where he slewe Deucalion in a fight

the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the handes of his fifter Ariadne. Thefeus C the cinit of Grofue, and made league with her, and carried away the yong children of ATHENS, which were kept as hoftages, and concluded peace and amytic betweene the Athenians and the Cretans: who promifed, and sware, they woulde neuer make warres against them. They reporte many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no trothe nor certeintie in it. For some saye, that Ariadne honge her selse for sorowe, when she sawe that Thesem had caste her of. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the lle of Naxos, were she was maryed vnto O Enarm, the priest of Eachm: and they thincke that Thefem lefte her, bicause he was in loue with another, as by these verses should appeare.

AEgles the Nymphe, was loued of Thefeus, which was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the Megarian fayeth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of D the Poet Hesiodus, howbeit Pissitratus tooke them awaye: as he dyd in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in Homer, to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bolde Thefeus, and Pirithous stowete, descended both, from godds immortall race, Triumphing still, this vvearie vvorlde aboute infeats of armes, and many a comly grace.

Other holde opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Theseu: the one of them was OEnopion, & named OEnopion, and the other Staphylus. Thus amongeft others the Poet Ion writteth it, who was borne in the Île of CHI 0, and speaking of his cittie, he sayeth thus: Thefeus Sonnes.

OEnopion which was the sonne, of wworthy Theseus did cause menbuy lde, this stately towne which now ve triumpheth thus.

Nowewhat things are founde feemely in Poets fables, there is none but dothe in manner fynge them. But one Paenon borne in the cittle of A MATHVN TA, reciteth this cleane after another forte, and contrarie to all other: faying, that Thefeus by tempest was driven with the He of CYPRV s, having with him Ariadne, which was great with childe, and so fore sea sycke, Thefau les- that she was not able to abide it. In so muche as he was sorced to put her a lande, and him felfe afterwards returning abourde hoping to faue his shippe against the storme, was forthwith compelled to loofe into the sea. The women of the countrye dyd curteously receyue and intreate Ariadne: and to comforte her againe, (for she was marueilously oute of harte, to F A see she was thus for saken) they counterseated letters, as if Thesens had wrytten them to her. And when het groninge time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible meanes to faue her: but she dyed not with standing in labour, and could neuer be deliue- driadne red. So she was honorably buried by the Ladies of Cyprvs. Thefeus not long after returned dieb with thither againe, who tooke her death maruelous heauily, and left money with the inhabitantes of the countrie, to facrifice vnto her yearely : and for memorie of her, he caused two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of filuer, which he dedicated vnto

her. This factifice is done the seconde day of September, on which they doe yet obserue this ceremonie: they doe lay ayoung childe vpon a bed, which pitiefully cryeth and lamenteth, The ceremoas women trauellinge with childe. They faye also, that the AMATHVSIANS doe yet call the mie of the fa-B groue where her tombe is sette vp, the woodde of Venus Adriadne. And yet there are of the Ariadne in NAXIANS, that reporte this otherwise: saying, therewere two Minoes, and two Adriadnees, Copius.

whereof the one was maried to Bacchus in the Ile of Naxos, of whome Staphylus was borne: and the other the youngest, was rauished and caried away by Theseus, who afterwardes for Two Minuse fooke her, and the came into the Ile of Naxos with her nurce, called Coreyna, whole grane and 180 Atooke ner, and the came into the feet of 190,000 white their doe sheweyet to this day. This seconde Adriadne dyed there also, but she had no such Corona honour done to her after her death, as to the first was geuen. For they celebrate the feaste Ariadnes of the first with all ioye and mirthe: where the sacrifices done in memorie of the seconde, marrebe mingled with mourninge and forowe. The feus then departing from the Ile of CRETA, arriued in the Ile of DELOS, where he did sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, and gaue there a Thefeus 12ruled in the ficor Delos, where he did facilities in the temple of Apria and a government as of Chile image of Venus, the which he had gotten of Adria and Then with the other young boyes Creat must be

that he had delivered, he daunced a kinde of daunce, which the Delians keepe to this 11e of Delas. day, as they fay: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turninges of the Labyrinthe. And the DELIANS call this manner of daunce, the crane, as Dicaercus fayeth. Thefeur And Thefeus daunced it first about the altar, which is called Ceraton, that is to saye, horne-dannee called staffe: bicause it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiously the Crant. fette together without any other bindinge. It is fayed also that he made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the first was genen to him that ouercame, a braunche of palme forre- palme a toke ward of victorie. But when they drewe neere the coast of ATTICA, they were so joyfull, he of vittory.

and his master, that they forgate to set up their white sayle, by which they should have ge-D uen knowledge of their healthe and safetie vnto AEgeus. Who seeinge the blacke sayle a first of his farre of, being out of all hope euermore to see his sonne againe, tooke such a griefe at his shippe forgue harte, that he threw him felie headlong from the top of a clyffe, and killed him felie. So foone white fight. as Theseus was arrived at the porte named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he AEgeus had vowed to the goddes at his departure; and fent an Herauld of his before vnto the city, to death. carie newes of his fafe arrivall. The Heraulde founde many of the citie mourning the death ueth fafe with of king Aegeus. Many other received him with great ioy, as may be supposed. They would the tribute or king Aggens. Wany other recented min with gleatory, as may be improved the half of some than the half brought so good tidinges, the haun of that the children of the citie were returned in safetie. The Heraulde was content to take the Phalenu. garlande, yet would he not in any wife put it on his head, but did winde it about his Heraulds E rodde he bare in his hande, and so returneth foorthwith to the sea, where The seus made his sa- The Herand

crifices. Who perceiuinge they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and borr a redde stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finished, he went in his hand. in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for forowe, hasted with speede towardes the citie. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called Oscophoria (as who woulde say at the feast of boughes) the Herauld hath not his The feast heade but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the affiftantes also after the facrifice Of cophoriae done, doe make suche cryes and exclamations: Ele, leuf, iou, iou: whereof the first is the crye and voyce they commonly vie one to an other to make hafte, or elfe it is the foote of some fonge of triumphe: and the other is the crye and voyce of men as it were in feare and trou-

p ble. After he had ended the obsequies and funeralls for his father, he performed also his fa- offobrealled crifices vnto Apollo, which he had vowed the feuenth day of the moneth of October, on Pranaphon, which they arrived at their returne into the citie of Athens. Euen fo the custome which can songue.

they vie at this day, to feeth all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then A returned with Thefeus, did feeth in a great braffe potte all the remaine of their prouision, and therewith made good chete together. Euen in such sorte as this, came up the custome to Hard of Inc. carie a braunch of olyne, wreathed about with wolle, which they call Irefione: bicaufe at that time they caried boughes of supplication, as we have told ye before. About which they tnartime they canculouslies of impension, and Sudar, and Sudar, hang all fortes of fruites: for then barrennesse did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did

Bring him good bread, that is of favry tast, with pleafaunt figges, and droppes of dulcet mell, Then fowuple oyle, his body for to bast, and pure good voine, to make him sleepe full well.

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the Heraelides, that is to fay, those that descended from Hercules; which flying for their safety and succour vnto the ATHENIANS, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the most parte holde opinion, they were made upon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which Theseus went and Thefeus went returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, alwayes taking away the olde peeces of woodde that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer fince, in the difputations of the Philofophers, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or else they

into Creta with the triin the galliot of 30.cmers. Disputation about increafe. alleaged for

be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for an example of doubt. For fome mainteined, that it was still one vessell : others to the contrarie defended it was not so. And they C holde opinion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at Athens at this time, was then first of all instituted by Theseus. It is sayed moreouer, that he did not carye all the wenches vpon whome the lotts did fall, but chose two fayer young boyes, whose faces were sweet and delicate as maydens be, that otherwife were hardie, and quicke sprighted. But he made them so oft bathe them selues in whotte bathes, and kepe them in from the heate of the sunne, and fo many times towashe, anointe, and rubbe them selues with oyles which serue to supple and smoothe their skinnes, to keepe freshe and fayer their colour, to make yellowe and bright their heares: and withall did teache them fo to counterfeate their speache, countenaunce and facion of young maydes, that they feemed to be like them, rather then young boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, D without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boyes, were apparelled then as they be nowe, which carie boughes on the day of the feast in their handes. They carie them in the honor of Bacehus and Ariadne, following the fable that is tolde of them 1 or rather bicause they returned home just, at the time and season, when they gather the fruite of those trees. There are women which they call Deipnophores, that is to fay, supper catyers, which are affiltantes to the facrifice done that day, in reprefenting the mothers of those, vpon whom the lottes did fall, bicause they in like sorte brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comforte and encorage them. All these particularities were written by Demon the historiographer. There was moreouer a place chosen out to build him a teple in, B and he him felfe ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, thould now e yearely thenceforth become contributories towardes the charges of a folemme facrifice, which shoulde be done in the honor of him: and he did affigne the order thinks filling and administration of the same, vnto the house of the Phytalides, in recompence of the curtesse which they showed him when he arrived. Furthermore, after the death of his father AEgeus, he vndertooke a maruelous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitantes of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within the citie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before dispersed into diverse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be affembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the comon state. Many times also they were at variance together, & by the eares, making warres one vpon F presumants of an other. But Theseus tooke the paines to goe from village to village, and from family, to samilie, to let them understand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he found the poore

A people and private men, ready to obey and followe his will: but the riche, and fuch as had authoritye in euery village, all against it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promising that it should be a common wealth, and not subject to the power of any sole prince, but rather a populer state. In which he woulde only reserve to him selfe the charge of the warres, and the preservation of the lawes: for the rest, he was content that every citizen in all and for all should beare a like fwave and authoritye. So there were fome that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had r.o liking thereof, yelded notwithstanding for feare of his displeasure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to confent with good will, vnto that he required: then to rary his forcible compuliion. Then he caused all the places where justice was ministred, and all their halles of assembly to be ouerthrowen and pulled downe. He remoued straight alkindges B and officers, and built a town e house, and a counsaill hall, in the place where the cittie now stan- Atty, the deth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, buthe called the whole corporation of them, A- towne house THENS. Afterwardes he instituted the greate feast and common facrifice for all of the countrye of ATTICA, which they call Panathensa. Then he ordered another feather also vpon the fix- The feather of ATTICA, winch they can rumanchau. Then he orderined another tente day of the moneth of Iune, for all strangers which should come to dwell in ATHENS, and Meiacid.

which was called Metacia, & iskept even to this daye. That done, he gave over his regall power Thefens refiaccording to his promise, and beganne to sett vp an estate or policye of a common wealth, greeth his beginning first with the service of the goddes. To knowe the good successe of his enterprise, he maketh Athea fent at the very beginning to the oracle of Apollo in DELPHE S, to enquire of the fortune of this a common

cittye: from whence this aunswer was brought vnto him. Therefore shevve thou, a valliant constant minde, The oracle of C Othow which arte the sonne of AEgeus, and let no care nor carke thy harte displease. begott by him, on Pitheus daughter deare. For like unto a bladder blouven with winde The mightie Ioue, my father glorious, thou shalt be toft, upon the furging feas. by his decree hath fayed there shall appeare, a fatall ende, of every cittie here. Yet lett no dynte, of dolours the difease. Which ende he will, shall also come adowne, For why? thou shalt, nor perishe nor decaye, Within the walles of this thy stately towne. nor be orecome, nor yet be cast awwaye.

It is foundewritten also that Sibylla afterwardes gaue out such a like oracle ouer the cittye

of ATHENS. The bladder blowven maye flete wpon the fludde, but cannot synke, nor sticke in filthie mudde.

D Moreouer, bicause he woulde further yet augment his people, and enlarge his cittie, he entifed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the felfe fame freedome and priviledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many judge, that these wordes which are in vie at this daye in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Comeye hither: be the selfe same which Theseus then caused to be proclaymed, when he in that sorte dyd gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he suffered not the great multitude that came Theseus mes thither tagge and ragge, to be without diftinction of degrees & orders. For he first divided the keth diffire to noble men, from hul badmen and artificers, appointing the noblemen as judges & magistrates of states and to judge vpon matters of Religio, & touching the feruice of the godds: & of them also he dyd comon wealer

chuse rulers, to beare ciuill office in the comon weale, to determine the lawe, and to tell all holy and divine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other estates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen dyd passe the other in honour: euen so the artificers exceeded them in number, & the hulbandmen them in profit. Nowe that Thefeus was the first who of all others yelded to haue a common weale or populer estate (as Aristotle sayeth) and dyd geue Theseus the ouer his regall power: Homer self semeth to testifie it, in numbring the shippes which were in the first that game Græcians armie before the cittie of TROIA. For amongest all the GRECIANS, he only calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer Thefeus coyned money, which he marked with the med a popular stampe of an oxe, in memorye of the bulle of Marathon, or of Taurus the captaine of Minos, An exe stams or els to prouoke his citizens to geue them selues to labour. They saye also that of this money ped in The-F they were fince called Hecatombæon, & Decabæon, which fignifieth worth a hundred oxen, and Hecatombæon.

worth tenne oxen. Furthermore having ioyned all the territorie of the cittle of MEGARA, vnto Decabaca.

that frofted him in their houfes. brught the

Thefeus

were the first

the countrie of ATTICA, he caused that notable source square piller to be sett vp for their con-A fines within the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraved thereuppon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this:

> Where Titan doth beginne his beames for to displaye euen that wwaye stands Ionia, in fertile wife allwaye: And where againe he goeth, a downe to take his rest. there stands Peloponnesus lande for there I compt it west.

It was he also which made the games called Isthmia, after the imitation of Hercules, to the ende that as the GRECIANS dyd celebrate the feaft of games called Olympia, in the honour

Thefeus ere-Hed the games 15th.

Nepume.

of Iupiter, by Hercules ordinance: fo, that they should allo celebrate the games called Isthmia, B. by his order and institution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the straights in the honour of Melicerta, were done in the night, & hadrather forme of facrifice or of a mysterie, then of games & ope feast. Yet some will saye, that these games of Istimia were instituted in the honour & memorie of Sciron, & that Thefeus ordained them infatisfaction of his death: bicause he was his cosingermaine, being the sonne of Canethus, and of Heniocha the daughter of Pitheus. Other fave that it was Sinnis and not Sciron, and that for him Thefeus made thefe games, and not for the memorie of the other. Howfoeuer it was, he specially willed the Corin THI ANS, that they should geue viito those that came from ATHENS to see their games of Isthmia, so much place to fit downe before them (in the most honorable parte of the feast place) as the faile of their shippeshould couer, in the which they came from AT HENS: thus doe Hella- C nicus & Andron Halicarnasseus write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Maior, Philochorus, & some other holde opinion, that he went thither with Hercules against the AMA-

Thefers ior-Major.

ZONES: and that to honour his valiantnes, Hercules gaue him ANTIOPA the AMAZONE, But Ansiopa the margine ra- prisoner, which is likeliest to be true. For we doe not finde that any other who went this iorney

the more parte of the other Historiographers, namely Hellanicus, Pherecides, & Herodotus, doe write, that Thefeus went thither alone, after Hercules voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides him selfe. Bion also the Historiographer, this notwithstanding fayeth, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the AMAZO-NES (fayeth he) naturally louing men, dyd not flie at all when they fawe them lade in their countrye, but sent them presents, & that Thesew entised her to come into his shippe, who brought D

him a present: & so sone as the was aborde, he hoysedhis fayle, & so caried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the historie of the cittle of NICEA, in the countrye of BYTHINIA, fayeth: that Thefew having this AMAZONE ANTIO PAWith him, remained a cer-

Solois fell in TIOPA, and neuer bewraved it to any of his other companions, fauing vnto one with whom loue with sho he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter vnto An-TIO PA. But the vtterly rejected his fute, though otherwife the handled it wifely and cur-

teously, and dyd not complaine to Theseus of him. Howbeit the younge man despairing to

Solois drow- enjoye his loue, tooke it to inwardly, that desperately he lept into the river, and drowned him E felfe. Which when Thefew vnderstoode, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and ende: he was very forye, and angrie also. Whereupon he remembred a certeine oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commaunded to buyld a cittle in that place in a straunge countrye, where he should be most force, and that he should leaue some that were about him at that time, to gouerne the same . For this cause therefore he built a cittle in that place, which Distributes The he named PYTHOPOLIS, bicause he had built it only by the commaundement of the Nunne Pythia. He called the river in the which the younge man was drowned, Solois, in memorye of him: and left his two brethern for his deputies and as gouernours of this newe cittie, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called Hermus. Hereof it commeth, that at this daye the Pr-THOPOLITANS call a certen place of their cittie, Hermus house. But they fayle in the accent, F by putting it vpon the last syllabe: for in pronouncing it so, Hermu signifieth Mercurie. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of Hermus, vnto the god Mercurie.

taine time vpon those coasts, & that amongest other he had in his companie threeyounge bre-

thern of ATHEN S, Euneus, Tho. 18, and Solois. This last, Solois, was marueilously in loue with An-

A Now heart what was the occasion of the warres of the AMAZONE s, which me thinckes was The cost of not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their the any of not a matter of infant montein, not attend to the story and the story and the story campe within the very cittle of A THERS, nor had not fought in the very place it lelie (called net again) Price) adjoyning to the temple of the Muses, if they had nothirst conquered or subdued all the the Athenia. countrye thereabouts: neither had they all comen at the first fovaliantly to affaile the cittie of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by lande from so farrea countrye, or that they passed ouer an arme of the fea, which is called Bofphorus Cimmericus, being frosen as Hellanicus sayeth: it is Boffhor us hardely to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very cittie it felfe, the Commercial names of the places which cotinewe yet to this prefent daye doe witnesself it, & the graues also the fire women which dved there. But so it is that both armies lave a great time one of the fire. of the women which dyed there. But so it is, that both armies laye a great time one in the face B of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length Thefew having first made facrifice

vnto Feare the goddesse, according to the counsaill of a prophecie he had receyued, he gaue These septiments them battellin the moneth of August, on the same daye, in the which the ATHENIANS doe with the Athenian some country of the same daye, in the which the ATHENIANS doe with the Athenians and this present solemnise the feast, which they call Bendamin Bur Children and the same days. euen at this present solemnise the feast, which they call Boedromia. But Clidemus the Historio- mazones. orapher, defirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encownter, sayeth that the the where left poynte of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the net bautell. right poynte marched by the fide of CHRY'S Ascuento the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS coming towards the temple of the Mules, dyd first gene their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which dyed in this first encouter, are

founde yet in the great streete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell C of the litle god Chalcodus. And the ATHENIANS (fayeth he) were in this place repulsed by the A MAZO NES, euen to the place where the images of Eumenides are, that is to fave, of the furies. But on thother fide also, the ATHENIANS coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, & Lucium, draue backetheir right poynte euen to within their campe, & slewe a great number of them. Afterwards, at the ende of foure moneths, peace was taken betwene them by meanes Peace conof one of the women called Hyppolita. For this Historiographer calleth the AMAZONE which claded at orone of the women caned Hyppoura. For this Introduction for the Washing the fore monetal The few maried, Hyppolita, and not Antiopa. Neuertheles, some faye that she was slayne (fighting and by mea.

on The fews fide) with a darte, by another called Molpadea. In memorie whereof, the piller which nee of Hyppois joyning to the temple of the Olympian ground, was fet vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the historie of things so auncient, be founde so diuersely written . For there are also that D write, that Queene Antiopa fent those fecretly which were hurte then into the cittle of CAL-CIDE, where some of them recoursed, & were healed: and others also dyed, which were buried neere to the place called AMAZONION. How soeuer it was, it is most certain that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of Thesew, do the beare recorde of it. being called Orcomostum: bicause the peace was there by solemne othe concluded. And the fa- orcemosion, crifice also dothe truely verificit, which they have made to the AMAZONBS, before the fealt of the name of a The few, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA allo doe thewe a tumbe of the AMAZONES

in their cittie, which is as they goe fro the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in facion & forme of a losenge. They saye that there died other of Auncient 10ninge an auncient tunine, cut intraction & forme of a rothing of the Amazones also, neere vinto the cittle of Charles and a which were buried all alongest the facion. E litle broke passing by the same, which in the oldetime, (in mine opinion) was called Thermodon, Tharmodon, &is nowenamed Hamon, as we haucin other places written in the life of Demosthenes. And it nome called $femethalfo, that they dyd not paffe through \ T \tt HESSALIE, without fighting: for there are feene$ yet of their tubes all about the cittie of Scorvsa, hard by the rocks, which be called the doggs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the warres of thele AMAZONES. Howe the Poettelleth that the AMAZONES made warres with Thefeus to reuege

the injurie he dyd to their Queene Antiopa, refuling her, to marye with Phadra: & as for the murder which he telleth that Hercules dyd, that me thinckes is alrogether but denife of Poets . It is This we will be a supposed to the supposed very true, that after the death of Antiopa, The few maried Phadra, having had before of Antiopa a found by Antiopa fonne called Hippolytus, or as the Poet Pindarus writeth, Demophon. And for that the Historio-F graphers doenot in anything speake against the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the four wife, and ill happethat chaunced to him, in the persones of this his wife & of his sonne: we must needes daughter king

take it to beso, as we finde it written in the tragedies. Andyet we finde many other reportes of Cresa.

the very occasion that forced him to forsake his countrye, and brought him at the length to his

ende, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of GRECE had done many

faye to the contrarie, that he was at the iorney of Cholehide with Infon,& that he dyd helpe Me-

goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet Herodotus is of opinion, that Theseus was neuer B

Thefew me touching the mariages of Thefews, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither A fell out their endes very fortunate: & yet for all that they have made no tragedies of them, neither haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we reade that he tooke away Anaxo the TROE-ZENIAN, & that after he had killed Sinnis and Cercyon, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he dyd also marye Peribea, the mother of Aiax, and afterwards Pherebaa, & Joppa the daughter of Iphieles. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly for sooke his wife Ariadne, for the loue of AEgles the daughter of Panopeus, as we have recited before. Lastlely, he tooke awaye Hellen: which rauishement filled all the Realme of A TTICA with warres, & finally was

Thefew bas in any one of them: fauing that he was at the battell of the Lapitha against the Centauri. Others

leager to kill the wilde bore of Calydonia: from whence (as they faye) this prouerbe came: Not without Thefeus. Meaning that fuche a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Prouerbe . Howbeit it is certaine that Theseus self dyd many famous actes, without ayde of any man, and Not withrut Thefeur. that for his valiantnes this prouerbe camein vie, which is spoken: Thu is another Thefeus. Also he dyd helpe Adrastus king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodyes of those that were flavne This is another Theseus. in the battell, before the cittie of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the poet Euripides sayeth, by

Frome brethern in the field. Pirithous maried Dei-

force of armes, after he had ouercome the Thebans in battell: but it was by copolition. And thus the greatest number of the most auncient writers doe declare it. Furthermore, Philochorus C writeth, that this was the first treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodyes slavne in battell: neuertheles we doe reade in the histories and gestes of Hercules, that he was the first that euer suffered his enemies to carye awaye their dead bodyes, after they had bene put to the fword. But who soener he was, at this daye in the village of ELEVTHERES, they doe showe the place where the people were buried, and where princes tumbes are seene about the cittie of ELEVSIN, which he made at the request of Adrastus. And for testimonie hereof, the tragedie AEschilus made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he causeth it to be spoken even thus to Theseus him felf, dothe clerely ouerthrowe the petitioners in Euripides. Touching the friendshippe be-The few val-twixt Firithous and him, it is fayed it beganne thus. The renowne of his valliancy was maruelously blowen abroade through all GRECE, & Pirithous desirous to know eit by experience, D thou friend. went euen of purpole to inuade his countrye, and brought awaye a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrye of MARATHON. The few being aduertifed therof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. Pirithous hearing of his comming, fled notatall, burreturned backe sodainly to mete him. And so sone as they came to see one another, they both wondred at eche others beautie and corage, and so had they no defire to fight. But Pirithous reaching out his hande first to Theseus, sayed unto him. I make your selse judge of the damage you haue susteinned by my inuafion, and with all my harte I will make fuche fatisfaction, as it shall please you to assesse it at. The feus then dyd not only release him, of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were present-Pirithous & ly sworne brethren in the fielde: after which othe betwixt them, Pirithous maried Deidamia,& E fent to praye Thefeus to come to his mariage, to visite his countrye, & to make merye with the Lapitha. He had bidden also the Centauri to the feast: who being druncke, committed many lewde partes, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the Lapithe chasticed them to well, that they flewe some of them presently in the place, & draue the rest afterwards out of all the countrye by the helpe of Thefeu, who armed him selfe, and fought on their side. Yet Herodotus wri-The Lepithe teth the matter somewhat contrarie, saying that Theseus went not at all vntill the warre was well begonne: and that it was the first time that he sawe Hercules,& spake with himneere vn-Thefew and to the cittle of Trachina, when he was then quiet, having ended all his farre voyages, & grea-Hercales mer test troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honorable entertainement betwene them, and howe great curtefic was offred to eache o-F ther. Neuertheles me thincks we should geue better credit to those writers that saye they mett many times together, and that Hercules was accepted and receyued into the brotherhed of

A themysteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenaunce and fautour which Thefeus showed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the companie of those holy mysteries. Furthermore, Theseus was fiftie yeres olde when he tooke awaye Hellen Theseus fiftie and rauished her, which was very younge, and not of age to be maried, as Hellanieus sayeth. By screedle whe reasonwhereos, some seeking to hyde the rauishement of her as a haynous facte, doe reportest Hellen. was not he, but one Idas and Lynceus that caryed her awaye, who left her in his custodie and keeping: and that Thefeus would have kept her from them, and would not have delivered her to her brethern Castor and Pollux, which afterwardes dyd demaunde her againe of him. Others againe faye it was her owne father Tyndarus, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was af-B fraved of Enar shorus the sonne of Hippocoon, who would have had her away by force. But that which commeth nearest to the trothe in this case, and which in deede by many authors is testified, was in this force. The few & Pirithous went together to the cittle of LACED & MON, where The manner nea, was in this force. I reference of Hallemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellem (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the teple of Diana of Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellemirathey tooke awaye Hellemirathey to be tooked to be furnamed Orthia: & they fled for life. They of LACED & MON sent after her, but those that fol- Diana Orthia. lowed wet no further then the cittle of TEGEA. Now when they were escaped out of the coun-

trye of Peloponnesvs, they agreed to drawe lots together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose lot it were to have her, he should take her to his wife, & should be bound also to helpe his companion to get him another. It was Theseus happe to light vpon

her, who carved her to the cittle of APHIDNES, bicause she was yet to younge to be maried. These less C Whether he cauled his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called Aphianus the Helen in the vynetner ne cameums mother to come to bring not vyse game in the first part of Acharge of them both, recomending her to his good care, & to kepe it so secretly, that no bodye
charge of them both, recomending her to his good care, & to kepe it so secretly, that no bodye should knowe what was become of her. Bicause he would doe the like for Pirithous (according to th'agremét made betweet the) he went into Epiny swith him to steale the daughter of Aido- These went news, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had furnamed his wife Proferpina, his daughter Proferpina, with Pri-& his dogg Cerberus: with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in mariage, promising to geue her to him that should ouercome his Cerberus. But the King vndersta. ding that Pirithous was come, not to request his daughter in mariage, but to steale her away, he daughter. tooke him prisoner with Theseus: & as for Pirithous, he caused him presetly to be torne in peces Philipons with his dogge, & flut Thefeus vp in close prison. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS tome in peces

with his dogge, & that I negens up in close prioritin this meant time there was one as a was the withcream.

D called Menestheus, the fonne of Peteus: which Peteus was the fonne of Orneus, & Orneus was the Thefins close fonne of Erictheus. This Menestheus was the first that beganne to flatter the people, & did seeke prifiner. to winne the fauour of the comunaltie, by sweete entifing words: by which deuise he stirred vp the chiefest of the cittie against Theseus (who in deedelong before begane to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them howe Thefeus had taken from them their royalties & figniories, & had thut them vp in suche sorte within the walles of a cittie, that he might the better keepe them in fubiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour forte of people, he dyd ftirre vp also to rebellion, persuading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promifed them: & howe contrariwife they were clearely disposses & throwen out of their own houses, of their teples, & from their naturall places where they were borne, to thend only, E that in liewe of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serue one onely hedde, & a strauinge lorde. Euen as Menestheus was very

hotte about this practife, the warre of the Tyndarides fell out at that instant, which greatly surthered his pretece. For these Tyndarides (to wit the children of Tyndarus) Castor & Pollux, came the Tyndarides downe with a great armie, against the citie of ATHENS: & some suspect fore that Menestheus der against was cause of their comming thither. Howbeit at the first entrie they dyd no hurte at all in the the Abbenian countrye, but only demaunded restitution of their sister. To whom the citizens made aunswer, that they knewe not where she was left: & then the brethern beganne to make spoyle, & offer warrein deede. Howbeit there was one called Academus, who having knowledge (I can not tell by what meane) that (he was secretly hidden in the cittle of Aphid Nes, reucaled it vnto them. F By reason whereof the Tyndarides did alwayes honour him very much, so long as he liued, & af-

terwards the LACED EMONIANS, having ofte burnt & destroyed the whole countrye of AT-TICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of ATHENS for Academus fake.

Marathon.

Aphidnes . Tyndarides Alyeus Scirons sonne flayne, at the phidnes.

deor.lib.z.

Anaces why

So called.

Disert oni-

nions of Homers verfes.

Yet Dicearchus Sayeth, that in the armie of the Tyndarides therewere two Arcadians, Echedemus, A why so called. & Marathus, and howe of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemie, which fithence hath bene called Academia: & after the name of the other, there was a village called Marathon, bicause he willingly offered him self to be sacrificed before the battell, asobeying the order & comandement of a prophecie. So they went & pitched their campe before the cittle of APHIDNES, & hauing wone the battell, & taken the cittle by affault, they raced the name or ra- place. They saye that Alyeus, the sonne of Seiron was slaine at this field, who was in the hoaste of the Tyndarides, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called Alyeus, in the which his bodye was buried. Howbeit Hereus writeth that Thefeus felf dyd kill him before Aphidnes: In witnes whereof he alledgeth certain verses which speake of Alyeus,

VV hile as he sought with all his might and mayne (in thy defence fayer Hellen for to fight) In Aphidnes, upon the pleafaunt playne, bold Thefeus to cruell deathe him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that Thefeus being there, the cittie of Aphidnes, & his mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of AT HENS beganne to quake for feare, and Meneitheus counselled them to receyue the Tyndarides into the cittie, and to make them good chere, so they would make no warres but vpon Theseus, which was the first that had done them the wrog & injurie: & that to all otherels they should show fauour & good will. And so it fell out. For when the Tyndarides had all in their power to doe as they lifted, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatio, & not to be reckoned for straungers, no more then Hercules was: the which was grafited the Tyndarides, & Aphidnus dyd adopt The Tynds them for his childre, as Pylius had adopted Hercules Moreouer they dyd honour them as if they had bene godds, calling them Anaces. Either bicause they ceased the warres, or for that they orhad bene godds, calling them Anaces. Either bicause they ceased the warres, or for that they or-and called A. dered them selves so well, that their whole armie being lodged within the cittie, there was not any hurte or displeasure done to any persone: but as it became those that have the charge of Cicer.de Nat. any thing, they did carefully watche to preserue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke attentions word Anacos doth fignifie, wherof perchannee it comes that they call the kings Anactes. There are others also who holde opinion that they were called Anaces, bicause of their starres which appeared in the ayer. For the Attican tongue fayeth, Anacas, & Anecathen: where the comon people saye Anothen, that is to saye, aboue. Neuertheles AEthra, Theseu mother, was D caried prisoner to LACED & MON, & from thence to TROIA with Hellen, as some saye: & as Horegion to La. mer him self doth witnesse in his verses, where he speaketh of the women that followed Hellen.

AEthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre, and with her fayer Clymene she whose eyes most men desire.

Yetthere are other who aswell reject these two verses, & mainteine they are not Homers: as also they reproue all that is reported of Munychus. To wit, that Laodice being princly cocciued of him by Demophon, he was brought up secretly by AEthra within TROIA. But Hister the historien in his thirtenth of his histories of ATTICA, maketharecitallfarre cotrary to other, saying: that some hold opinion, that Paris Alexander was slayne in battell by Achilles 3& Patroclus in the countrye of Thess alle, neere to the river of Sperchius, & that his brother Hellor tooke the cit- E tie of TROEZEN, from whence he brought awaye AEthra: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihodde. But AEdoneus king of the Molossians, feafting Hercules one daye as he passed through his realme, descended by chaunce into talke of Theseus of Pirithous, howe they came to steale away his daughter secretly: & after told how they were also punished. Hercules was marueilous force to understand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daungerto dye,& thought with him felf that to make his mone to AEdonew, it would not helpe the matter: he befought him only that he would deliuer Thefeus for his fake. And he graunted him. Thus Thefeus being delivered of this captivitie, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were polon by Her- not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: & at his returne he dyd dedicate to Hercules all the temples, which the cittie had before caused to be built in his owne honour . And where first of ${\bf F}$ all they were called Thefea, he did now furname the all Herculea, excepting foure, as Philochorus writeth. Nowe when he was arrived at ATHENS, he would immediately have comaunded and

ordered

ordered things as he was wont to doe; but he found him felf troubled much with fedition, bicause those who had hated him of long time, had added also to their old canckered hate, a difdain & contept to feare him any more. And the como people now were become so stubborn, mist diffaine that where before they would have done all that they were comanded, & have spoken nothing fem, to the contrarie: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon The few thought at the first to haue vsed force, but he was forced by the faction & contetion of his enemies to let all alone, & in the end, despairing he should ever bring his matters to passe to his desire, he secretly fent away his children into the Ile of EVBOEA, to Elphenor the sonne of Chalcodus. And him self, after he had made many withes & curses against the Athenians, in the village of Gargettus, in a place which for that cause to this daye is called Araterion: (that is to saye, the place B of curlings) hedid take the feas, & wet into the He of Scinos, where he had goods, & thought Thofun fled also to have founde friends. Lycomedes raigned at that time, & was king of the Ile, vnto whom from Aubens The seus made request for some lande, as inteding to dwell there: albeit some saye that he required him to give him ayde against the Athenias. Lycomedes, were it that he douted to entertaine fo great a personage, or that he dyd it to gratifie Menestheus: caried him vp to the high rocks, faining as though he would from thence have shewed him all his countrye round about . But

when he had him there, he threw him downe hedlong from the toppe of the rocks to the bot- Thefeu tome, & put him thus vnfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him felf by melly flame an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one daye after supper as he was wont to doe. There was no mã at that time that dyd followe or pursue his death, but Menestheus quietly remained king of Menestheus C ATHENS: and the children of Thefeus, as private fouldiers followed Elphenor in the warres of the of the short TROIA.But after the death of Menestheus, who died in the iorney to TROIE, Thefeus fonnes Thefeus returned vnto ATHENS, where they recoursed their state. Sithence there were many occasios former. which moued the Athenians to reuerence & honour him as a demy god. For in the battell of Marathon, many thought they fawe his shadow & image in armes, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the Medes (the yere wherein Phedon was gouernour of A-

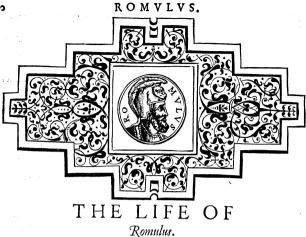
preserue & honour them deuoutely. But it was a harde matter to finde his graue: & if they had founde it, yet had it bene a harder thing to have brought his bones awaye, for the malice of D thosebarbarous people which inhabited that Ile:which were so wild & fierce, that none could trade or liue with them . Notwithstanding Cimon having taken the Iland (as we have written in Cimon tatrade of flue with the beake, & fcra-kith the Ite his life & feeking his graue: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & fcra-kith the Ite his life & feeking his graue: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & fcra-kith the Ite his life & feeking his graue: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & fcra-kith the Ite his life & feeking his graue: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & fcra-kith the Ite his life & feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived his graue: perceived by good happe and the feeking his graue: perceived his graue: perceived his graue; perceived his graue: perceived his graue; ping with her clawes in a place of some prety height. Straightit came into his minde (as by bringer) diuine inspiration) to searche & digge the place: where was founde the tumbe of a great bodye, This was with the head of a speare which was of brasse, & a sword with it. All which things were brought them. to Athens by Cimon in the admirall gallie. The Athenias received them with great ioye, with processions & goodly facrifices, as if Thefeus him self had bene a liue, & had returned into the cittie againe. At this daye all these relicks lye yet in the middest of the cittie, neere to the place These where the younge men doe vie all their exercises of bodye. There is free libertie of accesse for mumbe.

THENS) the nunne Pithia answered the Athenias, who had sent to the oracle of Apollo: that they

fhould bring backe the bones of Thefeus, & putting them infome honorable place, they should

E allflaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & purfued, by any mightier then themfelues) to pray &facrifice in remembraunce of Thefeus: who while he lived was protectour of the oppreffed, & dyd curteoully receive their requests & petitios that prayed to have ayde of him. The greatell & most soleinne sacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight daye of October, in which he returned from CRETA, with the other younge children of ATHENS. Howbeit they doe not leaue to honour him euery eight daye of all other moneths, either bicause he arrived fro Tros-ZEN at ATHENS the eight daye of June, as Diodorus the Cosmographer writeth : or for that they thought that number to be meetelt for him, bicause the bruite ranne he was begotten of Neptune. They doe sacrifice also to Neptune, the eight daye of enery moneth, bicause the nuber of eight is the first cube made of euen number, & the double of the first square: which dotherepresent a stediastnes immoueable, properly attributed to the might of Neptune, whom for this called Appla.

cause we surname Aphalius, and Gaiochus, which by interpretation dothe signifie: the safe inchus. The ende of Thefeus life. keeper,& the stayer of the earthe. B iiii



Diners oninionsabout the name of

HE Historiographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor A for what cause, the great name of the cittie of Rome (the glorie wherof is blowen abroad through all the worlde) was first geuen vnto it. For fome thincke that the Pelafgians, after they had ouercome the greatest parte of the world, and had inhabited and fubdued many nations, in the ende dyd staye them selues in that place where it was newe buylded : and for their great strength and power in armes, they gaue the name of Rome vnto the cittie, as fignifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other laye, that after the taking and destruction of TROYA, there

were certaine TROYANS which fauing them selves from the sworde, tooke suche veffells as they founde at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put with the THYSCANE shore, B where they anckred necre vnto the river of Tyber. There their wives being fo fore sea ficke, that possibly they could not any more endure the boisterous surges of the seasit happened one of them among the rest (the noblest and wifest of the companie) called Roma, to counsaill the other women of her copanions to fet their thippes a fire, which they dydaccordingly. Wherewith their hul bands at the first were maruelously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessitie to plant them selues neere vnto the cittie of PALLANTIVM, they were appealed when they fawe things prosper better then they hoped for, finding the foyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours civill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongest other honours they dyd to requite this lady Roma, they called their cittie after her name, as from whom came the originall cause of the building and foundation thereof. They saye that from C ning of killing thence came this custome continuing yet to this daye at Rome, that the women faluting their kinsefolkes and hus bands doe kisse them in the mouthe, for so dyd these Troyan ladyes to mounte, came please their hulbands, and to winne them againe, after they had lost their fauours, and procufrom the Tro- red their displeasures with burning of their shippes. Other saye that Roma was the daughter of Italus, and of Lucaria, or els of Telephus the sonne of Hercules, and of the wife of AEneas; other faye of Ascanius, the sonne of MEneas, who named the cittie after her name. Other holde opinion that it was Romanus (the sonne of Vly ses and of Circe) that first founded Rome: other will faye that it was Romus the ionne of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from TROYA. Other write that it was one Romis a tyranne of the LATINES, who draue the THVS CANS out of those

The begin-

A partes: which departing out of Thessally went first of all into Lybia, and afterwards from LYDIA into I TALIE. And furthermore, they who thincke that Romulus (as in deede it carieth Fables of Robest likelyhod) was he that gaue the name to the cittie, doe not agree about his auncesters. For mulas by the fome of them write, that he was the sonne of AEneas and of Dexitbea the daughter of Phorbus, and that he was brought into IT ALLE of a litle childe with his brother Remus; and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowen, all other shippes were cast awaye, saming the shippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a staye woon a very plaine euen grounde on the bancke, and bicaule the children beyond all hope were faued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwardes called Roma, Other faye that Roma the daughter of the first Troian ladye was maried vnto Latinus the sonne of Telemachus, by B whom the had Romulus. Other write, that it was AEmilia, the daughter of AEneas and of Lauinia, which was gotten with childe by the god Mars. Other tell a tale of Romulus birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is fayed that there was sometime a king of A L B A named Tarchetun, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the goddes appeared such a like vision: that there rose vp in the harthe of his chymney the forme & facion of amans prinie member, which continued there many dayes. And they saye, that at that time there was in THVSCANE an oracle of Thetis, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king An oracle of Tarehetius suche an aunswer: that he should cause his daughteryet vnmaried to haue carnall Thuse me companie with the straunge thing, for the should be are a sonne, that should be famous for his valliancie, for strength of bodye, and his happie successe wherein he should exceede all men C of his time. Tarchetius tolde this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this straungething: but she disdaining to doe it, sent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainement . But Tarchetius was fo mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse Vesta appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and charged him he should not doe it. Whereupon he dyd commaund them to make him a pece of clothe in the prisone, with promise that they should be maried when they had finished it. These poore may des toyled at it all the line longe daye, but in the night there came other (by Tarchetius commaundement) that dyd vndoe all they had done the daye before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was gott with childe by this straunge thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twynnes: whom Tarchetius gaue vnto one Teratius, with D expresse commaundement he should cast them awaye. This Teratius caryed them vnto the bancke of the river: thither came a sheewoulfe and gave them sucke, and certaine byrdes that brought litle crommes and put them in their mouthes, yntill a fwyncheard perceyuing them, and wondring at the fight, dyd boldly goe to the children, and tooke them awaye with him. These infantes being thus preserved after they were come to mans state, dyd set vpon Tarchetius and slewe him . One Promathion an Italian writer, deliuereth this storie thus. But the reporte that carieth best credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from Diocles Peparethian, (whome Fabius Pictor followeth in many thinges) who was the first that put forth this storie among the GRECIANS, and specially the chiefest poynts of it. Though this matter be somewhat diversely taken, yet in effect the storie is thus. The E right line and bloude of the kings of ALBA descended from AEneas, by succession from the seems fragfather to the sonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethern, Numitor ment of Faand Amulius. They agreed by lotte to make disifion betweene them, whereof the one and of Cato. to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, fyluer, readye money, goodes, and see all Haiuells brought from TROIA . Numitor by his lotte chose the Realme for his portion : A licensaffew, nuels brought from 1 KO1A. Promiter by its lotte choic the Realite for its portion: 67. Indian mulius having all the golde and treafure in his handes, dyd finde him felfe thereby the ftron. ger, and so dyd easely take his Realme from him. And fearing least his brothers daughter kines. might haue children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddeffe Vesta, there to passe her dayes in virginitie, & neuerto be maried: (some call her Rhea, other Syluia, and other Ilia) neuertheles not longe after the was founde with childe, against the Romaliu m F rule and profession of the Vestall Numes. So nothing had faued her from present death, but the petition of Antho the daughter of king Anulius, who intreated her father for her life: yet not-

withstanding she was straightly locked vp, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, least

the should be brought a bedde without Anulius knowledge. In the ende she was deliuered of 4 two fayre boves and marueilous greattwynnes: which made Amulius more affrayed then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throwe them awaye, and destroye them. Some saye that this servants name was Faustulus: other thincke it washe that brought them vp. But who focuer he was, he that had the charge to throwe them awaye, put thenrin a troughe, and went towards the river with intention to throwe them in. Howbeit he found it rifen so highe, and running so swiftely, that he durst not come neere the waters side. & so they being in the troughe, he layed them on the bancke. In the meane time the river swelling still, and overflowing the bancke, in such forte that it came under the troughe: dyd gently lifte vp the troughe, & caried it vnto a great playne, called at this present Cermanum, and in the

Ruminalis.

Acra Laurenna Fauflules wife. that merced she taynnes, The Greeke fareth Laren

ther: & comaunded her in the morning the should goe into the market place, & salute the first manshe mer, & kepe him euer for her friend. Which thing she performed, & the first manshe met was called Tarrutius, a man of great yeres, & one that had gathered together marueilous wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fell acquainted with this Laurentia, & loued her so dearely, that shortely after chassing to dye, he made her heire of all he had: whereof the disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest partevnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported also, that she now being growen to be F famous & of great honour (as thought to be the leman of a god) dyd vanishe away sodainely in the self same place, where the first Laurentia was buried. The place at this day is called Velabru:

olde time Germanum (as I take it) bicause the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, B

Germani. Nowe there was neere vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called Ruminalis, of the name of Romulus as the most parte thought: or els bicause the beasts feeding there were wont to come vnder the same in the extreame heate of the daye, and theredyd Ruminare, that is, chewe their cudde in the shadowe : or perhappes bicause that the two children dyd sucke the teate of the woulfe, which the auncient LATINE scall RVMA, and they at this day doe yet The goddeffe call the goddeffe on whom they crye out to geue their children sucke, RVMILIA. And in their factifices to her they vie no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with honye. To thefe two children lying there in this forte, they write, there came a the woulfe & gaue them fucke:

and a hitwaw also which dyd helpe to norithe and keepe them. These two beastes are thought to be cofecrated to the god Mars, & the LATINES doe fingularly honour & reuerence the hi- C twaw. This dyd much helpe to geue credit to the wordes of the mother, who affirmed the was conceyued of those two children, by the god Mars. Howbeit some thincke she was deceyued inher opinion: for Amulius that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce dyd rauishe her. Other holde opinion that the name of the nurce which gaue the two children fucke with her breaftes, gaue occasion to comon reporte to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the LATINES doe call with one selfe name shee woulfes Lupas, & women that geue their bodyes to all comers: as this nurce the wife of Faustulus (that brought these children home to her house) dyd vie to doe. By her right name she was called Acca Laurentia, vnto whom the ROMAINES doe facrifice yet vnto this daye: and the prieft of

Mars doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the sheading of wine and milke accustomed D at burialls, and the feast it felse is called Larentia. It is true that they honour also another Larentia, for like occasion. The clercke or fexten of Hercules temple, not knowing one daye howe to drive awaye the time as it should seeme: of a certaine livelines and boldnes, dyd desire Laring feat. the god Hercules to playe at dyce with him, with condition that if he dyd winne, Hercules should be bounde to send him some good fortune: and if it were his lucke to lose, then he promifed Hercules he would prouide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a faver gentlewoman to lye with all. The conditions of the playe thus rehearfed, the fexten first cast the dyce for Hercules, and afterwards for him selfe. It fell out that Hercules wanne, and the fexten meaning good fayth, and thincking it very mete to performe the bargaine that him

felfe had made, prepared a good supper, and hyered this Laurentia the courtifan, which was E very fayer, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus having feasted her within the tople. and prepared a bedde readyethere, after supper he locked her into the temple, as if Hercules should have comen in dede & layen with her. And it is faid for trothe, that Hercules came this

A bicaufetheriner being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to paffe by bote to goe to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, Velatura, Other fave, that those romblers & common players, which shewed fundrye games and pastimes to winne the fauour of the people, were wont to couer that passage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the lystes or shewe place where they ronne their horses, beginning their race cuen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum, This is the cause why the seconde Laurentia is honored at Rome, Faustulus, chief neateheard to Annalius, tooke vp the two children and no bodye knewe it, as some saye : or as other reporte, and likest to be true) with the prinitie & knowledge of Numitor, Amulius brother, who fecretly furnished them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is fayed also they were both con-B. neved vnto the cittle of the GABIAN's, where they were brought vp at schole, & taught all o- Romain and ther honest things, which they vieto teache the sonnes & childre of good & noble me. Further Remu, edu-

they fave they were named Remus and Romulus, bigaule they were founde fucking on the teates of a woulfe. Nowe the beawtie of their bodyes dyd presently shewe, beholding onely but their stature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linadge they were: and as they grewe in yeres, their manly corage increased marueloully, so as they became stowte and hardy men, in so much as they were neuer troubled or astonied at any daunger that was offered them.

Howbeit it appeared plainely that Romulus had more wit & understanding then his brother Remus. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either cocerning hunting, or the boundes and limites of their pastures; it was easely decerned in him, that he was C borne to commaund, and not to obeye. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the kings heardmen, they passed not muche for them, saying that they were euen like them selues, and so seemed not to care a Pynne for their anger or displeasure, but wholy gaue them selues to all gentlemanly exercifes and trades, thincking to line idely & at ease without trauell, was neither comly nor conuenient: but to exercise and harden their bodyes with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wronge and violence, shoulde be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very shorte time they grewe to great fame and renowne, And it fell out by chaunce there rose some stryfe and variance betwene the

heardmen of Amulius, and the heardmen of Numitor: in so muche as those that were Numi-

D tors, caryed awaye by force some cattell of the others. Thother side would not be are that, but

pursued fast after, and beating them well fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greatest parte of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat Numitor stormed marueilously, but yethis men seemed to make but litle accoumpt of it, and purposing reuenge, they gathered about them a good companie of vacabonds (that had neither home, nor resting place) and certaine fugitive bonde men which they intifed ill favoredly, incoraging them to steale awaye from their masters. Thus one daye whilest Romulus was busine Romulus a about some sacrifice, (being a deuoute man and religious, and well geuen to serue the goddes, goddy man. and to learne to diuine and tell before hande what things should happen and come to passe)it happened the heard men of Numitor to meete Remus very flenderly accompanied: for they fell E voon him sodainely, blowes were delt rowndely on bothesides, and men were hurte on either parte. Howbeit Numitors men in the ende proceed the stronger parte, and dyd take Remus by Remus taken force, and caryed him straight before Numitor, alledging many complaintes and matters a- of Numitor gainst him. Numitor durst not punish him of his owne authoritie, bicause he feared his brother Amulius, who was fomewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earnestly befought him to doe

him iustice, and not to suffer him being his owne brother, to receyue such iniurye of his men. There was not a man in the cittle of ALBA, but dyd greatly millike the iniurie done to Numitor: and spake it openly, that he was no persone to be offered such a wronge. In so muche as Amulius moued herewith, dyd deliuer Remus into his handes, to punishe him as he thought good. Whereupon Numitor caried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he

F beganne to consider better of him, with admiration howe goodly a younge man he was, howe in height and strength of bodye he passed all the rest of his people; and perceyuing in his face an affured constancie, and bolde stedfast corage that yelded not, nor was abashed for any

fwerableto that he fawe: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by some secret inspiration of

the goddes, which ordaine the depthe of great matters) beganne partely by conjecture, and

partely by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he as ked him what he was, & who was his fa-

ther and mother: speaking to him in a more gentle wise, and with a friendlier countenaunce

then before, to make him the bolder to answer, & be of better hope. Remus boldly aunswered

him. Truely I will not hide the trothe from thee, for thou feemest to me more worthie to be

King, then thy brother Anulius . For thou enquiereft, and hearest first before thou condem-

neft: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill nowe, we thought we

we, bicause my brother and I are two twynnes. But seeing we are nowe falsely accused vnto R

thee, and by malicious furmifed tales are wrongefully brought in daunger of our lives: we in-

tend to discouer our selues, and to declarestraunge things vnto thee, whereof the present pe-

rill we stande nowe in, shall plainely proue the trothe. Men saye that we have bene begotten

miraculoufly, fostered and geuen sucke more straungely, and in our tender yeres were fedd by

birdes and wilde beafts, to whom we were cast out as a praye. For a woulfe gaue vs sucke with

her teates, and an hitwaw (they laye) brought vs litle cromes, and put them in our mouthes, as

we laye voon the bancke by the river, where we were put in a troughe that at this daye remai-

neth whole, bounde about with plates of copper, vpon the which are some letters engraven

halfe worne out, which peraduenture one daye will ferue for some tokens of knowledge (vn-

comparing these wordes, with the age the younge man seemed to be of, and considering well

his face: dyd not reject the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the mat-

ter fo, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding at that time

the was kept very straightly. Faustulus in the meane time hearing that Remus was prisoner, and

suspition of Faustulus manner of comming: and he made him selfe to be the more suspected,

being questioned with about the cause of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his wordes: be-

profitable for our parents) when it shalbe to late, and after we are dead and gone. Numitor then C

of him felf & had bene the children of two of the Kings feruants, to wit of Faustulus and of Laurentia: I fave

that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother Numitor to doe inflice. went to praye Romulus to helpe him, and tolde him then whose children they were : for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darcke speaches, and glawnsingwise, and so muche as

fufficed to put them in some hope . So Faustulus taking the troughe with him at that time, went vnto Numitor in great haste, as marueilously affrayed for the present daunger he thought Remus in. The Kings fouldiers which warded at the gates of the cittie, beganne to gather fome D

fides, they espied his troughe which he caried under his cloke. Nowe amongest the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast awaye, and was present when they were left on the bancke of the river to the mercie of fortune. This manknewe the troughe by & by as well by the facion, as by the letters grauen you it: who mistrusted straight that which was true in deede. So he dyd not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led Faustulus with him to have him confesse the trothe. Faustulus being in this perplexitie, could not kepe all closeypon examination. but dyd ytter out somewhat of the matter, and yet he tolde not all . For he plainely justified the E children were aliue: vet he faved they were farre from the cittie of ALBA, where they kept beaftes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carye it to Ilia, bicaufe she had diuers times prayed him to let her see and feele it: to the ende the might be the more assured of her hope, who promised her that one daye she should see her children againe. So it chaunced vnto Amulius at that time, as it commonly dothe vnto those that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to fend one prefently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friende of his brother Numitors) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This persone being come to Numitors house. founde him ready to embrace Remus, who fell to be witnes thereof, and of the good happe discouered vnto Numitor: whereupon he perswaded him howe to set vpon his brother, and to F dispatchethe matter with spede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their parte. On thother side also the matter gaue them no leisure to deferre their enterprise, although they had bene

A willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowen abroade. So Romulus then got straight a power, and drewe very neere the cittie, and many of the citizens of ALBA went out to loyne with him, who either feared or hated Amulius. Nowe Romulus power which he brought (ouer and besides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his captaine who marched before his bande, carying litle bundells of graffe or of boughes tyed to the ende of their poles. The LATINES call these bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this daye in an armie of the Romaines, the fouldiers which are all under one enfigne, are called Manipulares. So Remus sturring up those that were Manipulares which are anyther one entire the cittle, and Romalus bringing in men from without, the tyranne Amulius fell in fuche called,

feare and agonie, that without prouiding any thing for his fafety, they came vpon him sodain-Bly in his palace, and flewehim. Thus you hearehowe neere Fabius Pictor and Diocles Pepare-Amului thian doe agree in reciting the storie, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the cittie of ROME: howbeit there are that thincke they are all but fables & tales deuised of pleasure. But me thincks for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or discredited, if wewillconfider fortunes straunge effects vpon times, and of the greatnes also of the Romaine empire:which had neuer atchieued to her present possessed power & authoritie, if the goddes had not fro the beginning bene workers of the same, & if there had not also bene some strauge

cause, and wonderfull soundation. Anulius being nowesslayne as before, & after that all things were appealed, and reduced to good order againe: Remus and Romulus would not dwell in the cittie of ALBA, being no lordes thereof, nor also would be lords of it, so long as their grandfa-C ther by the mothers fide was aliue. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duety they ought vnto their mother: they purposed to goe & build The building

a cittle in those places where they had bene first brought vp, for this was the honestest culler of Rome. they could pretend for their departing from A LBA. Peraduenture they were enforced foto doe whether they wouldornot, for the great number of banished men, and fugitiue slaues which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had bene vtterly lost and cast away, if they had bene once discharged by them. Therfore it was of necessitie that they should dwell by them selues, separated in some place, to kepe this number together and in some order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the cittie of ALBA would not suffer such banished persones and runnagates to be mingled amongest them, nor would receaue them into their D cittie to be free among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, bicause they tooke awaye women by force: and so not of insolencie, but of necessitie, when they sounde no man that

would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they dyd greately honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be fetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues and afflicted persones, which they called the Assessment reast temple of the god Assessment was fanctuarie and safety for all sortes of people that vie for all barepaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not nifed perdeliuer any bonde man to his master, nordetter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the instice that fones and fuwas fled thither for fuccor, bicause the oracle of Apollo the Delphian had expressely enioned them to graunte fanctuary to all those that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in E shorte space their cittle slorished, & was repleanished, where at the first foundation of it, they

faye there was not aboue one thousand houses, as more at large hereafter shalbe declared. When they came nowe to the building of their cittle, Romulus & Remus the two brethern fell fodainely at a strife together about the place where the cittie should be builded . For Romulus Snife bearing built Rome, which is called four fquare, and would needes it should remaine in the place mondia and which he had chosen . Remus his brother chose another place very strong of situation, vpon Remus. mounte Auentine, which was called after his name Remonium, and nowe is called Rignarium. Remonium. Notwithstanding, in the ende they agreed between them selues this controuersie should be Rignarium; decided, by the flying of birds, which doe geue a happy diuination of things to come. So being fett in divers places by them selves to make observation, some saye that there appeared vnto

F Remus fixe, and to Romulus twelve vulters. Other faye that Remus truely fawe fixe, and Romulus feigned from the beginning that he sawe twise as many: but when Remus came to him, then thereappeared twelue in deede vnto Romulus, and this is the cause why the Romaines at this

The Romains daye in their distinations and foothefayings of the flying of birds, doe marueloufly observe the A flying of the vulters. It is true which the historiographet Herodolus Ponticus writeth that Hercules reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to beginne any enterprise. For it is the soule of the worlde that dothe least hurte, and neuer marreth nor destroyeth any thing that man dothe fowe, plante, or fet: confidering that she feedeth on carion only, and dothe neuer hutte nor kill any liuing thing. Also she dothe not praye vpon dead sowle, for the likenes that is betwene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the fakers doe murther, kill, and eate those which are of their owne kynde. And yet as Æschylus sayeth,

Needes must that forvle accompted be most vile, Most rauening, and full of filthie minde, Which doth him felf continually defile, by praying still upon his propre kinde.

Moreouer, other birdes are allwayes (as a man would faye) before our eyes, and doe daylie

shewe them selues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare byrde, and hardely to be seene, and men doe not easely finde their ayeries. Which hathe genen some occasion to holde a false opinion, that the vulters are passagers, and come into these partes out of straunge countryes. The prognosticators also thincke, that such e things which are not ordinarie, and but seldome feene, be not naturall, but miraculously sent by the goddes to prognosticate something. When Remus knewe howe his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when Romulus had cast a dytche, as it were for the wall about his cittie, Remus dyd not only scorneit, but hindered also his worke, and in the ende for a mockerie lept ouer his wall. To conclude, he C dyd fo much, that at the last he was slayne there by Romulus owne handes as some saye: or as

they flewe Faustulus, and Plistinus also his brother, who had holpen himto bring vp Romulus. Howfoeuer the matter fell our, this Celer absented him felse from Rome, and went into the countrye of THVSCANE. And they faye, that men which are quicke, and readye vpon a socelate where daine, tooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called Celeres. As amongest other, for it alled. Quintus Metellus, after the death of his father, having in very fewe dayes made the people of Rame to see a combate of sensers (called Gladiatores) fighting at the sharpe, they surnamed him Celer, for that the Romaines marueiled howe he could prepare his things in so shorte a time . Furthermore, Romulus having nowe buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp D Romolius lay- (called foster fathers) in the place they call Remonia: beganne then to buyld and laye the

whole compasse of their walle, which they call in Latine Pomerium, by shortning of the sylrhy sealled lables, for post murum: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they dyd take of the ploughe share, and drawe the ploughe, with leaving a certain space of earthe vnbroken vp : whereupon the Romaines thincke all the compasse of their walles holy and facred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and fanctified, they F would have had a conscience through them to have brought in, or caried out of the cittie, any things necessarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they be-

other holde opinion, by the handes of one of his men which was called Celer. In this fight

eshive fain. foundation of his cittie, sending for men out of Thyscans, who dydname and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to observe there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy mysterie. And first of all they made a rounde dytche in the place called at this daye Comitium, into which they dyd cast their chiefest and best things, which men vselawfully for good, and naturally as most necessarie. After that they dyd throwe also into it, a litle of the earthe, from whence cuery man came, and mingled these all together. This dytche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine Mundus, euen the felfe fame

name the Latines call the Vniuerfall. About this dytche they dyd trace the compasse of the cittie they woulde buylde, euen as one would drawe a circle about a center. This done, the E founder of the cittie taketh a plough, to which he fastened a culter or ploughe share of brasse, and so yoked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he himselse holding the ploughe dyd make rounde about the compasse of the cittie a deepe surrowe. Those which followed him , had the charge to throwe the turnes of earthe inward into the cittie, which the ploughe share raised vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The surrowe thus cast vp was the

twentie of Aprill: bicause the Romaines doe yet keepe that daye holy daye, and call it the The field of feaft of the nativitie of their countrye. On which daye they dyd not in olde time facrifice any of Rome feat thing that had life, as esteeming that daye (which was the nativitie of their cittie) to be most mete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloude. Notwithstanding before Rome was buylded, they had another feast called the sheapeheards or heardmens holy daye, which they dyd celebrate vpon the fame daye, and called it Palilia. Nowe at The feet this daye the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrarie to the Palita

GRECIANS: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the daye on which Romulus founded his cittie, was affuredly that which the GRECIANS call Triacada: that is to fave, the thirtie daye. On which there was seene an eclypse of the moone, which they suppose was ob- An eclopse of ferued by the Poet Antimachus (borne in the cittie of T to s)in the thirtenth yere of the fixt the moone at of the laying of Olympiade. Likewise in the time of Mareus Varro (as a man learned, and one that had redde as the simulation of the simula

much of auncient stories as any Romaine) there was a friend of his called Tarutius, a great of Rome. philosopher and mathematician. Who being genen to the calculation of aftronomie for the Vario a phiphilotopher and matternation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: it dyd fall out that Varro Tamina a gaue him this question, to searche out what hower and daye the nativitie of Romulus was, mathematiwho gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the resolutions of certaine geometricall questions. For they saye, that by the selfe same science, one maye tell before of things The hower of to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his nativitie: a man natiand howe one maye tell also the hower of his nativitie, when by accidents they knowe what white maye be calculated by hath happened to him all his life. Tarutius dyd the question that Varro gaue him. And hauing his accidents. throughely considered the aduentures, dedes, and gestes of Romulus, howe long he liued, and

howehe dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he dyd boldly judge for a certaintie, that he was conceyued in his mothers wombe, in the first yere of the seconde Olympiade, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the Æ GYPTIAN scall Cheat, and now Romain napiade, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the 25 of in which hower there was a lated by Tewhole eclypse of the sunne: And that he was borne into the worlde, the one and twenteth of rustus. the moneth of Thoth, which is the moneth of September, about the riling of the funne. And An scoppe of that Rome was begonne by him on the ninth daye of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS when Rome

D call Pharmuthi, and aunswereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the lue was conclocke in the morning. For they will faye that a cittle hathe his reuolution and his time of continuaunce appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knewe by the fituation of the wombe. starres, the daye of her beginning and foundation. These things and suche other like, peraduenture will please the readers better, for their straungenes and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Nowe after he had founded his cittie, he first and foremost dyd divide in two copanies, all those that were of age to carie armour. In every one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, bicause they were forted of the chosen men that were pyckt out amongest all me

the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called Populus, which fignifieth the people. E After this, he made a hundred counsellers of the best and honestest men of the cittie, which he Remules in called Patricians: and the whole company of them together he called Senatus, as one would finnesh a cafave, the counfell of the auncients. So they were called Patricians, as some will saye, the counWhat the faill of the fathers lawfull children, which fewe of the first inhabitants could shewe. It mave be, Partitions some will saye this name was geuen them of Patrocinium, as growing of the protection they & Senate had by the fanctuarie of their cittie, which worde they vie at this daye in the felfe fame fignification: as one that followed Enander into ITALIB, was called Patron, bicause he was pittefull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and so got him selfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But methinckes it were more like the trothe to fave, that Romulus dyd call them fo, bi-

cause he thought the chiefest men should have a fatherly care of the meaner sorte: conside-F ring also it was to teache the meaner force that they should not feare th'authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should vie their fa-

uour and good will, by taking them as their fathers . For even at this present, straungers call

a marueilous great loue and good wil lamong them, making the one much beholding to theo-

ther, by many mutuall curtefies and pleasures; for the Patrons dyd helpe the clients to their

matters in hande. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled them felues to their patrons,

not onely in outwarde honour and reuerence towardes them, but otherwise dyd helpe them

with money to marrie and aduaunce their daughters, or els to paye their dettes and credit, if

they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes against his client: nor yet the client to witnesse against his patron. So they

increased, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendshippe together, sa-

rewarde of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we have fpoken furficietly. More-

nature warlike, and geuen to prophecies and aunswers of the goddes, foretolde that his cittie

great raudhement of women. There are somewhich lave it vpon Romulus, who being then of C.

right, defended their causes in indgement, dydgeue vnto them counsaill, and dyd take all their B

Panes Con- those of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall Romaines call them, Patres Con- A

feripti, which is a name of fatherhed and dignitie without enuie. It is true that at the beginning they were only called Patres, but fithence, bicause they were many joyned vnto the first, they have bene named Patres Conferipti, as a manshould saye, fathers of recorde together: which is the honorablest name he could have deuised to make a difference betweet the Se-

natours, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the chiefer cittizens, and the baser people, by calling the better forte Patroni, as muche to fave, as defenders: and the meaner forte Clientes, as you would fave, followers, or men protected. This dyd breede

Demani Clientes

The some of using afterwards they thought it a great shame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take to take gifts of some men. Ouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the cittle was layed, Fabius writeth, there was a

Sabynes wo.

Rompelies crafte about the ranishe-

should become very great and mightie, so as he rayled it by warres, and increased it by armes: and he fought out this culler to doe mischief, and to make warre vpon the Sabynes, To proue this true, some saye he caused certaine of their maydes by force to be taken awaye, but not past thirtie in number, as one that rather fought cause of warres, then dyd it for neede of mariages: which methinckes was not likely to be true, but rather I judge the contrarie. For feeing his cittie was incontinently repleanished with people of all sortes, whereof there were very fewe that had wives, and that they were men gathered out of all countryes, and the most parte of them poore and needye, so as their neighbours disdayned them much, and dyd not looke they would longe dwell together: Romulus hoping by this violent taking of their maydes and rauishing D them, to have an entrie into alliance with the SABYNES, and to entife them further to joyne with them in mariage, if they dyd gentely intreate these wives they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their maydes, and rauishing of them in suche a sorte. First he made it to be commonly bruited abroade in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, Confus: either bicause he was a god of counfaill, wherupon the ROMAINES at this daye in their tongue call Confilium, which we call counauguer. Confue a god. fell: and the chief magistrates of their cittie Confules, as we saye counsellers. Other saye it was Regiune the the altar of the god Neptune, surnamed the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this daye within the great liftes of the cittie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vie the running games of their horse race. Other saye bicause counsell euer must be kept close and secret, E they had good reason to kepe the altar of this god Consus hidden in the grounde. Nowe other write when it was opened, Romulus made a facrifice of wonderfullioye, and afterwardes proclaymed it openly in divers places, that at suche a daye there should be common playes in Rome, and a solemne feast kept of the god Consus, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He him selfe was set in the chiefest seate of the showe place, apparelled faver in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his cittie about him. And there having purposed this rauishement you have heard of, he had geuen the figne before: that the fame should beginne, when he should rife vp and folde a playte of his gowne, and vnfolde the fame againe. Hereupon his men stoode attending The execution with their fwordes who so sone as they perceyned the signe was genen, with their swordes F drawen in hande, and with great showtes and cryes ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the SABYNES to take them awaye and raufhe them, and fuffered the men to ronne

awaye, without doing them any hurte or violence. So some saye, there were but thirtie rauls The member fhed, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of Rome, Howbeit Va; of the Sabne lerius Antias writeth, that there were fine hundred and seuen and twentie; and Inha, fixe hun Red. dred foure fcore and three. In the which is fingularly to be noted for the commendation of Ros mulus, that he him felfe dyd take then but onely one of the maydes, named Herfilia: that after, Herfilia Rowardes was the only cause & mediation of peace betweet the SABYNES and the ROMAINES, mulusife. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the SABYNES any hurte, nor to fatisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly vndertaken this rausshement: but to joyne two peoples together, with the straightest bondes that could be between men. This Hersilia as some fave, was maried vnto one Hostilius, the noblest man at that time amongest the R. O MAINES OF B as others write, vnto Romulus him felfe, which had two children by her . The first was a daugh?

ter, and her name was Prima, bicause the was the first: the other was a sonne, whom he named Remain fift Aullius, bicaufe of the multitude of people he had affembled together in his cittie, and afters led Prima wardes he was furnamed Abillim. Thus Zenodotus the TROEZENIAN writeth, wherein note His forme was withstanding there be divers that doecontrarie him . Among those which ravished then the daughters of the SABYNES, it is fayed there were founde certaine meane men carying away. a marueilous passing fayer one. These met by chaunce on the waye, certaine of the chief of the citrie, who would have taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganneto crye they caried hervnto Talassius, who was a younge man marueilously well beloued of enery bodye. Which when the others understoode, they were exceeding glad, and C they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainely turned backe at gaine, and dyd accompanie them for Talassius sake, crying out a lowde, and often on his name; From whence the custome came, which to this daye the ROMAINES fynge at their mariages, Talasius, like as the GRECIANS synge Hymeneus. For it is fayed he was compted very The cause happie that he met with this woman. But Sextius Sylla a CARTHAG INIAN borne, a man very why the Rowile, and well learned, tolde me once it was the crye and figne which Romulus gaue to his men; fines the to beginne the rauithement: whereupon those which carried them awaye, went crying this name of Ta-

worde Talasius, and that from thence the custome hathe continued, that they singe it yet at lassius in matheir mariages. Neuertheles the most parte of authors, specially Inba, thinekes aris a warning to remember the newe maried women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the GR Er D CIANS call Talassa, the Italian words at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if Talassa. it betrue the ROMAINES vied this terme of Talafia, as we of GRECE doe vie we might by coniecture yeld another reason for it, which thould carie a better likelyhoode and proofe. For when the SABYNES after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINES, they put in an article infauour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bounde to serue their husbands in any other worke, but in spinning of wolle. Euer fince this custome hathe growers, that those which genetheir daughters in mariage, and those who leade the bryde, and such as Marinnella are present at the wedding , speake in sporte to the news maried wife, laughing, Talastins : in ceremonic at token that they doe not leade the bryde for any other worke or feruice, but to fpinne wolle. Thereof this hathe benethe vieto this daye, that the bryde dothe not of her lefte come ouer

E the threshold of her husbands dore, but she is hoyled pretely into the house; bicause the Sz-BY NEWOMEN at that time were folift vp,&caried away by force. They faye also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wives heare, with the Irô head of a laueling, came vp then likewife: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the fwords poynte; as we have written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and showe the causes of the Romaines facions and customes. This rauilhement was put in execution about the eightenth daye of the moneth then called Sextilia, Similar and nowe named August: on which dayethey yet celebrate the feast they call Confaira. Nowe the SABYNES were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in willinger, and not within inclosed walles; being a thing fit for their noble courages that dyd

F feare working, and as those who were descended from the LACED & MONEANS. Neverreare norming, and as those who were uncommended in the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the step with the ledges & hostages, that were very the ledges & hostages, the ledges & hostages & ho

would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as bothe reason and lawe would require. To thend that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Whereunto Romulus made aunswer, he could not restore the maydes which his people had taken awaye and maried: but most friendly he prayed the SA-BYNES to be contented with their alliance. This aunswer being returned, and not liked, whilest the princes and communaltie of the SABYNES were occupied in confultation, and about Aconting of the arming of them selves: Acron king of the Ceninenses (a man exceeding couragious and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning miltrufted the ouer bolde & flowte enterprises that Romulus was likely to attempt, conidering the late rauishment of the Sabynes B daughters, and howe he was alreadye greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somwhat vntolerable, if he were not chafficed and brought lower) first beganne to inuade him with a puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him . Romalus on thother side pre-

pared also, and went forth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to eache other, & prayed that they two might fight man to man amiddest their armies, & neither of theirs to sturre a foote. Bothe of them accepted of it, and Romulus making his prayer vnto Iupiter, dyd promife, and made a vowe: that if he dyd geue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vp to him the armour of his enemie, which he dyd. For first he slew Acron in the field, & afterwards gaue battell to his men, & ouerthrew them also. Lastely he tooke his cittie, where he did no hurte nor yet displeasure to any, C

fauing that he dyd commaude them to pull downe their houses, & destroy them, and to goe dwell with him at Rome: where they should have the selfe same rightes & priviledges which the first inhabitants did enjoye. There was nothing more enlarged the cittle of Rome, then this manner of pollicie, to ioyne allwayes vnto it those the had ouercome & vancquished. Romulus now to discharge his vowe, & in suche sorte that his offering might be acceptable to Iupiter, and pleafaunt to his cittizens to beholde: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The fame he trimmed & dyd fet forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayer order, the armour and weapons of king Acron. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting vpon his long bushe of heare, a garland of lawrell, layed the young oke vpon his right shoulder, and D

he first marched before towards his cittie, & songe a royall songe of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the cittie in order of battell; where his cittizens receyued him in all paffing wife & triumphe. This noble & stately entriceuer fince hath genen them minds in such forte, & in statelier wife to make their triumphe. Theosfering of this triumphe was dedicated Impiter Fere-

Three Roumphed in

of Michael riumphe a foote. After this ouerthrowe & taking of the CENINENSES, the inhabitants of the citties of Fidena, Crustumerium, & Antemna, rose alltogether against the Romaines,

to Iupiter surnamed Feretrian: bicause the Latine worde Ferire, signifieth to hurt & kill: & the prayer Romulus had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such spoyles are called in Latine, Spolia opima: therefore fayeth Varro, that opes fignific riches. How beit me thinckes it were more likely to faye, that they were so named of this worde Opus, which betokeneth a dede, bicause he must needes be the chief of the armie, that hath slayne with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, & that must offer the spoyles called Spolia opima, as you would saye, his prin- E cipal spoyles & dedes. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines onely: of the obtained fire which Romulus was the first, who slew Acron, king of the CENINENSES. Cornelius Cossus was the second, who killed Tolumnius, the generall of the THV SCANS. Clodius Marcellus was the thirde, Trifes the . who flewe Britomartus, king of the GAVLES, with his owne hands. And for the two laft, coffus & Marcellus, they made their entrie into the cittie, carying their triumphes vpo charets triumphant: but Romalus dyd not so. Therefore in this poynt Dionysius the historiographer hath er-Falcing Parred, writing that Romulus dyd enter into Rome vpon a charret triuphant. For it was Tarquinius The cinics of Prise the sonne of Demaratus, who first dyd set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent The cinical of Thome. Other holde opinion it was Valerius Publicola, who was the first that euerentred ypon formerium, or triumphant charret. Concerning Romulus, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying his F

whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing the selues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrowe: & left their citties to the spoyle of Romulus, their lands to be general where he thought good, and them selues to be caried to Rome. Romulau then dyd geue their lands among his cittizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maydens that they had taken away & rauilhed. For he was conteted that the fathers of them should kepe full their lads. By & by the other SABY NES stomaking thereat, did chuse them a general called

Taina, & fo went with a puysant army toward the cittie of Rome, whereunto to approache at The Salpane that time it was very harde, the castell or keepe of their cittie being seated, where at this day the lid by Ta-Capitoll standerh, within which there was a great garrison, whereof Tarpeius was captaine, & buffing the not his daughter Tarpeia, as some will saye, who set out Romulus as a soole. But Tarpeia the ca-B praines daughter, for the defire the had to have all the golde bracelets which they dyd weareabout their armes, folde the forte to the SABYNES, and asked for reward of her treason, all they Tampoid be-

did weare on their left armes. Tatius promised them vnto her: & the opened them a gate in the mounts the night, by the which she did let all the SABYNES into the castell. Antigonus then was not alone, letteth in the who fayed, he loued those which did betraye, & hated the that had betrayed: noryet Cafar Au- Sabnes. guitus, who told Rymitalees the THRACIAN, that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it Antigenus guitus, who told tymitates the 1 HRACIAN, that he loued treaton, but he hard in neede of them not capable is a comon affection which we beare to wicked perfors, whileft we fland in neede of them not capable works. vnlike for all the world to those which have nede of the gall & poyson of venemous beafts. For of mayout when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to serve their turne: but after their turne is served, & fi finite.

they have that they fought, they hate the crueltie of fuch beafts. So played Tatius at that time. C For when he was gotten into the castell, he comanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promise he had made to Tarpeia) they should not sticke to geue her all they weare on their left armes,& to doe as he did:who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelet which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sorte, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets & rargets, she dyed as pressed to deathe under were the reher burden. Neuertheles Tarpeins self was atteinted, & condenedalso of treason, by Romalus order, as Juba fayeth, it is fet forth by Sulpitius Galba. They that write nowe otherwise of Tarpeia, Tapeia preffaying the was the daughter of Tattus, generall of the SABYNES, & was forced by Romulus to lie fed to deathe.

with him, & how she was punished in this forte by her own father after her said treason comitted:those I saye, amogest whom Antigonus is one, are not to be credited. And the poet Simplus D also dothe dote most , who sayeth Tarpeia solde the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom the was in loue: as in these verses dothe appeare.

Tarpera, that mayde of foolishe mynde. which nere unto the Capitoll did duvell (In feruent flames, of beastly love beblynde, wherewith the king of Gaules did make her fuvell)

Cauld Stately ROME Surprised for to be by enemies, as every man maye fee. And so throughe hope of his fidelitie A troot. betrayed her fyre, with all his familie. And alitle after, in speaking of the manner of her deathe, he sayeth also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those worthie men of might threvu her not downe into the waves of Po, But from their armes, where with they wonte to fight they cast their shields upon her body so, That she surprest with such an heavy waight.

(Ah wooefull mayde) to death wwas (moothred straight. This may den therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwardes

Tarpeius after her name, which continued untill Tarquinius the King dyd dedicate all the place to Iupiter: for then they caryed her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles F itbe that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call Rupes Tarpeia, from the toppe whereof they were wonte in olde time to throwe downe hedlong all wicked offenders. When the SABYNES now had gotten this holde, Romalius being exceeding wrathe, fent them

à defiaunce, and bad them battell if they durft. Tatios straight refused not, condering if by mif- A chaunce they were distressed, they had a sure refuge to retire vnto. The place betweene the two armies where the fight should be, was all round about enuironed with litle hilles, So as it The place of was playne, the fight could not be but sharpe and daungerous, for the discomodiousness of the fight bethe fight beplace, were was neither grounde for any to stye, nor yet any space for any longe chase, it was lu e Taine. of so small a compasse. Nowe it fortuned by chaunce, the river of Tyber had ouerstowen the banckes a fewe dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would have

judged, bicause the grounde was so plaine, and was even where the great market place of

Rome standeth at this daye. They could discerne nothing thereof by the eye, bicause the vpper

parte of it was crusted, whereby it was the more readye for them to venter vpon, and the

worse to get out, for that it dyd syncke vnderneathe . So the SABYNES had gone vpon it, had B Sabyne. not Curtius daunger bene, which by good fortune stayed them . He was one of the noblest and valliantest men of the SABINES, who being mounted upon a courser, went on a good waye before the armie. This courfer entring vpon the crusted mudde, and sincking with all, beganne to plonge and struggle in the myer: whereat Curtius proued a while with the spurre to sturre

him, and gethim out, but in the ende feeing it would not be he left his backe, and faued him curius late. felfe. The same very place to this dave is called after his name, Lacus Curtius. The SABYNES The Sabynes then scaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight dyd growe very cruell, and endured so a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one side then to the other. There dyed in a small space a great number of men, amongest whom Hostilius was one, who as they saye was the husband of Hersilia, and grandfather to Hostilius that was king of Romai- C fla) ne. NES after Numa Pompilius . Afterwardes there were (as we maye thincke) many other en-

counters and battell's betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the last aboue all the rest, wherein Romulus had so fore a blowe on his head with a stone, that he was almost felled to the grounde, in so much as he was driven to retire a litle out of the battell. Vpon which with a flone.

occasion the Romaine s gaue backealso, and drue towardes mount Palatine, being driven out of the playne by force . Romulus beganne nowe to recouer of the blowe he had received.

and so returned to gene a newe onset, and cryed out all he might to his souldiers to tarye, and there their face agains to their enemie. But for all his lowde crying, they left no flying Itill for life, and there was not one that durft returne againe. Whereupon Romalus lyfting vp his handes ffraight to heaven, dyd most feruently praye vnto tupiter, that it would please him D

to staye the flying of his people, and not suffer the ROMAINES glotie thus to fall to their vtter destruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He hadno sonerended this prayer. but divers of his men that fled, beganne to beathamed to flye before their King, and a fodaine boldnes came upon them, and their feare therewithall vanished awaye. The place they first stayed in was, where as nowe is the temple of Impiter Stator, which is as much to saye, as Impiter the stayer. Afterwardes gathering them selves together againe, they repulsed the Sa-BYNES even to the place they call nowe Regia, and vnto the temple of the goddeffe Vesta: where bothe the battels being prepared to geue a newe charge, there dyd fall out before A wonderfull them, a straunge and an vncredible thing to see, which stayed them they fought not. For of baldnes of wo- the SABYNE women whom the ROMAINES had ramified flome ranne of the one fide other. of the other fide of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, and showtes, stepping betweene their weapons, and among the flayne bodyes on the grounde, in suche forte that they feemed out of their wittes, and caried as it were with some spirites. In this manner they went to finde out their fathers and their husbands, some carying their fucking babes in their armes, other hauing their heare lose about their eyes, and all of them calling, now eypon the SABYNES, nowe vpon the Romaines, with the genteleft names that could be deuised: which dyd melt the hartes of bothe parties in suche forte, that they game backe a litle, and made them place Betweene bothe the battells. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one playnely hearde. There was not a manthere but it pittied him, aswell to see them in that pittiefull case, as to heare the lamentable wordes they spake : adding to their most humble petitions and requestes that could be any waye imagined, passing wife persuasions and reasons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (fayed they) or what displeasure haue we done to

ROMVLVS. A you, that we should deserve such a heape of enills, as we have already suffered, and yet you. The worder of you, that we inould describe in the art is a property of the state of nakevsocamine. But our efathers, our ehrethern, our emothers and friends haue left vs with romen rue them so longs that processe of time, and the straightest bonds of the worlde, haue tyed vs. nowe both armies. fo faft to them, whom mortally before we hated: that we are constrayined now to be slighted thus, to fee them fight, yea and to lament & dye with them, who before vniustly tookevs from you. For then you came not to oure refcue when we were virgines vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly affaulted vs , poore fowles: but nowe ye come to take the wites from their husbands, & the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thincke to geue vs nowe dothe grieue vs more, then the forfaking of vs was forowfull to vs then. B Suche is the loue they have borne vnto vs, and fuche is the kyndenes we beare againe to them. Nowe, if ye dyd fight for any other cause then for vs, yet were it reason ye should let fall your armes for our efakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in lawe, cofins & brothers in lawe)euen from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this warre beganne for vs, we hartely befeeche you then that you will receyne vs with your fonnes in lawe, and your fonnes by them, and that you will restore vnto vs oure fathers, oure brethern, oure kinfefolkes and friends, without fpoyling vs of our e husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs woefull captiues and prisoners in oure mindes. These requestes and per-

furations by Herfilia, and other the SABYNE women being heard, bothe the armies stayed, and helde euerie bodie his hand, and straight the two generalles imparled together. During which Romalus and helde euerie bodie his hand, and itraight the two generalies imparted together. During which the parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethern. They parle regbrought meate and drincke for them that would eate. They dressed up the woundes of those ther. that were hurte. They caried them home with them to their houses. They shewed them howe they were mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see howe greately they were accompted of and efteemed: yea howe with a wedlocke lone and reputation they were hono-

red. So in the end peace was concluded between them, wherein it was articled, that the SA- Peace be-BYNE women which would remaine with their husbands should targe still, and be exempted maines and from all worke or feruice (as about recited) saue only spinning of wolle. And that the SABYNES Subynes, & Romaines should dwell together in the cittie, which should be called Roma, after Romulus name: & the inhabitants should be called Quirites, after the name of the cittle of Tatius king of Quirites why D the SABYNES, &that they should reigne & gouerne together by a comon consent. The place for called.

where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this daye Comitium: bicause that Coire, in the comitium. Latine tongue fignifieth to affemble. So the cittie being augmented by the one halfe, they dyd choose of the Sabynes another hundred new Patricians, ynto the first hundred of the Ko-MAINES that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made of fixe thousand footemen, & The Romaine fix hundred horsemen. After they divided their inhabitats into three Tribes, wherof those that legion, 6000. came of Romulus, were called Ramnenses after his name: those that came of Tatius were called footners, Tatienses after his name; and those that were of the third stocke, were called Lucerenses, as from The Romaine the Latine word Lucus, called with vs a groue in English, bicause thither great number of people of all fortes dyd gather, which afterwards were made citizens of Rome. The very worde of

E Tribus (which fignifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) dothe witneffe this beginning of Rome from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the ROMAINES call those at this daye, their Tribunes, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But enery one of these principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which some thincke were called after the names of the thirtie S $\stackrel{\iota}{\text{AB}}$ $_{Y}$ $_{N}$ $_{B}$ women that were rauished: but that semeth falle, bicause many of them cary the names of the places they came fro. Howbeit at that time many things were stablished &ordeined in honour of women: as to gene them place, the vpper hande in meeting them, the vpper hand in streets: to speake no fowle or dishonest word before them, no man to vnraye to women himselfe, or shew naked before them: that they should not be called before criminall judges sitting vpo homicides & murderers: that their children should we are about their necks a kind of a

F Inell called Bulla, facioned in maner like these water bubbles that rise vp6 the water when it beginneth to raine: & that their gownes should be garded with purple. Now the two Kings dyd not straight coferre together fo sone as any occasion of busines was offered them, but either of

34 ROMVLVS. them dyd first counsell alone with his hundred Senatours, and afterwards they dyd all assemble together. Tatius dwelt in the place where nowe is the temple of Iuno Moneta: Romulus in the Remains Page place called at this present, the stayers of the sayer backe, then the descetos mount Palatine, as they goe to the showe place or great listes, where they saye was somtime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make fo great accompt. Romulus one daye defirous to proue his strength, threwe (as it is fayed)a darte from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The staffe whereof was of a cornell tree: & the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground being a lustye fatte soyle, that no man could pul it out, although many proued it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so nourishe the ende of this staffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to spread braunches : so that in time it became a fayer great cornell tree, which the fucceffours of Romulus dyd inclose with a walle, & dyd kepe and worthippe it as a very holy B thing. If by chaunce any went to fee it, and found it looked not freshe and grene, but like a tree withered and dryed awaye for lacke of moysture: he went awaye straight as one affrayed, crying to all he met (& they with him went crying still) in euery place, water, water, as it had bene to haue quenched a fyre. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with veffels of water, to water and moystethe tree. In the time of Caius Casar, who caused the stayers about it to be re-

payred: they saye the labourers rayling the place, and digging about this cornell tree, dyd by

negligence hurte the rootes of the same in suche sorte, as afterwardes it dryed vp altogether. The Sabynes Nowe the SABYNES receiued the moneths after the manner of the Romaines, whereof we rsted the Ro- haue written sufficiently in the life of Numa. Romulus againe vsed the SABYNES sheldes: and both he and his people chaunged the facion of their armour and weapons they vsed. For the C ROMAINES before dvd carre litle sheldes after the facion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy dayes and facrifices, they kept them both etogether, and dyd not take awaye any of them, which either the one or the other people observed before, but they added thereunto Feath, Ma. fome other newe. As that which they call Matronalia, which was inflituted in honour of the tronalia, Car- women, bicause by their meanes peace was cocluded. And that also of Carmentalia, in the honour of Carmenta, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of fate or destinie, bicause she hathe rule & power ouer the natiuities of men, by reason whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much. Other faye the was the wife of Enander the Arcadian, who being a prophetesse inspired by the god Phabus, gaue the oracles in verse, wherupo she was surnamed Carmenta, bicause that Carmina in Latine fignifie verses: for it is of certaintie that her proper D name was Nicostrata. Howbeit there are some which geue another manner of derivation and interpretation of this worde Carmenta, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would faye, Carens mente: which fignifieth wanting wit, for the very furie that taketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirite. For in Latine Carere, betokeneth to lacke: and Mens, siguifieth wit. As for the feast of Palilia, we hauctolde of it before: but the feast of Lupercalia, considering the time of celebrating thereof, it seemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the olde time on which they did celebrate the same, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feast, is as much to saye, as the feast of woulues. Wherefore it seemeth to be a feast of great antiquitie, and instituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with E Enader: albeit the name of wouldes is as comon to the females, as the males, & so it might perhappes be called, by reason of the woulfe that brought vp Romalus. For we see those which ronne vp & down the cittie that daye, & they call Luperci, doe beginne their course in the very place where they faye Romulus was cast out. Howbest many things are done, whereof the originall cause were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of theyere are killed, then they bring two young boyes, noble mens fonnes, whose foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloude of the goates that are facrificed . By & by they drye their forheads with wolle dipped in milke. The the yong boyes must laughe immediately after they haue dried their forheads. That done they cut the goates skinnes, & make thongs of the, which they take in their hands,& ronne with them all about the cittle starck naked (sauing they haue F a clothe before their fecrets) and so they strike with these thonges all they metein their waye. The yonge wives doe never shonne them at all, but are well conteted to be striken with them, beleeuing

ROMVLVS. A beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and also to be easely deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feast, that these LVPERCIANS which ronne about the cittie, doe also sacrifice a. The Luperthing yet in this realitation of the Poet named But as dothe write fomewhat in his elegies, where can do fadogge. Cocerning this feaft, the Poet named But as dothe write fomewhat in his elegies, where can do fadogge. of the fond cultomes and ceremonies of the Romaines, he dothe faye dogge. that Romalius after he had flayne Amalius, did runne straight with great ioye to the very place where the wolfe gaue him & his brother fucke, in memory of which runing, he fayeth this feaft. of Lupercalia was celebrated: & that the noble mens younger fonnes doe runne through the VVII the cittie, striking & laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in to Ligarian cittie, thiking & laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate though the threath ken that Romus and Romulus ranne from A 1 B A vinto that place, with their drawen fwordes in the cinite national the cinite national state of the cin their hads. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remebrance of the ked. B daunger they stoode in at that time to have bene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memorie of the milke they sucked of the woulfes, But Cains A-, cilius writeth, that Remus and Romulus before Rome was built, did happen to lofe their beafts on. a daye, & after they had made certaine prayers vnto Faunus for the finding of them, they ranne here & there starcke naked as they went a feeking of the for feare they should have bene trou-

bledwith ouermuch heate & sweatig. And this is the cause he sayeth, why the LVPERCIANS does arthis daye ronne about naked. And if it be true they make this facrifice for a purging, a man, might faye they might offer vp a dogge for that purpose, like as the Græcians in their facrifices. of purgatio doe vie to carie out all their doggs. And in many places they doe obserue this ceremonte, to drive out the doggs, which they call Perifcylacifines. Otherwife, if it be of a thanck-C fullnes to the woulfe that gaue Romalus sucke, & faued him from perishing, that the Romaines doe solemnise this feast: it is not impartinet they facrifice a dogge, bicause he is enemie to the woulues. Onles a man would faye it was to punishe this beast, which troubleth and letteth the

L VPERCIAN S when they runne, Some faye allo it was Romulus, who first instituted it a religion to kepe holy fire, &that first ordeined holie virgines, which are called Vestales: other doe ascribe it The Vestal kepe holyfire, & that first orderned none virgines, which are cancer that Romalus was a very deholy fire inuoute man, & greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cause finance by he did ordinarilie carie the augurs crooked staffe, called in Latin Lituus. It is a rodde crooked at Romaine. the end, wherewith the augurs or foothfayers when they fit down to behold the flying of birds, doe poynte out & marke the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallacers

D howbeit it was lost in the time of warres with the GAVLES, when the cittle of ROME was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased and driven out, it was founde againe (as) it is sayed) all whole, within a great hill or heape of ashes, hauing no maner of hurte, where all things els about it had bene consumed and marred with the fire. He is sayd to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat harde, which is: that the manis Round see fuffered to put awaye his wife, and in some case to gene her nothing: and like liberties not ge- Laws. uen to the wife to put awaye her husband. As if the maye be proued to have confented to the poyfoning of her children, or to haue counterfaited her husbands keyes, or to haue committed adulterie. But if he put her awaye for any other cause, then the one halfe of the goodes is adiuged to the wife, and the other moytie to the goddesse Ceres: and he that putteth away his wife E after this forte, is commanded further, to facrifice to the goddes of the earth. This allo was no-

table in Romulus, who having ordeined no payne nor punishement for parricides (that is for particides. those that kill their parents) called yet all murder parricide, to shewehow detestable that murder was , and as for parricides , he thought it vnpossible. And it feemed a great while, he had the broken in reason to thincke so, that such wickednes would neuer happen in the worlde. For in fixe hun- Rome sixe dred yeres together it was not knowen that any man in Rome committed fuche an offence: hindred years and the fift particide with them was Lucius Offius, after the wattes of Hanniball. But enough Lucius Office touching this matter. Furthermore in the first yere of the reigne of Tatim, some of his kynse- the suffer man men and friendes met by chaunce on the waye certeine ambassadours, comming from the citie of LAVRENT VM vnto ROME, whom they fet vpon, and ment to haue robbed them: at Rome.

F The ambaffadours refifting them , and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no Ambaffamore a doe, but flewe them. This haynous deede being thus committed, Romalus was of comming to opinion they should be executed openly in the higher ways for example. opinion they shoulde be executed openly in the highe waye for example. But Tatime Rome.

neftly as might be theone to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common con-

fent and good accorde. But the parents & kynlefolkes of thole who were murdered, when they

The Sabines obedience to

tie of Fidena.

Playie at Rome. Is rained bloude as

Rome.

fawe they could have no inflice bicaufe of Tains: watched him one daye as he facrificed with Romulus, in the cittle of Lauinium, and stabbed him in, without offering Romulus any violence, but rather prayfed him for a good and righteous prince. Romulus caused the bodye of Tatius to be straight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place nowe called Armilustrium. Further he neuer shewed any countenaunce to reuenge his death. There are some Historiographers that write, that those of the cittie of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, dyd deliuer forthwith to Romalus the murderers of the ambassadours. He notwiths & B ding dyd let them goe againe, faying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue some occasion of speache to thincke, he was glad he was rydde of his companion: yet the Sabynes neither sturred nor rebelled for all this, but some of them were affrayed of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing still in duetie & obedience towards him. Diuers straugers also had Romulus valiancie in great honour: as amongest other, those who then were called the auncient Latines, which fent ambassadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuised to take the cittie of Fidenawhichwas nere neighbour to Rome. Some saye he tooke it vpon a sodaine, hauing sent before certen horse men to breake downe the hookes & hingewes with force, which the gates hang by: & him self came after with the rest of his armie, and stale vpon them, before the cittie C mistrusted any thing. Other write that the Fidenates first inuaded his courtye, and foraged vnto the very suburbes of Rome, where they did great harme : and howe Romulus layed an ambuthe in their waye as they returned home, and slewe a great number of them. When he tooke their cittie, he did not rafe it, but made a colonye of it, (as a place to fend the ouerincrease of Rome vnto) whether he sent afterwards two thousand five hundred Romains to inhabite there: & it was on the thirtenth daye of Aprill, which the Romaines call the Ides of the fame moneth. Not long after there role such a great plague in Rome, that men died lodainely, and were not ficke: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beafts deliuered no increase of their kynde: there rayned also droppes of bloude in Rome, as they saye. In so much as besides the cuills men selt in this extremitie, they fell in a marueilous feare of the wrathe of the goddes. Afterwards percei- D uing the like happened to the inhabitants of Lauretum, then euery man judged it was the very vengeance and heavie hand of the goddes, who plagued and punished these two citties for the murder committed vpon Tatius, and the ambaffadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both fides were apprehended, and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and in the other cittie. Romulus befides, did purifie the cities with certaine facrifices that he deuised, which they keepe still at this daye, at the gate called Ferentina. But before the plague ceased, the Camerines came to affaulte the Romaines, & had ouercomen all the countrie, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, bicause they had bene so foretroubled with the plague. Yet notwithstading, Romulus set up on them with his army, & wanne the field of them, in which conflict there were flaine about fixe thousand men . After the battell Edone, he tooke their cittie, & conueyed to Rome the one half of the inhabitans that remained. After this, he sent twise as many Romaines as there were naturall Cameria's left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the first daye of August: so great was the multitude of the inhabitats of Rome that had increased in fixteene yeres from the first foundation of the cittie. Emong other spoyles hegot there, he caried away a charret of brasse with source horses, which he caused to be set vp in the temple of Vulcan, and his owne statue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triuphant. His power being growen thus great, his weake neighbours did submit themselves vnto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger neighbours were affrayed of him, and enuied much his greatnes, and dyd take it no good policie to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the world, and thought it meetes pedilie to dawnte F his glorie, and clippe his winges. The first of the Thuscans that bent their power against him, were the Veians, who had a great countrie, & dwelled in a stronge and mightie cittie. To picke

a quarrell

A agrarrell to him, they fent to haue redeliuered to the the cittle of FIDENA, which they laved beloged vnto them. This was thought not only vnreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing ati coffdering that all the while the FIDENATES were in warre, & daunger, the THYSCANS never came to their ayde, but had fuffered them to be flayne, and then came to demaunde their lands and renements, when other had possession of them. Therefore Romulus hauling genen theman aunswer full of mockerie, and derision, they divided their power into two armies, and sent the one against them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards Rome. That which went against the cittle of FIDENA, preuayled, and killed there two thousand RO MAINES: the other was ouerthrowen and discomfited by Romalus, in which there dyed eight thousand VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe somewhat neere the cittle of the FIDENATES, where B they fought a battell: and all dyd confesse, the chiefest exployte was done by Romalus owne. The incredi-

hands that daye, who shewed all the skill and valliantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy, ble raliants captaine. It feemed that daye, he farre exceeded the comon forte of men, in ftrength of bodye. of Romaine. & feates of armes. Neuertheles that which some save, is hardely to be credited & to be plaine.

is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thousand men flayne at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were flayne by Romulus own hands,

& the rather for that every maniudgeth it a vaine bragge and oftentation which the Massa-NIANS reporte of Aristomenes, who offered in facrifice to the goddes three hundred beaftes of victorie, as for fo many LACED & MONIAN shim felf had flayne in the battell, Their armie being thus broken, Romalus suffered them to flye who by swiftnes could faue them felues, and marched with all his power in good arraye towards their cittie. The cittizens then considering their late great losse and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the daunger of withstanding him, but

went out all together, & made their humble petition & fute for peace, All was graunted them Remulus we went out an together, can they should for goe their territorie called Septemagium, that was these with the wenth parte of their countrye: & yeld to the ROMAINES all their falt houses by the rivers fide, Viene, and deliver fiftie of their chiefest citaizens for their pledges. Romulus made his entrie and triumphe into Rome for them, the daye of the Ides of October, which is the liftenth daye of the fame moneth, leading in his triumphe many prisoners taken in those warres: & among other; the generall of the VELANS, a very auncient man who fondly behaved him felle in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre shorte for his yeres in the warres. And

D from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to gene thanckes for this victorie, that even at this daye, they bring to the capitoll throughe the market place an old man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a Iuell called Bulls about his necke, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: & a heraulde goeth harde by him, crying, who buyeth who, the SARDIANIANS, bicause they holde opinion the Thy scans are come of the SARDIANIANS and the very cittle of VEIEs standeth in the countrie of THYSCANE. This was the laste warre that Romulus had offered him : after which he could not beware of that which is wonte to happen almost to all those, who by sodaine prosperitie, and fortimes speciall fauour, are raised to highe and greatestate. For trusting to prosperitie and good successe of his actes, he beganne to prosperite. growe more straunge and stately, and to carie a sowerer countenaunce then he was wonte to prode and doe before: leaving to beafter his olde manner, a curreous and gracious prince, and gaue dum finance. felfe infacions to be somwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and stately norte and maiestee

that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a longe robe of purple culler: and gaue audience, fitting in a wyde chayer of citate, hauing euerabout him young men called Celeres, as we would faye, flights for their swiftnes & speede in executing of his come mulus and is maundements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were sipfiaues in sheir hands, to make the people generoome, and had leather thongs about their middle to binde failt ftreight, all the prince should commaunde. Nowe in olde time the Latines layed, digard was so binde: but at this present they saye Alligare, from whence it commeth than the wihers and sengeants are called Lictores. Howbeit me thincks it were more likely to fave they had pur to a.c. Litter F & that before they were called Litores, without a.c. For they be the very fame which the Cant

erans call Liturgos, and be in Englishe, ministers or officers: and arthis daye, Leitos, or Lees, in the GREKE tongue fignifieth the people Romalus now after his grandfather Number was dead

hingdome of Alba 10 a

at the cittle of Alba, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of A Romming con. the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Comon weale, and energy yere dyd chuse a newe magistrate to minister suffice to the SABYNES. This president taught the noble men of ROME, to feeke and defire to have a free estate, where no subject should be at the commaundement of a King alone, and where every man should commaund & obey as should be his course. Those which were called Patricians in Rome, dyd medle with nothing, but had onely an honorable name and robe, and were called to counfaill rather for a facion, then to have their aduife or counfaile. For when they were affembled together, they dyd onely heare the Kings pleasure and commaundement, but they might not speake one word, and so departed: hauing no other preheminence ouer the Comon wealthe, fauing they were the first that dyd knowe what was done. All other things thereby dyd greue them leffe. But when of his owne mere authoritie, & B as it were of him felf, he would as pleafed him, bestowe the conquered lands of his enemies to his fouldiers, and restore againe to the VEIAN'S their hostages as he dyd: therein plainely appeared, how great iniurie he dyd to the Senate. Whereupon the Senatours were suspected af-

terwards that they killed him, when with in fewe dayes after it was fayed, he vanished awaye so Remailur va. straungely, that noman euer knewe what became of him. This was on the seuenth daye of the milital arrays moneth nowecalled Iuly, which then was named Quintilus, leaving no manner of certaintie els of his deathe that is knowen, faue only of the daye and the time when he vanished, as we have fayed before. For on that daye, the Romaines doe at this prefent many things, in remem-

The 17. days brance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his deathe was not knowen: feeing Scipio Africanus was founde after supper dead in his house, C unfortunate and no man could tell, nor yet dyd know how he dyed. For some saye that he fainted, and dyed sodainely being of weake complexion. Other saye he poysoned him self: other thincke his ene-The death of mies dydget fecretly in the night into his house, & smoothred him in his bed. Yet they founde Scipit Afti his body layed on the ground, that every body might at leyfure confider, if they could finde or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit Romulus vanished away sodainely, there was nei-

ther seene pece of his garments, nor yet was there found any parte of his body. Therfore some haue thought that the whole Senatours fell ypon him together in the temple of Vulcan, and how after they had cut him in peces, euery one caried awaye a pece of him, folded close in the multi death. skyrte of his robe. Other thincke also, this vanishing away was not in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the Senatours only: but they saye that Romulus was at that time without the D cittie, neere the place called the goates marthe, where he made an oration to the people, and that fodainely the weather chaunged, and ouercast so terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credited. For first, the sunne was darckned as if it had bene very night: this darcknes was not in a calme or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boysterous windes, and flashing lightnings on euery side, which made the people ronne awaye, and scatter here and there, but the Senatours kept fill close together. Afterwardes when the lightning was past and gone, the daye cleared vp,&the element waxed fayer as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & fought for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not fuffer them to enquireany further after him, but counselled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen: and that thenceforth in steade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull E & gratious god. The meaner forte of people (for the most parte of them) tooke it well, & were very glad to heare thereof: & went their waye worthipping Romalus in their hartes, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the trothe more egerly did cober fore, and troubled the Patricians: accusing them, that they abused the common people with vaine & fonde perfuafions, whileft them felues in the meane time had murdered the King with their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some saye there was one Iulius Pro-

entus, the noblest of all the Patricians, being esteemed for a maruelous honest man, & knowen to have benevery familier with Romalus, & came with him from the cittle of A L B A: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holyest othes a man might fiveare) that he had met Romulus on the waye, farre greater and fayerer, then he had feene him: renee before, and armed all in white armour, shyning bright like fire: whereat being affrayed in that forte to fee him, heasked him yet: O King, why hast thou thus left and for faken vs, that are

A fo fallely accused and charged to our vices differedit and shame; by thy vanishing To whom Romulus gane this auniwer . Proculus, it hathe pleafed the goddes from whom I came , that I should remaine amongest men so long as I dyd and nowe having built'a cittie, which in glo-Romalus orafhould remaine amongent mento long as Loya cand now hairing built a chief which his Pre-rie and greatnes of empire shalbe the chiefest of the worlde; that I should return a againe to dwell with them, as before, in heaven. Therefore be of good comforte, & tell the Romaines. that they exercifing prowelle and temperancie, that be the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protectour, and patron, and they shall call me Quirinus. These wordes seemed credible to the ROMAINES, aswell for the honefty of the man that spake them, as for the solemne other he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or dinine inspiration helped it much for no man saved a word B against it. And so all suspition and accusation layed aside, every man began to call youn Qui- Rommlus calrinus, to praye vnto him, and to worthippe him. Truely this tale is much like the sales that the led Quirinus GRECIANS tellof Aristeas the proconnesian, & of Cleamedes the Astypalaian. For they saye, and god.

that Aristens dyed in a fullers worke house, & his friends comming to carie awaye his bodye, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that inftant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his waye towards taken out of the cittle of CROTONA. It is fayed also that Cleomedes was more then a man naturally strong manifest at and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastie. For after many desperate partes he had dead. played, he came at the laft on a daye into a schoole house full of little children, the roofe wherof Cleomeder Awas borne with one piller, which he dyd hit with so terrible a blowe of his fifte, that he brake product ye C it in the middelt, so as the whole roofe felland dashed the poore children in peces. The people gets out of

ranne straight after him to take him. But he threwe him selfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled men sight, the lyd you him. He helde it fo fast downe, that many striuing together all they could to open ked in a chesh it, they were notable once to flyrre it. Whereupon they brake the cheft all in peces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were marueilously amazed, and sent to Apollo Pythias, where the prophetesse aunswered them in this verse: Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that Alemenes corfe dyd vanishe awaye, as they caried it to buriall, and howe in steade thereof they founde a stone layed in the beere. To conclude, mentell many dy vanished other suche wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: only bicause they would out of the D make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and been denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked parte: euen so to compare earthe and heauen together, itwere a mere follie. Therefore we must let suche fables goe, being most certaine that as Pindarus fayeth it is true.

Echeliuing corps, must yelde at last to deathe, and every lifemust leese his vitall breathe: The foule of man, that onely lives on hie, and is an image of eternitie.

For from heaven it came, and thither agains it dothe returne, not with the bodye, but then soonest, when the sowle is furthest of and separated from the bodye, and that she is kept holy, E & is no more defiled with the flesh . It is that the philosopher Heraclitus ment, when he sayed. The drye light, is the best soule which syeth out of the bodye, as lightning dothe out of the Haracilius clowde: but that which is joyned with the bodye being full of corporall paffions, is a groffe foring of the vapour,darke and maffie, & cannot flame, ryfe or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleeue therefore, that the bodyes of noble and vertuous men, doe goe vp together with their foules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their foules (according to diume nature and inflice) they doe of men become faincts, and of faincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by facrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortalitie, & not by any civill ordinance, but in trothe & reason, they receaue

F a most happie and glorious ende. Now touching Romulus surname, which afterwards was called Qurinus: fome faye that it fignifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was fo called bicause the Romaine's them selves were called Quirites. Other write, that men in old time did Quirinus.

named Quiritides, was fet vp with an iron speare, and the speare which was consecrated in the Kings pullace, was called Mars . Furthermore it is an vie amongestimen, to honour them with

a speare or darte, which have shewed them selves valiant in the warres: and that for this cause Romalus was furnamed Quirinus, as who would faye, god of the speares and warres. There was

fince buylt a temple vnto him, in the hill called Quirinus, and so named of him. The daye whereon he vanished, is called the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the goates, For on that daye, they goe out of the cittie to doe facrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marshe: and the Romaines call a goate, Capra. As they goe thus together, they call with lowde showtes and cryes vpon divers Romaines names, as Marcus, Cneus, and Gains, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne awaye in great feare and disorder. Howbeit other saye, that it is not done to shewe the ronning awaye, but to thewe their spede and diligence, and referre it to the storie. Nowe after the GAVLES that had taken Rome were expulsed by Camillus, the cittle was so weakned, that they could scante recouer their force and strength againe: wherfore many of the LATINES.ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conducte of Liuius Post humius, to warre

against the Romaine s. This Posthumius brought his campe as neere the cittle of Rome as he could,& fent to the ROMAINES by a trumper to let them understand, how the LATINES WERE defirous by newe mariages, to restore their olde auncient amitie and kinred that was neere

hand decayed betweene them: and therefore if the ROMAINES would fend them a convenient

as they had before time with the Sabynes, vpon the like occasion. The Romaines hereat

were fore troubled, thincking that to deliuer their women in fuch forte was no better, then to

number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they should have peace, C.

Theseus with Romulus.



HVS have we declared all things of Thefeus and Romulus worthy me-HV S naue we declared an unique of the other, it appeareth first that morie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that The feus of his owne voluntarie will, without compulsion of any (when Ey what he might with safety haue reigned in the cittle of TROEZEN, and suc- meanes men ceeded his grandfather in no small kingdome) dyd defire of him selfe, are prouoked and rather fought meanes to aspire to great things: and that Romulus terprifes. on the other fide, to deliuer him felf from bondage and feruitude that laye fore you him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still dyd hange ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as Plato fayeth) Plato in to shewe him selfe hardie for feare: who seeing howe extremely he was like to be handled. Fhadone.

R was of very force constrained to seeke aduenture, and hazarde the enterprise of atteining highe and great things. Moreouer the chiefest acte that euer he dyd was, when he slewe one onely tyranne of the cittie of ALBA called Amulius: where Thefeus in his iorney only , as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterprises, and slewe Seiron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and Corynetes. And by ridding them out of the worlde, he deliuered GRECE of all those cruell tyrannes, before any of those knewe him whom he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might have gone to ATHENS by sea, and neuer needed to have travelled, or put him selfe in daunger with these robbers, considering he neuer receyued hurte by any of them: where as Romulus could not be in safetie whilest Amulius lived. Hereupon it maye be alledged, that The few vnprouoked by any private wronge or hurte receyved, dyd fet vpon the fe detestable theues and robbers: Remus and Romulus contrariwife, so longe as the tyranne dyd them no harme, dyd fuffer him to oppresse and wronge all other. And if they alledge these were noble dedes, and worthy memorie: that Romulus was hurte fighting against the SABYNES, and that he fleweking Acron with his owne handes, and that he had ouercome and fubdued many of

fering him selse to be deuowred by a cruell beaste, or els to be slayne and sacrificed upon the tumbe of Androgeus, or to become bondslaue & tyed in captiuitie to the vile service of cruell men and enemies, if by his corage and manhodde he could not deliuer him felf. This was fuch D an acte of magnanimitie, iustice & glorie, & briefly of so great vertue, that it is vnpossible truely to be fet out. Surely me thinckes the philosophers dyd not ill define loue, when they sayd she was a seruitour of the goddes, to saue younge folkes, whom they thought meete to be preser- Lone the miued. For, the loue of Ariadne was in mine opinion the worke of some god, and a meane pur-nifter of the posely prepared for Theseus safety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed

his enemies. Then for Thefeus on thother fide may be obiected, the battell of the CENTAVRI,

the warres of the AMAZONE s, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: and howe heventered

to goe himselse thither with the other young boyes and wenches of ATHENS, as willingly of-

yelde and submit them selues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting mayde called Philotis (or as other call her, Tutola) gave them counsell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vie a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they should scape the daunger of the warres, and should also not be tyed nor bounde by any pledges. The deuise was, they should send to the L ATINES her selfe, and a certaine number of their fayrest bonde maydes, trimmed up like gentlewomen and the best cittizens daughters, and that in the night she would lifte them vp a burning torche in the aver, at which figne they should come armed, and set

vpontheir enemies as they laye a fleepe. This was brought to paffe: and the LATINES thought D verely they had bene the Romaines daughters. Philoris fayled not in the night to lyft up her figne, and to shewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and dyd hange certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not fee the light, and the Ro-MAINES contrariwise might decerne it the better. Thereupon so sone as the Romaines sawe

it, they ranne with all spede, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the gates of the cittie with great haste: and so tooke their enemies ypon a sodaine, and slewe them. In memorie of which victorie, they doe yet solemnise the feaste called the Nones of the goates, bicause of the wilde figge tree called in Latine Caprificus. And they doe feast the women without the cittie, under shadowes made of the boughe of figge trees. The wayting maydes, they ronne

vp and downe, and playe here and there together. Afterwards they feeme to fight, and throwe P stones one at another, as then they dyd when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight . But fewe writers doe anowe this tale, bicause it is on the daye time that they call so eche other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marthe, as vnto a facri-

fice. It feemeth this agreeth better with the first historie when they called one another by their names in the night, going against the LATINES: onles peraduenture these two thinges after many yeres happened vpon one daye.

Furthermore, they faye Romulus was taken out of the worlde, when he was foure and fiftie yeres of age, and had raigned eight and thirtie

yeres by accompt.

THE

the Launes.

The bill

Philotin a

for the loue she bare Thesew, but rather it is muche to be wondred at, that every man and wo- A man in like wife dydnot loue him. And if of her felfe she fell in loue with him, I save (and not without cause) she afterwards deserved to be beloued of a god, as one that of herowne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of finguler value. But both Thefeus and Romulus being naturally genen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but bothe of them dyd degenerate alike: the one chaunging him felf into a popular man, the other to a very tyranne. So that by fundrie humours, they both fell into one

mischief and errour. For a prince aboue all things must keepe his estate: which is no lesse pre-The office of ferued by doing nothing vncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more feuere or remisse then he should be remaineth now no more a King or a prince, but becommeth a people pleaser, or a cruell tyrante: and so causeth his subjects to despise or hate him. Yet me R thinckes the one is an errour of to muche pittie and basenes: and the other of to muche pryde and crueltie. But if we may enot charge fortune with all mischaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diuersities of manners and passions, seeing anger is vnreasonable, and wrathe rashe and passionate: then can we not clere the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the facte committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth muche excuse Theseus, who moued with the greatest cause that might be, was put into suche choller and passion. But if Romulus variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the common weales: there is none so simple to thincke, that his wisdome would so sodainely haue set vpon him. Where as Theseus in contrarie manner killed his C sonne, prouoked by those passions that fewe men can auoyde: to wit, loue, ielousie, and false reporte of his wife. Moreouer Romulus anger went to the effect, whereof the iffue fell out very lamentable: The few anger stretched no further, then to roughe wordes, and olde folkes curses

in their heate. For it feemeth, curfed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his sonnes only milhappe, as forespoken and withed for somewhat by his father. These be the speciall things

maye be alledged for The feus. But for Romulus this was anoble thing in him . First his begin-

with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increased any cittie

that was buylt before, but buylt him felfe a newe cittie out of the grounde, getting all toge-

ther, land, countrie, kingdome, kinred and mariages, without losing or killing any man: and to

the contrarie, rather he dydgood to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrie, lands,

nor houses, and desired nothing els but to make a people amongest them, and to become citti-

dued by force of armes many mightie and puissant people: he tooke citties, and triumphed

ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell . And touching the murder of Re-

zens of some cittie. Also Romulus bent not him selfe to follow theeues and robbers, but sub- E

ning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bonde men, and the childrenof hoggeheards, before they were them selues all free, they set at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one instant many titles of glorie and honour: as distroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe citties, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as Theseus of many habitations and houses made onely one, and dyd ouerthrowe and plucke downe divers states, bearing the names of auncient Kings,

red before Thefeus. princes, and halfe goddes of ATTICA. All these also dyd Romulus afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to distroye their owne houses, and to come and dwell

mus, it is not certainely knowen of whose hands he dyed. The most parte of authors doe charge Romulus love other with the death of him. But it is certaine that Romulus delivered his mother from appa-.rant death, and restored his grandsather to the royall throne of Aneas, who before was depo-

sected for

fed and brought from a King to feruill obedience, without any regarde of honour or dignitie: to whom he dyd many moe great pleasures and seruices. Besides he neuer offended him willingly, no not fo muche as ignorantly. Contrarylie I thincke of Thefews, who fayling by negligence to put out his white fayle at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, howe eloquent an oration soeuer could be made for his excuse: yea though it were before the most fauora- F ble iudges that could be. Wherefore an Athenian very well perceyuing that it was an harde thing to excuse and defend so sowle a faulte, dothe fayne that the good olde man Ægeus

A hauing newes brought him that his sonnes shippe was at hand, dyd ronne in so great hasteto his castell, to see his some arrive a farre of, that as he ranne, his soote hit against some thing. and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man feeing him ronne so hastely to the sea side, dyd make haste to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, Thefeus faults touching women and rauishements, of the twaine, had the leffe shadowe and culler of honestie. Bicause Theseus dyd attempt it very often; for he stale awaye Theseus de-

inadowe and current of noticine. Steam of regions and attention of the state of the age, and past mariage: he stale awaye Helen in her minoritie, being nothing neere to consent of women. to marve. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACED ENO-NIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and

B linadge of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and descended of the noble race and progenie of Erichtheus, and of Cecrops) dyd geue men occasion to suspect that his womannithenes was rather to fatisfie lust, then of any great loue . Romulus nowe in a contrarie manner, Romalus rawhen his people had taken eight hundred, or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to rauishe them : kept but onely one for him selfe that was called Hersilia, as they saye, and deliuered the sea.

reste to his best and most honest cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he caused them to have & receive of their husbands, he chaunged this violent force of rauishement, into a most perfect bonde and league of amitie: which dyd so knyt and iovne in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grewe afterwards betwext those two people, and consequently of the loyning of their powers C together. Furthermore, time hath geuen a good testimonie of the loue, reuerence, constancie. kyndenes, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meanes, betwext man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeres afterwards, there was neuer man that durst forsake or put awaye his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the best lear- No divorce

ned men, and most curious observers of antiquities doe knowe his name, that was the first for 230, peres

murderer of his father or mother : euen fo all the ROMAINES knewe what he was, which first face, Val. durst put away his wife. It was one called Spurius Carvilius, bicause his wife was barren and had Max. Sayeth no children. The effects also doe agree with the testimonie of the time. For the Realme was The first wife common vnto Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of these mariages that be- put awaye in ganne first of rauishements, both nations lived peaciblie, and in equalitie, vnder one civill po-D licie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariewife, by Thefeus mariages, dyd get neither loue nor kynred of any one persone, but rather they procured warres. Theseum maenmities, & the flaughter of their cittizens, with the losse in the ende of the cittie of APHID-NES: and yet very hardely, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honored as godds) grouples. they escaped for him, the daunger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the self acte done by Alexander Paris. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not only in daunger,

but euen feelingly fuffered like miserie and captiuitie, which Hecuba dyd afterwards, when she was for laken of her fonne: onles peraduenture those things that they write of the imprisonment and captiuitie of Æthra, be founde falle, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of Theseus were behouefull, that both it, and many other things also, were of no more trothe nor

godds shem

oracle to Agens, that he should not medle with any woman in straunge and foraine countrie. The ende of Romulus life.

likelyhood. That which they write of Romalus diuinements, maketh great difference be-

twene him and Thefews. For Romulus in his birthe was preserved by the mar-

uelous fauour of the goddes: Thefeus to the contrarie, was be-

gotten against the goddes will, as appeared

plainely by the aunswer of the

D iiij



Lycurgus.

of Iphytus, and that he dyd helpe him to stablish the ordinaunce that

MAN cannot speake anything at all of Lyeurgus, who made the A lawes of the LACEDEMONIANS, but he shall finde great contrarietie of him amongest the historiographers. For of his parentage & trauaill out of his countrie, of his deathe and making of lawes, of his forme and gouernment, and order of executing the same, they have written diuerfely. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worst about the time he lived in . For some of them (and Ariforle is of that number) will needes have him to have bene in the time

all warres should cease during the feast of the games olympicall: for a testimonie whereof, they alledge the copper covte which was vsed to be throwen in those games, and had founde B grauen vpon it, the name of Lycurgus. Other compting the dayes and time of the succession of the kings of LACED EMON (as Eratosthenes, and Apollodorus) saye he was many yeres before the first Olympiades. Timeus also thincketh there were two of this name, and in divers times: howbeit the one having more estimation then the other, men gaue this Lycurgus the glorie of both their doings. Some saye the eldest of the twaine, was not longe after Homer: and some write they sawe him. Xenophon sheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: saying he was in lib.de Lacethe time of the Heraclides, who were neerest of bloude by descent to Hercules. For it is likely Xenophon ment not those Heraclides, which descended from Hercules self: for the last kings of of the Hora. SPARTA were of Hercules progenie, aswell as the first. Therefore he meaneth those Heraclides,

d.emon.Rep.

Lycurgus kinred.

which doubtles were the first and nearest before Hercules time. Neuertheles though the historiographers haue written diuersely of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde Cleme. Strom. written of him in auncient histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be prooued. And first of all, the poet Simonides sayeth, his father was called Prytanis and not Euromust and the most parte doe write the pettigree otherwise, aswell of Lycurgus self, as of Eunomus. For they laye, that Patrocles the sonne of Aristodemus begate Sous, and Sous begate Eurytion, and Eurytion begate Prytanis, and Prytanis begat Eunomus, and Eunomus begat Polydectes of his first wife, and Lycurgus of the second wife, called Dianassa: yet Euthychidas an other writer, maketh Lycurgus the fixte of descent in the right line from Polydectes, and the eleventh after Hercules. But of all his auncesters, the noblest was Sous, in whose time the cittie of Sparta subdued the

A Ilores, and made them flaues, and dydenlarge and increase their dominion, with the lands and possessions they had got by conquest of the Arcadians. And it is sayed that Som him self being on a time straightly belieged by the CLITORIAN s,in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to restore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie dyd drincke of a fountaine that was there not farre of. The CLITORIANS dyd graunte vnto it, and peace also was sworne betweene them. Then he A subsill ore-

called all his fouldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongest them that miss. would refrayne from drincking, he would refigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could(or would) for beare to drincke, they were so fore a thirst. So

they all drancke hartely except him felf, who being the last that came downe, dydno more but B a litle moyste his mowthe without, and so refreshed him self, the enemies selues standing by, and drancke not a droppe. By reason whereof, he refused afterwards to restore their lands he had promifed, alledging they had not all droncke. But that notwithstanding, he was greately esteemed for his actes, and yet his house was not named after his owne name: but after his sonnes name Eurytion, they of his house were called Eurytionides. The reason was, bicause his fonne Eurytion to please the people, dyd first let fall and geue ouer, the sole and absolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes marueilous disorder and dissolution, which continued a great time in the cittle of Sparta. For the people finding them felues at libertie, became very bolde and disobedient; and some of the Kinges that succee-

ded, were hatedeuen to deathe, bicause they woulde perforce vse their auncient authoritie C ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or bicause they fawe they were not stronge enough to rule them, dyd geue them selues to dissemble. And this dyd so muche increase the peoples lose and rebellious mindes, that Lycurgus owne father being Kinge, was flayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had suche a wounde with a kytchin knyfe, that he dyed: and left his Realme to his eldest sonne Polydectes, who dyed also sone after, and without heyre of his bodye as was supposed. In so muche as enery man thought Lycurgus should be Kinge: and so he tookeit vpon him, vntill it was vnderstoode that his brothers wife was younge with childe. Which thing so some as he perceyued, he published openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that should be borne, if it were a sonne. After this he gouerned the Realme,

D but as the Kings lieutenante and regent. The LACED & MONIANS call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, Prodices. Lycurgus brothers widowe dyd fend, and let him Prodices. fecretly understande, that if he would promise to marye her when he should be King, that Regents, or

the would come before her time, and either miscarye, or destroye that she went with . Lycur- prostfour of gus deteltably abhorring this brutishe and sauage vnnaturalines of the woman, dyd not reiect her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to dislike of it. Neuertheles he fent her worde againe, she should not neede to trye masteryes, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time: for fo doing, the might bring her felfe in daunger, and be cast awaye for euer. Howbeit he aduised her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make awaye the childe that E should be borne. And so with suche persuasions he drewe on this woman to her full time of

deliuerie. But so soone as he perceyued she was neere her time, he sent certaine to keepe her, and to be present at her laboure, commaunding them that if she were brought a bed of a daughter, they should leave her with the woman: and if it were a sonne, they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soeuer he was, and what busines soeuer he had in hand. It chaunced that the came euenabout supper time, and was deliuered of a sonne. As he was fitting at the table with the other magistrates of the cittie, his seruants entred the halle, and prefented to him the lile babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and fayed openly to them that were present: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, here is a Kinge borne Charilans. vnto vs. And speaking these wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and na- Lacedamo-

F med him Charilaus, as muche to faye, as the joye of the people. Thus he fawe all the loo- nians, Hered. kers on rejoycing muche, and might heare them prayle and extoll his synceritie, justice, find Halle, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned only as King, but eight moneths. From thenceforth 116.1.

he was taken and efteemed fo inft and syncere a man among the cittizens, that there were moe a that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings regent, or that he had the gouernment of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstading there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder & difgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kinred of the Kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impayred by Lycurgus authoritie. In fo much, as a brother of hers called Leonidas, entring boldly into great words with him on a daye, dyd not sticke to say to his face. I knowe for a certaintic one of these dayes thou wilt be King: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the cittizens. Which thing though Lycurgus neuer ment, yet of a fubtill and craftie wit Leonidas thought by geuing out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be mistrusted that Lycurgus had secretly made him awaye . The Kings mother also gaue out such B like speaches, which in the end dyd so trouble him, with the feare he had, what euet might fall out thereof: that he determined to departe his countrie, and by his absence to auoyde the sufpition that therein might growe vpon him any waye. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as a straunger, vntill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succeede him in his kingdome.

He having with this determination taken his iorney, went first of all into CRETA, where he di-

ligently observed and considered the manner of their living, the order of the government of

their Comon weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the

most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his judgement, which he noted of purpose

to carie home to his countrie, to ferue when time should come. He founde there other lawes alfo, but of them he made no reckoning. Nowe there was one manthat about the reft was re-

puted wife and skilfull in matters of state & gouernment, who was called Thales: with whom

Lycurgus dyd fo much by intreatie, and for familier friendshippe, that he persuaded him to goe

and name: but in effect he fange all that the best and sufficientest gouernours of the worlde

could deuise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein he dyd exhorte and persuade the

people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concorde one with the other. His words

were fet out with fuch tunes, countenance, & accents, that were fo full of swetenes, harmony,

to compare them with the ficke & diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first sawe Ho-

with him vnto Sparta. This Thales was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title

and pearfing: that inwardly it melted mens heartes, and drue the hearers of a loue to like the most honest things, and to leaueall hatred, enmitie, sedition, and diussion, which at that time reigned fore amog them. So as it maye be fayed, he it was that prepared the waye for Lycurgus, D whereby heafterwards reformed and brought the LACED & MONIANS VIIto reason. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent(asit is fayed) to compare the maner of

life and pollicie of those of CRETA (being then very straight and seuere) with the supersuities and vanities of I ONIA: and thereupon to confider the difference between their two manners & gouernments, as the physitian doth, who to knowe the hole & healthfull the better, doth vse

The prayle o workes.

Homers poecians, brought to light by Lycurgue.

mers works, in the hands of the heires & fucceffours of Cleophylus: & finding in the fame, aswell many rules of pollicie, as the great pleasure of Poets faining, he diligently coppied it out, and made avolume thereof to carie into GRECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of Homers poesies among the Grecians, howbeit there were sewe of them brought together, but were R fcattered here & there in divers mens hands, in pampflets & peces vnfowed & without any order: but the first that brought them most to light amog men, was Lycurgus. The ÆGYPTIANS mes unknowe faye, that he was in their countrie also, & that having founde thereone notable ordinaunce among other, that their fouldiers and men of warre were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practife of it into SPARTA: where fetting the marchants, artificers, & labourers euery one a parte by them selues, he did establish a noble Comon wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN historiographers, and some others also of GRECE doe write. He was also in AFRICK E, and in Spayne, & as farre as India, to conferre with the wife men there, that were called the philosophers of India. I knowe no man that hathe written it, sauing Aristocrates, that was Hipparchus sonne. The LACEDEMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and sent F diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestie of a prince, whereby they dyd excell the common people.

A: people.But as for Lyeurgue, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to comaund, and to geue order, as having in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings them selues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, bicause they hoped that his presence would somwhat brydle, & restrayne the people from their infolencie & disobediece towards them. Whereupon Lycurgus returning home pie in this opinion and affection of men, it fellout that he was no fooner arrived, but he beganne to Irangua redeuise howe to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge through and the whole course and order of the state: thincking that to make only certaine particular lawes changeth all the whole could and order of the transfer one thould geue some easie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowen bodye with all humours and diffeafes. Therefore he thought first that all groffe & su-1/1

B. perfluous humours, were meete to be dissoluted & purged, and then afterwardes to gene them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with him felf, before he would take in had to doe any thing, he went to the citty of DELPHES: where after he had facrificed to Apollo, he cofulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glo- Lyangus heed to Apollo, ne counted with him about his matters, from whom he returned within sign - Joseph rious title by the oracle of Pythia: o beloued of the goddes, and rather god then man. Where with the cra-

when he craued grace of Apollo to establishe good lawes in his countrie, it was aunswered him: that Apollo graunted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest manner of as Despose. a Common wealth, that euer had or should bein the worlde. This aunswer dyd comforte him verymuch, & so he beganne to breake his purpose to certen of the chief of the cittie, & secretly to praye & exhortethem to helpehim, going first to those he knew to be his friends, & after

by litle & litle he wanne others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirtie of the chiefest men of the cittie in a morning to comeinto the market place well appointed & furnished, to suppresse those that would attept to hinder their purpole. Hermippus the historiographer rehearleth twentie of the chiefest: but he that about all others dyd most assist him in his doings, & was the greatest ayde vnto the stablithing of his lawes, was called Arithmiadas. The king Charilaus hearing of this affembly, dyd fearethere had benefome conspiracie or insurrection against his person,& for his safety he fled into the temple of Iuno, called Chalceacos, as much to faye, as Iunos brafen teple. Howbeit after- chalceacos, unto the temple of the trothe, he waxed bolde, & came out of the temple againe, & he him temple. felffauored the enterpriso being a prince of a nobleminde, howbeit very foft by nature, as wit-

neffeth Archelaus (that was then the other king of LACED & MON) by telling how Charilaus aunfwered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (& he)be good, when I cannot be ettill to the euill. In this chauge of the state, many things were altered by Lycurgus, but his chiefest alteration was, his lawe of the erection of a Senate, which he made to have a regall power & equall authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight & im himmeth a Seportance, & was (as Plato fayeth) to be the healthfull counterpease of the whole bodye of the Comon weake The other Rate before was ever wavering fortime inclining to tyranic, when Lacedsmothe Kings were to mighties & formtime to cotulion, when the people would viurpe authoritie. Plate de leg. Lyeurque therfore placed between the Kings & the people, a counfaill of Senatours, which was 3as a ftrongo beame, that helde bothe these extreames in an euen ballance, & gauesure footing E & ground to either parte, to make illrong the state of the comon weale. For the eight & twenty Senatours (which made the whole bodye of the Senate) tooke for time the Kings parte, when it

by as nedefull so pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarilie, they held fometimes with the people against the Kings-so bridle their typannicall gouernment. Aristotle fayeth, he ordeined stemumber of Senatours to be but eight and twenty, bicause two of thirtie that loyned 28 mere the with him afors, dyd for feare for fake him at his enterprise . Howbeit Spharus writeth, that number of the from the beginning, he never purposed to have more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhappes he had great regard to make it a perfect number, confidering it is compoundod by the number of feuen , multiplied by foure; and is the first perfect number next to fixe, being equal to all partes garhered together. Bunas for me,my opinion is, he choic this num-T be rather there my other; bicause he ment the whole bodye of the counsails should be

but the respectiones, adding to that number , the two Kinges, Lycurgus tooke fo great care to attabilibervell this countell, that he brought an oracle for it, from Apolloes temple in Yings

the place, where he faveth:

Remasf Ly- DELPHES. This oracle is called vinto this daye Retra, as who would fave, the statute oracles a whereof the aunswer was. When thou hast built a temple vnto Inpiter the Syllanian, and to Misnerus the Syllanian, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt stablishe a Senate of thirtie counsellers, with the two Kings: & shalt assemble the people at times convenient in the place: betweene the bridge and the river Gnacion. There the Senatours shall propound all matters. and breake vp after their affemblies : and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one worde. In those dayes the people were euer assembled betweene two rivers, for there was no hall to affemble a counfaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them . For Lycurque thought no buylded place meete for men to geue good counfaill in, or to determine causes. but rather a hinderance: bicause in such places men be drawen to muse on vaine things, and their mindes be caried awaye with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, comonly fet vp R for ornamet in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sportes be made, they thincke more of them, then any counsaill. Againe, if it be in a

great hall, then of the faver embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretifed feelings curiously wrought, and fumptuously set forth, and tend not still their busines they come for . When the people were affembled in counfaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counfell to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his opinion what he thought of any thinge: but the people had onely authoritie to gene their affent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwardes, the two Kings Polydorus and Theopompus, bicause the people dyd many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding some thing to it, they dyd adde these wordes & to the oracle aforefaid. That if the people would not affent to any ordinaunce of the Senate. then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake up the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wife aduise of the Senate being encountered thus, & their meaning to the best, so peruerted to the worse. These two Kingspersuaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of Apollo: as the poet Tritam maketh mention in

> From Delphos Ile, this oracle is broughs of Pythia: into their country foyle. The Kings (even they to wwhom of right there ought a louing care in princely breasts to boyle. the Spartane vealthe, to garde from every fooile: Shalbe the chief grave causes to decyde with Senatours: wwhole founde adulle is tride. And next to them the people shall fulfill

asmuche as seemes so please their princes will.

Lycureus now having thus tempered the forme of his comon weale, it feemed not withfranding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirtie persones that made the Senate; was yet to mightie, & of to great authoritie. Wherefore to bridle them in a little they gaue them(as Plato fayeth)a bytte in their mouths, & that was the authoritie of the Ephtores, which fignifie as much as comptrollers : and were erected about a hundred and thirtie veres after the death of Lyeurgus. The first which was chosen of these, was Elatus, and it was in the time of king Theopompus, whose wife on a daye in her anger fayed: howe throughe his negligence he would leave leffe to his successours, then he had receyued of his predecessours, To whom he anniwe. red againe, not leffe but more, for that it shall continue lenger, and with a more sugreties For, in lofing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great entite & hatred among their cittizens, they dydescape the danger & mischief that their neighbours the A neives; and Mas-SENIANS dydfeele: who would not gene ouer the foueraine authoritie which they had gotten once. This example maketh Lycurgue great wildome and forelight manifeltly knowen; who to will deeply confider the feditions & ill gouernements of the A ke IVES,&MESSEWIANS (their neere neighbours and kinsemen) as well from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the be- F ginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: & in deuiding of their lands a farre better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they did not prosper longe: but through the private of their

A Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into civill warres one against another, thewing by their disorders & missortunes the speciall grace the godds dyd beare to SPARTA. to gene them such a reformer, as dyd so wisely temper the state of their common weale, as we will thewe hereafter. The second lawe that Lycurgus made, and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hande, was the making of a newe division of their lands. For he sawe so great a disorder, by cargui me-

tooke In Hainus, vas the inhabitants, as well of the countrie, as of the citie LACEDEMON, by dissipn of reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore, that they had not a handfull of lander unio grounde, and other some being least in number were very riche, that had all: he thought with the chirema. him self tobanishe out of the cittie all insolencie, enuie, couetousnes, & deliciousnes, and also all riches and pouertie, which he tooke the greatest, and the most continuall plagues of a cittie. or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a

meane, as to persuade his cittizens to suffer all the landes, possessions, and inheritance of their countrie, to ronne in common together: and that they should make a newe division equally in partition amongest them selues, to live from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer the another, & none should seeke to go before eache other, any other wave then in vertue only: thincking there should be no difference or vnequalitie among inhabitants of one cittie, but the reproaches of dishonestie, & the prayles of vertue. Thus Lycurgus

following his determination, dyd out of hande make a lawe of the diuision of their lands. For first he dyd deuide all the countrie of LACONIA, into thirtie thousand equall partes, the which All the lands he dyd fet out for those that inhabited about SPARTA: and of those landes that ioyned next throughs the ne dyd let out for mole that inhabited about SPARIA, and of those failures that royfled their committee of to the cittle of SPARIA, that was the chief metropolitan cittle of LACONIA, he made other Laconia, denine thousand partes, which he deuided to the naturall cittizens of SPARTA, who be those that wided into are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will saye, he made but sixe thousand parts, & that king Polydorus afterwards dyd adde to other threethouland partes. Other fayealfo, that Lycur- about Sparia que of these nine thousand partes made but the halfe onely, & Polydorus the test. Euery one of into 9000 these partes was such, as might yelde vnto the owner yerely, three score and tenne bushels of barley for a man, and twelue bushels for the woman, and of wine & other liquide fruites, much prhat barley

like in proportion: which quantitie Lycurgus indged to be sufficiet, to kepe the bodye of a man every parte in health, & to make him stronge & lustie, without any further allowance. They saye after this, did yelde. as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had bene

reaped not longe before, and fawe the number of sheaues lying in euery shocketogether, & no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, & told them that were with him, me thinks all LACONIAIS as it were an inheritance of many brethern, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, & to haue made a common partition betwene them, to thend he would have vtterly taken away all vnequalitie. But finding the cittizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, thould be taken awaye: he went about to doe it more fecretly, and in a conninger wife to take away that couetoufnes. For first of all, he dyd forbid all covine of golde and syluer to be currant: & then he dyd set out cer- Lycingus taine coynes of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and changeth all

quantitie was but litle worthe. So as to laye vp therof the value of tenne Minas, it would golde fine from haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue neded a yoke of oxen to carie it any where. Nowe golde & filuer being thus banished out of the countrie, many lewde partes & faultes must needes cease thereby. For who would robbe, steale, picke, take awaye, hyde, procure, or whorde vp any thing, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse. nor would be any pleasure to vie or employe. For, the iron they occupied for their covne; they cast vineger vpon it while it was redde hotte out of the fire, to kill the strength & working of it to any othervie: for thereby it was fo eger & brickle, that it would byde no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other facion. By this meanes he banished also, all superfluous Lycares & vnprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not neede to doe by any proclamation; bi- made all see-

cause they would fall awaye (or the most parte of them) euen of them selues, when the basenes en or man of the money they should take for their worke, should vadoe them. For their from moneys were not currant els where in the citties of GRECE, but enery bodye madea ieste of it there. By this occasion, the LACED & MONIANS could buye no forrein wares nor marchandises, neither

Ephores.

LYCVRGVS. 50 came there any shippe into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any sine curious Retho- A rician dyd repaire into their countrie to teache them eloquence, & the cunning cast of lying: nor yet came there to them any wyfard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell house, nor yet goldsmithe or ineller, to make or fell any toyes or trifles of golde or filuer to set forth women: considering all these things are vsed to be made to get money, and to hourd vp that they had not. After this force, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, beganne by litle and litle to vanishe awaye, & lastely, to fall of from them selues: when the most riche men had no more occasion then the poorest, and riches having no meane to shewe her selfe openly in the worlde, was fayne to remaine shut at home idely, as not able to doe her master any seruice. Thereupon moueables and householde stuffe (which a man cannot be without, and must be daylie occupied) as bedsteades, tables, chayers, and suche like necessa-B ries for house, were excellently well made: and men dyd greatly prayfe the facion of the L A-

occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, nowe to drive awaye all su-

perfluitie and deliciousnes, and to roote out vtterly desire to get and gather: he made another C

CONTAN cuppe which they called Cothon, and specially for a souldier in the warres, as Criticas Cothon a fraige kinde was wont to faye. For it was made after such a facion, that the culler of it dydlet the eye to discerne the fowle & vnwholsome water, which men are driven oftetimes to drinke in a campe, minian foul- and goeth many times against ones stomake to see it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleaue and sticke fast vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that drancke it. The reformer of their state was the cause of all this: bicause their artificers tending now no superfluous works, were

thirde lawe for eating and drincking, and against feastes and banckets. First he willed and com-Lyangur ap- maunded the cittizens, that they should eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of those he pointeth order had permitted by his ordinance. Then he dyd expressely forbid them to eate alone, or a parte,

the Laceda- or secretly by them selues, vpon riche tables and sumptuous beddes, abusing the labour of excellent worke men, and the deuises of likerous cookes to cramme them selves in corners, as they doe fatte vp beaftes and poultrie, which doth not only breede ill conditions in the minde,

but dothe marre the complexions of men, and the good states of their bodie, when they give them selues ouer to such sensualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men must needes sleepe muche, to helpe to disgest the excesse of meates they have taken, and then must they goe to the whotte houses to bathethem selues, and spendlong time about the D ordinarie attendance of their fickely bodyes. This was a marueilous thing for him to bring to passe, but much more, to make riches not to be stolen, and least of all to be coueted, as Theophrastus sayd of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all sobriety at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to passe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vie to playe, or shewe riches, fithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: so as that which is commonly spoken, that Pluto the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified only in the cittie of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the worlde. For there riches was layed on the grounde like a corfe without a foule, that moueth no whit at all: considering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home secretly in his house, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance E only to his meales, being already fedde and full fraight. For every mans eye was vpon those specially which did not eate & drincke with a good stomake amongest them: & it was the vse to reproche them as gluttons, and dayntie mouthed men, which refused to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they fave, that grieued most the riche aboue all that Lyeurgus made, and whereat they were most madde and angrie with him: in so muche, as on a daye, they all setting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to ronne out of the market place, and getting grounde of them, he recourred the liberties of a churche, before any could ouertake him: fauing one young man called Alcander, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was somewhat quicke of his hande, and cholericke with all. Who following Lyeurgus nerer then any other, dyd geue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a staffe, and F strake out one of his eyes, as Lycurgus turned toward him . Yet for all this, Lycurgus neuer bashed or made worde at the matter, but dyd lifte vp his head to those that followed him, and

shewed them his face all a gore bloude, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all so fore ashamed, that there was not a man that durst once open his mouth against him, but to the contrarie, they seemed to pittie him, and dyd deliuer Alcander into his handes that had done the dede, to punishe him as him selfe pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and thewed they were right hartely forie for his hurte. Lyeurgus thancking them, returned them all backe againe, faue that he made Alcander to goe with him into his house, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, Lycangus pa-

and made his other ordinarie feruaunts to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now cience and beganne to spye his owne faulte, dyd most willingly attend vpon him, and neuer spake worde gentlener. to the contrarie. When he had ferued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about

R him he beganne to feele and tafte of his naturall liberalitie, and fawe of what affection and intention Lyeurgus was moued to doe all he dyd: he perceyued what was the seueritie of his ordinary life, and what his constancy was to endure labour without wearines. Alcander then beganne to loue and honour Lyeurgus from his harte, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no suche seuere man as he seemed, but was of so kynde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I praye you howe Alcander was transformed by Lyeurgus, and his punishementalfo, which he should have received for of a fierce, rashe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became nowe a very graue and wife man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to Minerua, which he furnamed Optiletide, bicause the Minerua DORIANS which dwell in those partes of PELOPONNESUS, doe call the eyes, optiles. There opilleside.

C are other writers (as Dioscorides for one) which saye Lycurgus had a blowe with a staffe, but he had not his eye striken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this temple to Minerua, to give her thanckes for healing of his eye . Hereof it came , that ever fince the SPARTANS haue bene restrayned to carie staues in any assembly of counsell. But to returne to their common repastes, which the CRETANS called Andria, and the LACED EMONIANS Phiditia, Andria and either bicause they were places wherein they learned to line soberly and straightly (for in the media whyse GREKE tongue Phido, is to faue and spare) or els bicause their amitie and friendshippe grewe called. there towards one another, as if they would have called them Philitia, feasts of love, by chaun-

ging.d. into. L: It maye be also they added the first letter as superfluous, and ment to call the places Editia, bicause they dyd eate and drincke there. They fat in their halles by fifteene ina D companie, little more or leffe, and at the beginning of euery moneth euery one brought a bushell of meale, eight gallons of wine, five pound of cheese, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, besides some litle portion of their monye to buye certaine freshe acates. And ouer and aboue all this, every man when he dyd facrifice in his house, was bounde to send the best and chiefest things of his sacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewise if any man went an hunting, and killed any venison: it was an order, he should send a pece of the slesshe thither. Hauing these two lawfull causes, they might eate and drinke by them selues at home, either when they facrificed any beaft to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: other-

thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time: in so muche as king Agis on a daye, F returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowen the ATHENIANS, and being defirous to suppe at home privately with the Queene his wife, he sent to the halles for his portion. But the Polemarchi, that be certaine officers affifting the Kings in the warres, dyd denye him. The next daye Agis left of for spight, to doe the accustomed facrifice they were wont to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they fet a fine on his head, and condethned him to paye it. The young children also went to these repasts, euen as they should goe to children were schooles to learne grauity and temperature, where they heard wife and graue discourses brought to touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of masters that were as hierlinges. these mealer. There they learned pretylie to playe vpon wordes, and pleafauntly to sporte one with another, without any broade speaches, or vncomely lestes, and at others handes to beare the

wife they were bounde of necessitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any

F fame againe, without choller or anger. For this propertie haue the LACED & MONIANS about the former ine of a Luce all other, to take and geue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could demonian, not beare it, he neded but praye the partie to forbeare his iesting, and so he lefte it straight.

The order of companie, multirrit of necessitie be allowed and received in this forte, by all the rest. Euery one man into their

The blacke

Lyciargus haue his otherwise then in men m) ndes.

laves written

and that without any other toole of occupation . Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards Epaminondas had, when he fayed, speaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receyueth E

finenes, as those things require to wayte vpon them: bicause the beddes must be aunswerable to the meanenes of the house, the furnitures of the beddes must be sutelike to the same, and all other householde stuffe, dyet, meate, and drincke agreable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which Leontychidas the first King of that name, sayed once: who supping on a time in the cittle of CORINTHE, and seeing the roose of the hall where he satte, sumptuously embowed and carued, he asked straight if the trees dyd growe carued so in that countrie. The F third lawe was, he dyd forbyd them to make warre often with one enemie, left the enemie forced to take often armes in hande, might in the ende growe experter and vallianter then

any treason. Euen so thought Lycurgus, that such a buylt house would neuer receive curio-

Furthermore, concerning buying and barganing one with another, which are but trifles, and

And it was ever an ordinarie among them, that the eldest of the companie tolde the rest that A were come into the hall to meale, with shewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a worde here out of this dore. Euen so he that would be recevued to meale there in their of them tooke a litle balle of branne or dowe to wathe their handes with, and without euer a word speaking, they threwe it into a basen, which the servant that waited on them at the table dyd carievpon his head: he that was contented the other should be receyued in companie, dyd cast in his balle as he dyd recevue ir, but if he misliked him, then he pressed it star betwene his fingers, and threwe it in. This ball of branne thus pressed flat, was a smuch as a beane bored thorough, and was to them a figne of condemnation. If any one balle were found of this forte,

the futer was rejected: for they would not have any enter into their companie, that was not B liked of all the rest. He that thus was rejected, they saye he was discadded : for the basin wherein the litle balles were caried, was called Caddos. The best dishe they served at these meales, was that they call their blacke brothe: so that when they had that, the olde men dyd eate no fleshe, but leste it all to the younge men, and they by them selues dyd eate the brothe. There was a king of Pont vs, that being defirous to tafte of this blacke broth, dyd buye of purpofe a LACED EMONIAN cooke: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry straight. The cooke then fayed vnto him: and it please your grace, ere one shall finde this brothe good, he must be washed first in the river of Eurotas. After they had eate and drunckethus soberly to-Dion fin the gether, enery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to goe this ther, nor any where els with light, bicause they should accustome them selues boldely to goe C

vp and downe the darcke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is specially to be noted, that Lyeurgus would in no wise haue any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expressely set downe in his lawes they call Retra, that none of his lawes should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a cittie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens heartes and manners, as to have continuaunce for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre stronger knot to tve men with, then any other compulfary lawe. Which when men by vse and custome through good education doe take in their childhoode, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him felfe.

fometime are chaunged in one forte, and sometime in another, as occasion serueth: he thought D it best not to constrayne them to doe it by writing, nor to establishe customes that might not be altered, but rather to leave them to the libertie and discretion of men which had bene brought up in the same, bothe to take awaye, and to adde therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefest pointe of a good lawe maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cause men to be well brought vp and instructed. One of his ordinaunces therefore was expressely, that not one of his lawes should be written. Another of his deuises was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to auoyde, he made a lawe that l'all roofes of houses should be made only with the axe, and all gates and doores with the sawe,

fitie or daintines. For no man is so maddely disposed or simple witted, as to bring into so poore and meane houses, bedsteades with filuer feete, imbrodered couerlettes, or counterpoyntes of purple filke; neither yet plate of golde nor of filuer, nor fuche other like costly furniture and

A they. For this cause king Agesilaus was greatly blamed, who was a longe time after . For bu making often warres with the countrie of Bon or IA, he made the THEBANS in the ende as expert and valliant fouldiers, as the LACED & MONIANS. Whereupon Antaleidas feeing him hurte one daye, fayed vnto him: The THEBANS have nobely rewarded thee for their learning, fith thou hast made them expert soldiers viwilling to learne the discipline of warte.

These be the lawes Lycurgus selfe called Retra; and signific as muche as Oracles that the forms. god Apollo had discouered to him . Nowe the education of children , he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter, that a reformer of lawes should establishe. Therefore beginning a farre of the first considered the state of mariage, and the generation of children. For Aristotle fayeth, that Lycurgus dyd attempt to reforme women, and dyd soone gene it ouer B againe: bicause he could doe no good therein, by reason of the great libertie they had taken by the absence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often so to be abroade, and that they dyd leave them mistresses of their house, and at their returne dyd honour them so

muche, and make of them so beyonde measure, with calling them ladves and mistresses. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well as he had of mens: and so reason dyd require. First of all, he willed that the maydens should har- The distilden their bodyes with exercise of running, wrestling, throwe the barre, and casting the pline of work darte . to the ende that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwardes conceyued, taking amongoff the norishement of a stronge and lustie bodye, should shoote out and spread the better; and that minus will they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easely awaye with the paynes polis, lib.7. C of childe bearing. And to take awaye from them their womanishe dayntines, and fines, he The exercises brought up a cultome, for young maydes and boyes to goe as it were a precession, and to and discipline

daunce naked at folemne feaftes and facrifices, and to finge certaine fonges of their owne of maydes. making, in the presence and fight of young men. To whom by the wave they gave many times prety mockes of purpole, as pleafauntly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their dueties: and sometimes also in their songe for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they prayled them which had deserved it. By this meanes, they dyd set young mens hartes a fire, to striue to winne most prayse and honour. For who so was praysed of them for a valliant man, or whose worthy actes were songe by them, he thereby was incoraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others,

D was of no leffe force, then the sharpest wordes and admonitions that otherwise could be geuen them. This tooke place the rather, bicause it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Senatours, & all the rest of the cittizens which came thither to see these sportes. And though the may des dyd shewe them selves thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty seene nor offred, but all this sporte was full of playe and toyes, without any youthfull parte or wantonnes: and rather carried a shewe of demurenes, and a desire to have their best made bodyes seene and foved. Moreover, it fomewhat lifted up their hartes, and made them noblier minded by geuing them to viderstand, that it was no lesse comely for them, in their kynde and exercises to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exercises to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of LACED EMONWERE So bolde to saye, and thincke of them selves E that, which Gorgona the wife of king Leonidas one daye aunswered : being in talke with a straunge woman that faved to her. There be no women in the worlde that commaund their . . .

there no women but we, which bringe forth men. Furthermore, these playes, sportes, and a Laton daunses, the maydes dyd naked before younge men, were prouocations to drawe and allure woman. the young men to marye not as perfuaded by geometricall reasons, as saveth Plato, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Those which would not marye, he made infamous by lawe. For it was not lawfull for suche to be present, where these open games and pastimes Men that were shewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the cittie compelled suche as would not would not marye, euen in the hardest time of the winter, to enuironne the place of these sportes, and maye, Lycus-

F to goe vp and downe starcke naked, and to singe a certaine songe made for the purpose at infamous by gainst them, which was: that instely were they punished, bicause that lawe they disobeyed. laws. Moreouer, when suche were olde, they had not the honour and renerence done them, which E iii

husbands, but you wives of LACED & MON. Whereto the Queene straight replyed: so be The faring of

old maried men viually received. Therefore there was no man that milliked, or reproved that, A which was spoken to Dereillidas: albeit otherwise he was a noble captaine. For comming into a presence, there was a young man which would not vowchesafe to rise & doe him reuerence, nor to geue him place for to fit downe: & worthely, o he, bicause thou hast not gotten a sonne, who maye doe so muche for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marie any, were driven to take them awaye by force whom they would marie, not litle younge wenches I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luftie & strong maides of age to beare children. And when one of them was stolen awaye in this forte, she that was privile thereto, and meane to make the mariage, came and shaued the heares of her head that was maried: then she put her into mans apparell, & gaue her all things sute like to the same, and layed her vpon a matteresse all alone, without light or candell. After this was done, the bridegroome, being B neither droncke nor finelier apparrelled then he was wonte to be, but having supped soberly at his ordinarie, came home fecretly to the house where the bride was : and there vntied his wiues girdell tooke her in his armes, laved her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards faver & foftely stole awaye to the place, where he was wonte to sleepe with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued allwayes to doe the like, being all the daye time, and fleeping most of the night, with his companions, onles he sometime stale to see his wife, being affrayed, and ashamed euer to be seene, by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his younge wife did helpe for her parte, to fpye meanes and occasions howe they might mete together, and not be seene. This manner endured a great while, and vntill somme of them had children, before they boldely met together, and fawe eache other on the daye C time. This fecret meeting in this force did ferue to good purposes, not only bicause it was some meane of continencie and shamefastnes, but also it kept their bodies in strength and better state, to bring forth children. It continued also in both parties, a still burning loue, and a newe defire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as muche as they luft: but they ever parted with an appetite one from another, keeping still a longing defire to deuile howe to mete againe. Nowe when he had stablished suche a continencie, and so kynde a framed honestic in mariage, he tooke no lesse care to drive awaye all soolishe iealousietherein, thin-Lycurgus re- king it very good reach n to beware there should be no violence, nor confusion in mariage: and yet as reason would, they should suffer those which were worthie to get children as it D were in common, laughing at the mad follie of them which reuenge such things with warre and bloudshed, as though in that case men in no wise should have no fellowshippe together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being stepped in yeres, and having a young wife, if feeing a fayer young man that liked him, and knowen with all to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would auowe it for his, as if him selfe had gotten it. It was lawfull also for an honest man that loued another mans wife, for that he sawe her wise, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her husband to suffer him to lye with her, and that he might also plowe in that lustie grounde, and cast abroade the feede of well fauored children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloude and parentage, with the most honorable and honestest persones. For first of all, Lycur- E ew did not like that children should be private to any men, but that they should be common to the common weale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become cittizens, should not be begotten of euery man, but of the most honestest men only . So Lycurque thought also there were many foolishe vaine toyes and fansies, in the lawes and orders of other nations, touching mariage: feeing they caused their bitches and mares to be limed and couered with the fayrest dogges and goodliest stalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the masters and owners of the same: and kept their wives notwithstanding shut vp safe vnder locke and key, for feare least other then them selues might get them with childe, although they were fickely, feeble brayned, and extreme olde. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewise to those that bring them vp, to have F unperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have fayer and good children.

A borne, as gotten of like feede and men. These things were done then by naturall and civill reason, neuertheles they saye women were so farre of then from intreatie, as euer they were before: fo as in olde time, in SPARTA,men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe where: No adultite of the aunswer made by Geradus (one of the first auncient SPARTANS) vnto a straunger, maye Souria be alledged: that asked him, what punishement they had for adulterers. My friend, to he, there be none here . But if there were ? replied the straunger againe . Marye fayed he, then he must paye as great a bull, as standing vpon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, mave drincke in the river of Eurotas. Yea marye: but howe is it possible (to the straunger) to finde such a bull? Geradas laughing, aunswered him againe. And howe were it possible also to finde an adultererin Sparta? And this is that which is found of Lyeurgus lawes touching mariages. Fur-B thermore, after the birthe of enery boye, the father was no more mafter of him, to cocker and This rature. bring him vp after his will: but he him felfe caried him to a certaine place called Lesché, tion of children will the where the eldest men of his kinred being set, did viewe the childe. And if they founde him dren with the faver, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and stronge: they gaue order he should be niam. brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thousand partes of inheritaunce for his edu-Lesche. cation. Contrariwife, if they founde him deformed, miss hapen, or leane, or pale, they fenthim to be throwen in a deepe pyt of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man Abothetes would fave, the common house of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it should live, considering from his birthe he was not well made, nor geuen to bestronge, healthfull, nor lustie of bodie all his life longe. For this cause C therefore, the nurce after their birthe did not washe them with water simply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whe- Tourne babes ther the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they suppose, that waste with children which are geuen to haue the falling ficknes, or otherwife to be full of rewmes & fickneffes, cannot abide washing with wine, but rather drye and pyne awaye: as contrarilie the other which are healthfull, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The nurces also of The Somain SPARTAVE a certaine manner to bring up their children, without swadling, or binding them nuree, vp in clothes with fwadling bandes, or having on their heades any croffe clothes: fo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better shaped and goodlier of bodie. Besides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without muche ten-D daunce, so as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be lefte alone in the darcke. neither were they criers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of base and cowardly natures. So that there were straungers, that of purpose bought nources out of La-CONIA, to bring up their children: as they faye Amyela was one of them, which nourced Alcibiades. But Pericles his tutor, gaue him afterwardes a bonde man called Zopyrus, to be Plino of the his mafter and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common flaues. fift Ale This did not Lycurgus. For he did not put the education and government of the children of SPARTA, into the handes of hyered masters or slaves bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the father him felfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne manner and liking . For fo foone as they came to feuen veres of age, he tooke and divided them by compa- Howe the Lanies, to make them to be brought up together, and to accustome them to playe, to learne; and children are tostudie one with another. Then he chose out of enery company one, whom he thought brought ve. to have the best wit, and had most courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouerfight of his owne companie. The reste had their eyes waiting allwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide paciently all corrections he gaue them, they did suche taskes and worckes as he appointed them; so that all their ftudie was most to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde graye headed men were present many times to see them playe, and for the most parte they gaue them occasions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and difcerne the naturall disposition of every one of them, and whether they gave any fignes or F tokens in time to come, to become cowardesor valliant men . Touching learning, they had as muche as serued their turne: for the reste of their time they spent in learning howe to obey, to awaye with payne, to indure labour, to ouercome still in fight. According to their

Irenes

LYCVRGVS. groweth and veres, they dyd channel the exercises of their bodyes: they dyd shaue their A heads, they went barelegged, they were constrained to playe naked together the most parte of their time. After they were past twelue yeres of age, they ware no lenger coates: and they gaue them yerely but one feely gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so nasty & sluttishe,& they neuer vsed to bathe or noynte them selues, sauing only at certained ayes in the yere, when they were suffered to tast of this refreshing. They lave and slept together vpon beddes of straw. which they themselues dyd make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the river of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them felues with their handes. It is a kinde without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they dyd mingle thiftle downe with these, which is called Lycophonas, bicause that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time. to Arthur the fauorers and likers of this prety youthe, which were commonly the luftieft and best dispo- B fed youthes of the cittie, beganne to be ofter in their companie; and then the olde men tooke the better regarde vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daylie exer-

cifes,& where their vse was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should

mocke another. This dyd their olde men, not by waye of pastime only, but with suche care and

harty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, & gouernours,

while they were boyes: in so much as there was never time nor place, where they had not all-

wayes some to admonishe, reproue, or correct them, if they dyd a faulte. Notwithstanding all

this, there was euer one of the honestest men of the cittie, who had expressely the charge and

gouernaunce of these boyes. He dyd diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouer-

fight of them, to suche a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardie, and C of the best corage amongest them. They called the children that were past infancie two yeres, Irenes: and the greatest boyes Melirenes: as who would save, ready to goe out of boyerie. This bove who was made ouerseer of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their cap-Melirenes. taine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his feruaunts when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest, and the most growen, to carie wodde when they should prepare dinner or supper, and those which were least and weakest, to goe gather erbes, which they must steale or lacke them. So they went out to steale some in gardens, some The theene- at the markets, other in the halles where the feaftes were kept, and men did eate together, invie of the La- to the which they conneyed them selues as closely and cunningly as they could denise: for if cedamoniana, they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terriblie, bicause they were so grosse and D necligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They stole also all other kinde of meate, whatfoeuer they could get or laye hands on. They pried and fought all occasions howe to take and steale meate handsomely, bothe when men were a sleepe, or els that they were careles, or did not geue good hede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundely, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittaunce, bicause neceffity should drive them to venter boldely, and wit should finde out all the deuises to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gaue them so small a diet. The seconde cause was, that their bodies might growe vp higher in height. For the vitall spirites not being occu-, pied to concoct and difgest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spread abroade by the quantitie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge them selues into lengthe, and shoote up for their light- E nes: and for this reason they thought the bodie did growe in height and lengthe, having nothing to let, or hinder the rifing of the fame. It feemeth, that the fame felfe cause made them faverer also. For the bodies that are leane and flender, doe better and more easely yeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariwife it feemeth these groffe, corpulent, and overfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heavy substaunce. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, and be formwhat cast before they should haue bene borne, be smaller and fayerer also, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: bicause the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easelier welded by nature, which geneth them their shape and forme. Touching the na- F turall cause of this effect, let vs gene place to other to dispute it that will, without our further

deciding of the fame . But to returne to the matter of the LACED & MONIANS children.

A They dyd robbe with fo great care, and feare to be discouered: that they tell of one, which hauing ftolen a litle foxe, dyd hyde him vnder his cloke, and fuffered him with his teethe and clawes to teare out all his bellie, and neuer cryed, for feare he should haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he stoode. This is not vncredible, by that we see younge boyes doe abide at this daye: for we have feene divers, which have bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of Diana, surnamed Orthia. Nowe this vnder master, who had the charge of euery companie of these boyes, vied after supper (fitting yet at the table) to byd childrens exone of them finge a fonge: to another he put forth a question, who was to be well aduised of existe after his aunswer, as for example: Who is the honestest man in the cittie? or howe thinckest thou their support,

by that fuch a one dyd? By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to judge of things R well or ill done, and to vinderstand the life and gouernment of their cittizens. For which of them dyd not aunswer quickly and directly to these questions, who is a good man, who is an honest cittizen, and who not: they thought it was a figne of a dulle wir, and careles nature, not geuen to any vertue, for desire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this vnder master was euer to waite for his aunswer, and to see it should be brief and well knyt vp in wordes: otherwise his punishement that aunswered crossely, or to litle purpose, was that his master byt him by the thumbe. This he dyd many times in the presence of the olde men and magistrates of the cittie, that they might fee whether he punished them with reason or not, and according to their deseruing. And though he dyd hurte him, they dyd not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone awaye, then was he him felfe rebuked and punished, if he had C corrected them to fore, or contrarylie had fauored them to muche. Moreouer they dydascribe the good or ill opinion conceaued of the children, vnto euery of their fauorers, and louers, which dyd affect and entertaine them: in a fmuch as they fave, a young boyevpon a time fighting with another, and a crye scaping out of his mouthe, which his fainte cowardly harte dyd yelde, his fauorer & louer was straight condemned by the officers of the cittie to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuousest women loued the young maydes thus also: yet was there no icalousie nor suspition that grewe The Lacedzhereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grewe a maruelous mutuall loue and kyndnes be-monial mantweene them, which loued in one selfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, need louing. dyddeuisehowe to make the childe they loued in common, the wifest, the gentlest, and the

speache had euer init a pleasaunt grace, and in sewe wordes comprehended much matter. For Lycurgus ordained, a great masse and weight of iron money, should be but litle worthe, and of a simall value, as we have toldeyou before: and contrarilie, that speache in fewe wordes, without any affectation, should holde much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being Short speache acquainted, after long filence, should be brief and pitthie in their aunswers. For as the seede of the Lacidaincontinent men which are to busie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote moniant. to bringe forth fruite: euen so immoderate speache, full of wordes and busie tattle, bringeth forthas litle sense. Hereof it commeth, that the aunswers of the LACONIANS were so shorte

D best conditioned aboue all other. They taught these children to speake in suche sorte, that their

& witty. As they saye, king Agis aunswered on a daye an ATHENIAN, who iesting at the swords E the LACED & MONIANS dyd were, sayed they were so shorte, that these tumblers, and jugglers dyd swallowe them downe in the fight of all the world: and yet sayed Agis, we hurte our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of speaking: which is not to speake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderstand them. I thincke also, that Lycurgus selfe, was shorte and quicke in histalke. For so a man maye coniecture by his aunswers which are written; as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to stablishe a popular state in LACEDE- seed. MON, that the basest might have as great authoritie as the highest. Beginne (& he) to doe it

first in thine owne house. And as that also which he aunswered another who asked him, why hehad appointed fo fmall things, and so little of value to be offered to the goddes? Bicause (q. lout 10 god. F he) we should neuer cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another time, touching to give a hidding con fightes and frayes, which was that he dyd neuer forbid his cittizens any of them, but those wherein they vie to geue their hande, as you would faye to yeld. Men finde also suche like our con

Shorte fensences of cer. taine Laconians. Lende Charitaus. Archidamidas.

Shame fen-

zences of the

Demaratus.

Thespon pur.

Pliffonar.

Paufanias

fonne.

Archida-

Laconiani.

aunswers, in some of his letters written to his cittizens, as when they asked him. Howe can we A defende our selues against our enemies? He aunswered: If ye be poore, and one doe couerno And Archidamidas, to one that demaunded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enowe fayd he, to drive awaye the wicked. We mave coniecture also their manner of speaking, by their wordes in mirthe, which they spake sometimes playing wife: for they dyd neuer vie to speake vaine wordes at randone, but it had alwayes fome fecret meaning in it, which required anothers good observation that would finde it. As D he which was defired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeated naturally: I have (faved he)

VV hen as they had well quenched tyrannie throughout their lande, by vvorthie vvarlike povver. Their happe was yet in woretched wife to dye, by scaling Selynuntaes strongest tower.

heard the nightingall it selfe. And another which having redde this inscription vpon a tumbe.

They well deserved death, fayed he, that dyd but quenche tyrannie: they should have quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boye to another, promiting to geue him suche hardie cockes of the game, as should ye in the place where they fought. O geue me not those (faid he) which will dye, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men fir- E ting in coches and litters as they went: godforbid (faid he) that I should ever fit in a chayer, where I could not rife to my elders. Suche were their aunswers & encounters. So that somme had reason which sayed heretosore, to speake LACONIAN like, was to be philosopher like: as you would fave, more to exercife the minde, then the bodye. Befides all this, they dyd fludie to finge well, and to make goodly ditties and fonges. Then they spake most properly and feately. There was in their fongs also a certaine motion, I wote not what, which stirred up the hearers hartes, and dyd kindle defire in them to doe notable feates. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter graue and morall, conteining for the most parte the prayse of those, which were flavne in battell for the defence of their countrie, as being happymen: & a shame to those that live, which for fainte hartes refused so to dye, to leade a miserable and vnfortu- F nate life. Or els they fange howe they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glorie of the worlde, and the true representation of vertuous men: as the songe would best become

more then another. And in another letter that was fent, where he discourseth, whether it were requifite to inclose the cittie with walles: he faveth can that cittie be without walles, which is enuironned with men, though it be vncompaffed with stone? Neuertheles it is harde to refolue, whether those letters, and other suche like that are shewed, be to be beleeued, or discredited to be his. But that long speache was much disliked, and reproved among the LACED E-MONIANS, it is manifestly to be seene by the words, which somme amogest them have heretofore aunswered. As king Leonidas sayed one daye, to one that discoursed with him many good things, but out of feafon: friend, thou speakest many good wordes, but to litle purpose. And Charilaus, nephew to Lycurgus, being asked why his vncle made fo fewe lawes: bicaufe faved R he, to men of fewe wordes, fewe lawes will ferue. And Archidamidas fayed thus to fomme, which reproued Hecateus the Orator, for that being bidden to supper at one of their feafts he spake not a worde all supper time. He who can speake well knoweth also when to speake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feate and quicke aunswers, commonly there was some prety grace, it may be well seene and knowen by these that followe. Demaratus aunswered a bufie fellowe who troubled him to much with vaine importunate questions, asking him still: who was the honestest man of LACED EMON? even he that is least like thy selfe. And Agis faved to somme which highely prayfed the ELIANS for their vpright judgement, & just dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (9 he) if in fine yeres space the E-LIANS one daye doe good justice? And Theopompus likewife to a straunger, who as desirous C. to thew his affection he bare the LACED EMONIANS, told him how every bodye called him Philolacon (as to fave) a louer of LACED EMON. It were more honestie for thee (fayed he) to be named Philopolites, a louer of her cittizens. And Plistonax the sonne of Paulanias, when an Orator of ATHENS fayed the LACED EMONIANS were vulearned, and ignorant: thou fayest true of he, for we only of all the GRECIANS have learned none of your ill conditions.

A their ages which dyd finge. It shall not be impartinent for the better understanding hereof, to bring you here an exaple. For in their open fealts, there were alwayes three dauces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the olde men, thus beganne first for to finge. Three danne

We have bene young and strong yea valliant heretofore, till crooked age did holde vs backe, and bad vs doe nomore.

The young men followed after finging:

D

We yet are young, bolde, strong, and ready to maintaine that quarell still against all menthat doe on earthe remaine.

The third was of children that came after and faved:

And we doe hope as well to passe you all at last, and that the vvorlde shall vvitnes be ere many yeres be past.

To conclude, who nerely will confider the worcks and makings of the LACON poets (wherof some areyet extant) and will marke also the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the sound and measure whereof they marched in arraye, going to charge the enemie: he shall finde, that measure whereor they marched in arraye, going to change of Terpander speaking Terpander of Terpander, and Pindarus, had reason to invite hardynes with musicke. For Terpander speaking Terpander of the Lacide of the LACED & MONIANS, fayeth in a place:

she Lacede-

ces among the

I acad amo-

This is that lande where deedes of chewalrie, did florishe most in many a martiall feate: Where musicke made her choise of harmonie, and justice kept her stately royall seate. And Pindarus speaking of them also sayeth:

There: graue aduise is founde in aged braynes: there: vallant youthes are lusty ladds in dede. Which can both singe, and daunce, in court like traines:

vet dant their foes with many a doughty dede.

By which testimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and describeth them to haue loued musicke, and the warrestogether. For as another LACON poet sayeth,

For this cause therefore in all their warres, when they should geue battell, the King dyd first facrifice to the Muses, to put his souldiers in minde (as it should seeme) of the discipline & wif-

It litteth well and is a semely thinge. for such as spend their time in feats of warre: To have the skyll, wete fonets for to linge. and touche the harpe vvithouten langling larre.

dome of the Muses that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his fouldiers were in the most extreme daunger, the Muses should present them selves before the souldiers eves. to pricke them forward to doe some noble actes of worthy memorie. In their time of warre, they dyd tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accustomed life, & suffered them The lange then to trime their heares, to have brave armour, to weare gay apparell, & tooke as great de-bushes and light therein, to feethem gallant, & luftie, as to behold young neying & fnorting horse, desirous heare of the for to fight. And althoughe from the beginning of their youthe, they dyd vie to weare longe E heares: yet were they neuer so carefull to combe & brushe their heades, as when they should to the battell. For when they dyd nointe them selves with sweete oyles, & dyd shed their heare, remembring Lycurgus faying: who was wont to tell them, that heares to them which were faver, dyd make them more faver, & to them that were fowle, they made them more ougly & dredfull. The exercises also of their bodies, were more easie & gentle, & not so hard & straight in their warres, as they were in a peace: & generally, their whole manner of life was not then fo straightly viewed, nor ver controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom How the Lawarres were made a rest from labour, which men ordinarylie doe endure, to make them the conians befitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was fet in battell raye, euen in the face of the Latonite the enemie the King dud Omighe Configure and the configure of the Latonite the configure of the Conf

F all his fouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heades, & willed that the pipes should they marfound the longe of Castor: at the noyle & tune whereof, he him felfe beganne first to marche 1144, 15.

the enemie, the King dyd straight facrifice a goate vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded forge when

monians fonges.

forward. So that it was a maruelous pleasure, & likewise a dredfull sight, to see thewhole battell A marche together in order, at the found of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confounde their ranckes, nor to be difmayde nor amazed themselves, but to goe on quietly & joyfully at the founde of these pipes, to hazard themselves even to death. For it is likely, that such corages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercome with much furie: but rather they haue an affured constancie & valliantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the affifting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had allwayes fome about him, which had before time wonne the prifes in games and inftes. And they faye there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympicall, not to prefent him felfe at them: buthe refuled it, liking better with great payne to winne the prife, then for muchemoney to lofe his honour . Whereupon one fayed vnto him, LACONIAN: & what B hast thou gotten nowe, to carie away the prife with so much swet? The LACONIAN aunswered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, layeth he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they dyd still fiercely and fiercelier fet vpon them, and dyd neuer cease, vntill their enemies gaue wave and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, vntill fuch time as their ouerthrowe and flight had affured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, judging it to be no manhod, neither the parte of anoble minde, or of fo wor hye a nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hewe in peeces, men fo scattered and out of order, having for saken all the hope of victorie. This fell out not only honorable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them. knowing they killed none but suche as resisted stowtely, and howe they dyd let other goe C which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to flye, then to tarie and abide the strokes. Hipping the sophister sayeth, that Lycurgus himselfe was a very good captaine, & a great fouldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fieldes: & Philostephanus afcribeth to him the deuise to put horsemen in troupes & companies, which they called Oulames, whereof fiftie men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selves in squadros. But Demetrius the Phalerian writeth otherwife, that Lyeurgus was neuer at the warres, & that he made all his lawes and gouernment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of warres during the playes Olympicall, which they fave he deuised doeth shew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, & one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom Hermippus was one) fave, he was not with Iphitus at the first beginning when he ordeined the D playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, paffing by in his iorney only, & that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, faying the maruelled much why he dyd not perfuade his cittizens also to be parteners of this newe deuise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he sawe no bodye. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speache from the goddes: & went therefore presently to seeke out Iphitus, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwardes were farre more famous, better ordered, & more stately then before, But to returne againe to the LACED & MONIANS: their discipline & order of life continued still, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to line as he lifted, but they were within their cittie, as if they had bene in a campe, where every man knoweth what allowance p he hath to liue with all, & what busines he hath els to doe in his calling. To be shorte, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serue them selues, but to serue their countrie. Therfore if they were comaunded nothing els, they went continually to fee what the children dvd, and to teache them somewhat which might profit the common weale, or els they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which Lycurgus euer brought into his cittie, was the great rest and leysure which he made his cittizens keyfore of the to have, only forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goodes were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bonde men by the warres, dyd till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, F they tell of a LACED & MONIAN, who being on a daye at ATHENS where the lawe was plea-

ded, dyd vnderstand that a cittizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and howe he went home

A to his house very forowfully, accompanied with his friends which were forie for him, & greatly lamentedhis ill happe. The LACED & MONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to Thewe him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman, I have alledged this, to thew how he thought it a vile & feruill thing to exercife any handy craft, or to worke any thing by handetoget money. For futes in lawe, a man mayebe well affured they were banished with the golde & filuer from LACED & MON, confidering now there was no more auarice nor couethe golde & muer from LACEDE MONGOINGERING MONGOINGERING MONGOING WITH BOUND TOURS there, noryet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundaunce, & quiet life with for with golde or with golde or brietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed daunting, feaftes, playes, ban-filter that kets, hunting, or other exercises of bodye, & meetinges to passe the time away. For the younge was bomilioned, men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buye any prouision the time in B or things for the house, but dyd their fathers or their friends busines: naye it was a shame for spara. the oldest men, to hawnte the market to often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be present at the shewe place the most parte of the daye, where they diversely exercised their bodyes, & likewise to be at the places of affembly, there to spend time with talking together, &

discouring honeftly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or mo-

ney. For all their talke (for the most parte) was about the praying of some honest thing, or

fportingwise to reproue some dishonestie, which alwayes carried with it some gentle lesson or

monition by the waye. For Lycurgus was not fuch a fower man, as they neuer fawe him laughe: but as Sofibius writeth, it was he that first facrificed to the litlegod of laughture, which is at LA-CED EMON, bicause he would mingle their feastes and assemblies with mirthe, as a pleasaunt C sawce to easethe trouble of their strickt and harde life. To be brief, he did accustome his cittizens fo, that they neither would not could line alone, but were in manner as men incorporated The Lucdezens fo, that they neither would not could fine alone, but were in mainer as their incorporated menian fined one with another, and were allwayes in company together, as the bees be about their mafter her privately bee: ftill in a continual loue to ferue their countrie, to winne honour, & to advaunce the com- to them felmonweale. Which affection of theirs is playne & eafely feene to be imprinted in them by certen of their aunswers, as in that which Padaretus sayed on a time, being left out of the election padaretus of the number of the three hundred. Who departus have a being left out of the election padaretus of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and iocond as some might be, fayed: It did him good to fee there were three hundred founde better in the cittie than him selfe. Pistratidas also being sent ambassadour with certen other to the lieutenants of the king of Persia, the Persian lordes asked him, if they came of their owne defire, or D whether they were sent from the whole state: if we obtaine, sayed he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our felues . And Argileonida the mother of Brasidas , asked some that went to vilite her after they were returned home to LACED & MON from their ionney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her fonne died like a man, and a worthy Spartan. And they straight did commend him highely, faying there was not left in all LACED & MON fuche a valliant man. She replied vnto them. Saye not fo, my friends, I praye you: for Brasidas was in dede a valliant man, but the country of Laconia hath many moe yet vallianter than he was. Now touching their Senate: Lycurgus was the first that erected it among them . The first that were thereof, The manner were Lycurgus chief ayders & affilters of that erection, as we have declared before: but after- of chooping were Lycurgus chief ayders & affilters of that erection, wards he ordeined, that when any of those first should happen to dye, they should choose in his spans. place the most honest reported man in the cittie, so he were three score yere olde and aboue. This was the nobleft glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prife, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest among est the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, foueraine authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the common weale, the honour, the life, and the goodes of the whole cittizens: howbeit the election was made after this forte. The people first affembled in the market place, where therewere some appointed and shut vp thereabout in a house, from where they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but onely they might heare the noyfe which they made there . For the people by their crye and showte did declare whom they did choose, and whom they did refuse of the competitours, as they wed F to shewetheir liking by the like crye in other things. The competitours were not brought in and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the middest of the assemblie of the people, and fayed never a worde.

The Laconia Cerue their countrie.

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locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnes of the crye, and showte the people made, as euery competitour passed by, not knowing nor seing who he was, These hidden men did onely set downe in their bookes, the first, the second, the thirde, and so many more, as by showtes and cryes they perceyued dyd passe thus through the assemblie. They noted also in their faid bookes, which of these had the greatest crye and showte of people at their paffing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour chosen. Then done the Se- he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the cittie to geue thankes, having a great traine of young men following, and prayling of his vertues. There went also with him a maruelous company of women finging songes of his prayse, and howe bleffed he was, that he had lived fovertuously. Then every one of his kinne prepared a B bancket for him athome at their houses, and as he entred the house, they sayed vnto him: The sittie honoreth thee with this bancket. That done, he repayred afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he dyd in all things as he was accustomed, sauing he was serued nowe at his table with a double allowaunce, whereof he referued the one. After supper, all his kinsewomen ftoode in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loued best, and gaue her his allowaunce he had saued, and sayed to her: This was geuen me in token I was this daye rewarded for my vertue: and euen fo I geue it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the women there to her house, euen in like forteas he was by the men. Touching burialles, Lycurgus made a wife order: For first of all, to cut of all superstition of burying places, he commaunded they should burie their dead within C the cittie, & that their graues should be round about their temples, that young persones might haue them allwayes in their eyes,& not be affrayed to see a deadbodye, as if to touchea corse, or to passe by their graues, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the corfe, and willed they should only lappe it up in a redde clothe, with oline leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead body evpon his graue, but only of fuche a man as died in the warres, or of some holy woman professed into their temples. Furthermore, the The time of time appointed to mourne in, was very shorte. For it lasted not but a eleuen dayes, and on the twelft daye, they must doe sacrifice to Proserpina, and so leave of their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his cittizens: for to all necessarie things which men can not lacke, Lyeurgus loyned euer a certaine emulation of men. As to desire vertue, and to con- D temne vice: and furnished his cittie with many good preceptes and examples, emong which his cittizens being still borne and bred vp, and having the same in every place before their eyes where they went, they came to paffe in time to be framed after the very patterne and Rose allored moulde of vertue it selfe. For this cause he didnot suffer any to travell out of the countrie, or to goeabroad as he would, without speciall licence, for feare least those which trauelled abroad after counts for their pleasure, should bring homestraunge factors and manners, and a corrupt disordered life, which by litle and litle might get waye, and bring an alteration and chaunge of the whole stare. Furthermore, he kept out of Sparta all straungers, except those which had necessarie busines there, or were come thither for some profit to the countrie: northat he was affrayed they should learne some thing whereby to lone vertue, or that they should defire to followe his E facion and manner of gouernment as Thueydides was: but rather fearing they should teache $his\ cittizens\ fome\ naughty\ manners, or\ fome\ ill\ fauored\ vice. For\ it\ multineedes\ be, that\ ftraundard respectively. The property of the property$ gers bring euer straunge and newe deuises with them: which newe deuises bring with them al-To newe opinions: and newe opinions beget newe affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale established before, as discordes doe many times in an harmonie of mulicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he indged it a thing most necessarie, to keepe his cittie free and safe from couterfeating of any straungers manners or facions, that were comonly as persones infected with some contagious ficknes. Nowe in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no manner of token or thewe of iniuftice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith fome feme to burden Lycurgus in his lawes: F by faying they were well made, to make men warlicke and valliant, but not to be infte or righteous.But cocerning the lawe they call Cryptia, as much to faye, as their fectet: if it were of Ly-

cargue infilintion, as matrificate fayeth, it might have caried Plate into the like opinion that Mycorgus had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The gouernours which had the charge and outerlight of the young men, at certaine appointed times; dyd chufe but those they thought so have the best discretion, and sent them abroade into the countrie, some one wave, forme another waye, who caried with them daggers, and fome prouision to feedethern. These young men being thus differ fed abroade in the countrie, did hide them felues all the daye close in secret places, and there they laye and tooke their rest: afterwardes when night was come, they went to feeke out the high wayes, and killed the first of the F1 or as that they met. Some The coults times turn in the broade daye, they went into the countrie to kill the ftrongett and flowreft of of the Lacetherixas Thucydides telleth in his history of the warres of PELORONNES V.S, where he saybth. n That a certaine convenient number of the ILOTES were crowned, by a publicke proclama lluer. tion of the SPARTANS: and being infranchefed, for their good fernices they had done the common weale, they were caried to all the temples of the goddes for an bonour . Within a

while after, no man knewe what was become of them, being about two thousand in humbers fo that neuer manheard tell neither then nor fince, howe they came to their deathes. Howbert Aristotle aboue albothers sayeth, that the Ephores, so soone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the Luores, bicause they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardely. For they forced them formings to drincke wine without water out of measure, till they had made them starke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde C them, and to fee what beaftlines it was for a man to be drunke. Likewise they made them singe fonges, and daunce daunces, whit for honelt men, and fuche as were full of derifion and mockerie, and did forbid them expressely to singe any honest songes. So it is reported, that in the iomey the THEBANS made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTES were taken prisoners thereat. and when they were commaunded to finge the verses of Terpander, or of Aleman, or of Spen. Diadrill don the Laconian, they would not doe it : faying , they durft not finge them for their mafters. "best Wherefore he that first sayed in the countrie of LACED & MONIA, he that is tree is more free. and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knewe very well the divertitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in

my opinion, the LACED & MONIAN'S beganne to vie these great outrages and eruelties, long n time after the death of Lycurgus, and specially since the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the ILOTES role against them with the MESSENIANS, and did great mischief through the countrie, and put the cittie to the greatest distresse and damiger that eser ithad. For I cannot be perfuaded, that ever Lycurgus invented, or inflituted, fo wicked and mifchieuous an acte, as that kynde of ordinaunce was: bicaufe I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iuftice wee fee he vfed in all his other doings; and was witheffed befides by open oracle from the goddes, for a just and wife man. Furthermore, they lave of him, that when he fawe the chiefest pointes of his government had taken deepe roote; and that the forme of his common weale went on, and was strong enough to mainteine and keepe it felfea foote, like as Plato fayeth, that God reioyced greately after he had made the worlde, Plato in Ti-H and sawe the same turne and moue his first mouing : even so Lytungus taking singular pleasure mas. and delight in his minde, to fee his notable lawes put in vie, and fo well stablished and liked of by experience, fought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could possible; by any forecast of man, that no after time whatsoeuer, might chaunge or put them downe: To bring this to passe, he caused all the people to assemble, and tolde them he thought his truill policie and ftate of common weale was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: vet

there was one matter behinde of greater importaunce than all the rest, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntillhe had first asked counsell of the oracle of Apollo : And therefore in the meane time they should keepe and observe his lawes and ordinaunces inviolablie, without chaunging, remouing, or flaying any matter therein, whill he were returned from the cittle of the property of the S, and then they should doe that other thing behinde, if the God then so counselled worderful. him. They all promifed him to doeit, and prayed him to make haft to goe on his iorney. Burbe- compili in forche departed, he made the Kings and Senatours sweare first, and consequently all the peo-

ple after that they would keepe his lawes and ordinaunces without chaunging or aftering any A thing, vntill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the cittle of DELPHES, where fo fone as he arrived, he facrificed in the temple to Apollo, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happy life. Apollo made him aunswer, his lawes were very good: and that his cittie keping them, thould be the most renowmed of the worlde. Lycurgue caused this oracle to be written, which he fent to SPARTA. After he facrificed to Apollo againe : and then taking leave of his friendes, and of his fonne, he determined to dye, bicause his cittizens

should never be released of the other they had made betweene his handes. When he had this

determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hathe ftrength enough to live lenger.

Ly curgus

the chiefest of the worlde, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the space of fine hundred yeres. For fo long his cittle kept his lawes without any chaunge or alteration by any of the C hed fine hundred yeres. Lycurgus Lyfanders

See more in Lyfäders life. Ly fander brought in ri- naunces of Lycurque. The which to long as they were in force and vie, it appered that the goches againe into Sparta.

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affembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spye him: E they did then so greatly reuerence the good government & instice of the SPARTANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which saye, the cittie of LACED EMON could obey well. but not commaunde: and for proofe they alleage wordes of king Theopompus, who auniwered one which fayd, that Sparta was mainteined, bicause the Kings could commaund well. Nave the rather (fayd he) bicause the cittizens can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subjectes, dependeth much vpon the fufficient commaundement of the wife prince. For he that directeth well, must needes be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse mes breedesh gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen so the chiefest pointe belonging to a prince, is due obediere. to teach his subjects to obey. Wherefore the LACED & MONIANS procured, that not onely F other people did willingly obey them, but also defired to be ruled, and commaunded by them. For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men

bringing in great store of golde and siluer from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordi- D

uernment of Spart a seemed not to be a pollicy or common weale, but rather a certaine holy

place & order of religion. And euen as the Poets fayne, that Hercules went through the world

with his clubbe, and Iyons skynne, punishing cruell robbers and vnnaturall tyrannes: so in like

case with a little scrowe of parchement, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and

and yet was olde enough also to dye if he would . Wherefore finding him selfe happy to haue obteined his defire, he willingly pyned him felfe to death, by abstinence, and lacke of meate. For B he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the common weale, and that the ende of their life should be no more idle, or unprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to have their death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordeined fo many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawe. and the continuall preservation of his cittie, considering all his cittizens had sworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceased of his hope, for his cittie was

Kings successours, vntill king Agis, the sonne of Archidamus beganne to reigne. For the creation of the Ephores, did not breake, nor discontinewe any of the lawes of Lycurgus, but reduced broke in king them rather to a more straight and stricktorder: although it seemed at the first that the Ephores Aguinne, by were ordeined, for the maintenaunce & defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deede they did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king Agu, gold and filuer beganne first to creepe in againe to the cittie of SPARTA, by meanes of Ly ander . With money there came in straight couetousnes, and gredines to get and gather. And although Lyfander was not defirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money; yet he brought riches and couetousnes into the countrie, and filled the same with all sinenes, by

geue lawes, to all the rest of GRECE, euen with their good liking and consent. And they chafed the tyrannes awaye, which vsurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their citties, and did decide all controversies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one souldier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently of warre to compell them, but onely they fent one cittizen of Spanta to gouerne them, to whom all the other people submitted them selnes, and were holpen by him in their necessitie, as fearing and reuerencing him . In this wifethe Sicilians were holpen by Gyfippus, the CHALCIDIANS by Brasidas, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by Lylander, Callieratides, and by Agefilaus, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were fent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the cittie of Sparta, as youn the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gotterne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery worde spoken in iest by Stratontede: Who said

he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their facrifices, and the ELIANS to tende their games: and if they made any faulte therein, the LACBDEMONIANS should be well whipped. That B was merely spoken, and in a selting manner. But Antisthenes (the philosopher and one of So- Antisthenen was merely iponen, and the Theban's growen very hawtie & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACED & MONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh fayed he, thele THE- worden RANS here doe like the schoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they have a little bea-

ten their mafter. But this was not Lycurgus meaning, to have his cittie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a cittie, as of a prinate man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his cittizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might mainteine and keepe them selues long in fafetie. The self fame intention had Plato, Diogenes, and Zenon, in fetting forth their bookes, which they wrote C of the government of common weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men The founda-

which have written of the same matter. Howbeit they only left behinde them wordes, and tion of a comwritten bookes: but Lycurgus contrariwife, left no written bookes nor pamplets, but stablished mon weale, and left behinde him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented. nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely see, a whole cittie liue together, and gouerne it felfe philosophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wildome: which imagined, that true wiledome was a thing hanging in the aver, and could not visiblie be seene in the worlde. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all those, which euer tooke vpon them to write or stablishe the gouernment of a common weale. And therefore fayeth Aristotle, that after his death they did him leffe honour in LACED EMONIA. D then he had deserved albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could deuise. And yet

they buylt a temple for him, and made folemne facrifice to him euery yere, as vitto a god. Diame be More, they faye, that when the ashes of his bodie were brought to STARTA, there fell straight nours to Lylightning vpon his tumbe where they were put: which they had not often feene to happen, to his deals. other men of name after their decease, saving only to the poet Euripides, who dying in MACE DONIA, was buried neere the cittle of ARBTHVSA. The which is some manifest argument for suche as loue the Poet, to laye against those which somewhat depraue him, seing this signe cameto him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the goddes. Some faye Lycurgus died in the cittle of CIRRHA. But Apollothemis fayeth, he died in ELIDA, Timeus and Aristoxenus write, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And Aristoxenus E fayeth further, that those of the Ile of CRETA doe shewe his graue in the place which they

call Pergamia, by the broade highe wayes fide. He left one onely begotten fonne named Ans Amioria Ly tiorus, who died without iffue, fo that his house and name fayled with him. But his neere kinses men and famillier friendes, did fet vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they affembled, were called the Lycurgides. There is another Aristocrates (the sonne of Hipparchus) who sayeth, that he being dead in CRET whis friendes burned his bodie, and afterwardes threwe his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any parte of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitans would haue fayed he was returned againe, and thereby would have thought them selves discharged of their othe, and might have lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and ende of Lycurgus life.

The ende of Lycurgus life.

und sind of

THE LIFE OF Numa Pompilius.



Numa van. Cicero de Or. a. Liu.Halic. lib.2,

V bether Pythagoras had any conmer fation with Numa.

the feconde, Nuna, at

HE Historiographers differ maruelously of the time, in which Name A Pompilius raigned King, albeit some will deriue from him many noble houses desceded in Rome. For one Cloding, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the auncient registers of the cittie of Rome were lost when it was taken and facked by the GAVLES: and that those which are extant at this daye be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which have thrust in auncient houses and families of the first ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to represent. On the other side, although the

common opinion be, that Numa was a familier friend and scholler of Pythagor as the philosopher, yet some saye he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. B And yer mainteining that it is possible enough, that he was so well borne, and had suche perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer neded any mafter: & though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this King vnto some other foreane person, that was more excellent then Pythagoras. Other faye, that Pythagoras the philosopher was long time after the raigne of Numa, & well nighe five ages after him. How beit other faye, there was another Pythagoras borne in SPARTA (who having wonnetheptyle of running at the games Olympicall in the fixtenth Olympiade, & the third yere of Numaes raigne) did come into ITA-LITE, where he kept much about Numa, & did affift & helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the Romaines, which this second Pythagoras was sayed to have taught him. Neuer- C theles it is not confessed that Numa was borne of the SABYNES, which they saye are descended from the LACED & MONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was, and chiefly for fuche as will followe the rolle or table of those, which from Olympiades to Ólympiades haue wonne the pryles of games Olympicall: confidering the rolle or table that they have at this prefent, was very lately published by one Hippias an Elian, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why at should be taken for an vindoubted trothe, which he in that forte hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worA thiz of memorie, which we could gather by any meanes of king Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest . It was nowe fithence Rome was buylt feuen and thirtie veres (for fo long time raigned Romulus) when Romulus the fifte of the moneth of July (which The death of they call the Nones of the goates) made a folemne facrifice without the cittie, neere to a cen-

raine place commonly called, the goate marthe. As all the whole Senate, with the most parter of the people were present at this sacrifice, sodainely there rose in the aver a very great termpeft, and a maruelous darcke thicke clowde, which fell on the earthe with fuche boysterous windes, stormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore common people being affrayed of so fore a tempest, dispersed them selues sodainely, running here and there for succour, and therewithall king Romalus vanished awaye in suche sorte, that he was neuer after seeine aline not

B dead. This brought the Senatours, and noble men whom they called Patricians, into great fulpition. And there ranne a fowle tale among the common people, howe they had a long time borne very impaciently to be subjects to a King, bicause them selves would have had and tax ken vpon them fome foueraine authoritie, and that for this cause they had killed king Romulion Adding somewhat more vnto it, howe a little before he had vsed them more roughely, and commanded them more ftraightly then he was wont or accustomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quenche all these bruites and murmurings, by doing divine honour and sacrafice vnto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the noblest men among them called Proclus came in , and by othe affirmed before all the people , that he me who were

fawe Romulus ascending vp into heaven, armed at all peces, and that he heard a voyce fave: Romaldes he C from thenceforth call him Quirinus. This being thus appealed, there fprangevp another trousble, to knowe whom they should choose in his place. For the straungers which were come then from other places to dwell in Rome, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne Diffention at ROMAINES: in so muche, as the common people dyd not only wauer, and stagger vp and Rome about down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many & of divers nations) did enter into a sheer King. suspition one of another. These things notwithstading they all agreed in this, that of necessitie they must choose a King: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not only whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first sounders and buyldersof the cittle of Rome with Romalus, could in no wife abide, nor fuffer, that the SABY NEIS (to whom they had divided parte of their landes, and a moytie of their cittie) (bould attempt

D and prefume to commaund them, whom they dyd receyue and affociate into their company and felowshippe. The SABYNES alledged on thother fide for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer sence the death of their king Tatino, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king Romulus, but had suffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore Romulus being nowe deceased, reason would that the newe King should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the Romaines had received them into their cittie, they could not say therefore, that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckoned of in any thing, than them selues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deserved the honour and title of a cittie. These were the causes of their contention. But E to preuent that of this contention there might growe no confusion in the circle if it should

remaine without an head to commaund the Senatours which were a hundred and lifticith Linie Careth number, gaue counsell that every one of them by turnes, one after another Ahould carie the but a hun royall state of the King, and all the showes and ornaments of his maiestie, and should does the dred. ordinarie facrifices of the King, and dispatche all causes fixe howers in the days, and fixe 200, howers in the night, as the King before had vied . Thus they thought it beltto daniste the rule, Plutar in the that one might have as much power as the other, as well in respect of them seluces, as also for segarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouning thus of this regall with Dionydignitie, and paffing it from man to man, would clene take awaye enuite among them, attel fundament make enery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly fee, that in one, and the felfe fame days the temperately. F and night, every of them should be a King and private persone also. The Romanian scall

this manner of regiment in vacation, Interregnum: as you would laye outle for the tind. Interregnum Nowe albeit their government was very modest and civil, ver they could min for all this

keepe themselves from falling into the suspinion, and slaunder of the people; who gaue is out straight, that this was a fine deuise of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a fewe noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouernment of all publicke causes, should remaine still in them selues, bicause it grieued them to be fubiect to a King. And in the ende, the two parter of the cittle came to this agreement: that the one parte should choose one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This course they liked very well, aswell for the pacification of present sturre and dissention amongest them selues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and sturring vp a likenes of goodwill in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should loue the one parte for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other parte for that he was of their nation. The SABYNES were the first, which referred the election to the Romaines choyle : and the Romaines B thought it better to chuse one of the nation of the Sabynes, then to have a Romain E chofen by the SABYNES. After they had consulted, they determined amongest them selues : and Numa chofm did choose Numa Pompilius one of the bodye of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of

the number of them which came to dwell at Rome, howbeit he was a man so samous for his vertue, that the SABYNES fo foone as they named him, did receyue him more willingly, then

they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest persones of the one & the other side, were chosen out to goe vnto him. Now Numa Pompilius News borne was borne in one of the chiefest and best citties which the SABYNES had, called Cures, whereupon the Romaines, and their fellowes the Sabynes, were called afterwardes Quirites, and Quinter why he was the sonne of Pomponius a noble man, the youngest of source brethern: being by the se- C cretworking of the goddes, borne on the very daye, on the which Rome was first founded by Romulus, which was the one and twenty daye of Aprill. This man being naturally geuen

and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by studie, and all kynde of good discipline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true pacience, and right philosophie, he did mar-

moment ueloufly adorne him felfe and his manners. For he did not only clere his foule, and minde, of Nona before all passions and vices commonly red in the worlde: but he conquered in him felse all heares, violence,& couetousnes. And would neither seeke nor vsurpe, that which was an other mans,

a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true, and right victorie in man, first to conquer and commaund him selfe by judgement & rea-

fon, & then to subdue all couetousnes & greedines. Hauing therfore this opinion, he would in D no wife haue in his house any superfluity or finenes. He became to euery manthat would employe him(aswell straunger as his owne countrie man)a wise confaillour, & an vpright judge. He bestowed his leysure, not to followe his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to

she goddesse

there to serue & cherishe his olde father with his wife Tatia: who for her parte also liked better, to liue quietly with her husbad being a private ma, then to goe to Rome where the might have lived in much honour and glorie, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13, yeres after she was maried. After her deathe, Numa leauing to dwell in the cittie, was better contéted to liue in the country alone, & folitarie, & gaue him felf to walke much in the fields & woddes confectated to the godds, as one defirous to leade alone life, farre from the copanie of men. Wherupon was raifed (in my opinio) that which is spoken of him, & of the goddesse Egeria. That it was not for any straungenes, or melancholines of nature, that Numa withdrew him self from the couerfation & copany of men, but bicause he had found another more honorable & holy fociety of the Nymphe, & goddeffe Egeria, who had done him, as they fave, that honour, astomake him her husbad with who as his beloued darling it is sayed he enjoyed happy dayes, & by dayly frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the loue & knowledge of all ce-F leftiall things. Surely, these deuises are much like vnto certain old fables of the Phrygias, which they having learned from the father to the sonne, doe love to tell of one Atu: of the Bithymians,

serue the goddes, & to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason & vn-

derstäding could coprehend. Thereby he got fo great a name & reputation, that Tatius (which

was king of Rome with Romulus) having but one onely daughter called Tatia, made him his

some in law. How beitthis mariage put him in no such iolity, that he would dwel at Rome with

his father in lawe, but rather kept at home at his own house in the countrie of the SABYNES,

A of one Herodotus: of the Ancantans, of one Endymion: and of many other fuch like men, who in their littes were taken for fayntes, and beloued of the goddes. Notwithstanding, it is likely that the goddes loue neither birdes, nor horse, but men, and have sometimes a liking to be familliar with perfect goodmen, and doe not disdaine sometime the conversation of suche as be: Goddes fair holyereligious, and denoute. But to believe the goddes have carnall knowledge, and doe de millier with light in the outward beawtie of creatures, that feemeth to carie a very harde beliefe. Yet the wife E GYPTIANS thincke it probable enough and likely, that the spirite of the goddes hath genen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they holde that a man can haue no corporall companie with any diume nature. Wherein they doe not colider, that every thing that loyneth together, doth deliver againe a like substance, to that B wherewith it was joyned. This notwithstanding, it is mete we should beleeue the godds beare good will to men, and that of it doth fpring their loue, whereby men faye the goddes loue those whose manners they purifie, and inspire with vertue. And they doe not offende, which fayne that Phorbas Hyacinthus and Admetus, were sometimes the louers of Apollo, and also Hippolytus the Sicyonian: of whom they reporte; that euer when he passed ouer the armé of the seas which lieth betweene the citties of Sicyona, and of Cirkha, the god which knewe he came. rejoyced, and caused Pythia the prophetesse to pronounce these heroycall verses.

I knowve full well, my deare Hippolytus. returnes by fea, my minde divineth thus.

It is fayd also that Pan was in loue with Pindarus and his verses, and that the goddes honored godden C the poets Heliodus, & Archilorus, after their death by the Mules. They fave moreover, that Afculapius laye with Sophocles in his life time, and at this daye they doe yet showe many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Nowe if they graunte, that fuch things maye be true: how can we refuse to beleeve, that some goddes have bene familliar with Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroastres, Lyeurgus, Numa, and fuch other like personages, which have governed kingdomes, & stablished common weales? and it is not

valike that the goddes in deede dyd company with them, to inspire and teache them many notable things, and that they did drawe neere vnto these Poets, & players of the harpe, that made: and played many dolefull and joy full ditties, at the least for their sporte and pleasure onely, if euer they came neere them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the wave is open and D large as Bacchylides fayed to thincke and faye as he luft. For my felfe I doe finde, that which is written of Lycurgus, Numa, and other fuche persones, not to be without likely hood and probabilitie: who having to governe rude, churlifhe, & stiffe necked people, and purposing to bring in ftraunge nouelties into the gouernments of their countries, did fayne wifely to have conference with the godds, confidering this fayning fell to be profitable & beneficiall to those them felues, whom they made to believe the fame . But to returne to our historie . Numa was fourty veres olde, when the ambaffadours of Rome were fent to prefent the Kingdome vnto him, & to intreate him to accept thereof, Proclus, and Velefus, were the ambaffadours that were fent. One Proclus and of the which the people looked should have bene chosen for King, bicause those of Romulus Vetesiu am-

fide, did fauour muche Proclus: and those of Tatius parte fauored Velesus. Nowe they yied no balladours to F. long speache vnto him, bicause they thought he would have bene glad of suche a great good the kingdom. fortune. But contrarely it was in deede a very hardthing & required great perfuafions & much intreatie, to moue a man which had allwayes lived quietly, & at eafe, to accept the regiment of a cittie, which as a man would faye, had bene rayfed vp and growen by warres, and marrially dedes. Wherfore he aunswered them in the presence of his father, and one other of his kinges men called Martius in this forte. Chaunge & alteration of manslife is euer daungerous: but for The oration him that lacketh nothing necessarie, nor hath cause to coplaine of his present state, it is a great of Norma to follie to leave his olde acquainted trade of life, & to enter into another newe and vnknowen, if down very finding there were no other but this only respect that he leaueth a certaintie, to venter woon an vncer- we will be a tainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the daugers & perills of this kingdom which

F they offer me, are not altogether vncertain, if we wil looke backe what happened vnto Romalus: Who was not vnfufpected to haue layed waite, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & copanion murdered:& now after *Romulus* death, the Senatours felues are mistrusted to have killed him on the

other fide by treason. And yet they saye it, and singuise ucry where that tomulus was the some of a god, that at his birthe he was miraculously preferued, and afterwardes he was as incrediblie brought vp. Whereas for my owne parte, I doe confesse, I was begonten by a morrall man, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men as you known and these fewe qualities which they prayle & commend in me, are conditions farre vnancto for a man chat is to raigne, Letter loued a folitarie life, quiet and ftudie, and did exempt myfelfe from worldly causes. All my life time I have fought and loued peace about all things, and never had to doe with any warres. My conuerfation hath bene to companie with men, which meete only to ferue & honour the goddes, or to laughe and be merie one with another, or els to spende their time in their private affayers, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas Romalin (my Romain E lordes) hath left you many warres begonne, which peraduenture you B could be contented to spare: yet now to mainteine the same, your citie had neede of a martiall King, active, & strong of bodye. Your people moreover, through long custome, and the great increase they are genen vnto by feates of armes, defire nought els perhappes but warres; and it is plainely seene, they seeke still to growe, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a mere mockerie for me, to goe to teache a cittie at this prefent to ferue the goddes, to loue inflice, to hate warres, and to flye violence: when it rather hath neede of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. These and suche other like reasons and persuasions Numa alleaged, to discharge him selfe of the Kingdome which they offred him: Howbeit the ambaffadours of the Romain somethumbly belought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another newe sturre, and commotion among them, feeing both partes in the cittie haue geuen their confent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreouer, when the ambaffadours had left him vponthis sute, his father, and Martins his kinseman, beganne also privately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer than he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor glorie, bicause he sought only most famous vertue: yet he must needes thincke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good feruice, whose will it was to employe the inflice they knewe in him, and not to fuffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (9 they) this royall dignitie, which to a graue and wife man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruites. There you maye doe noble fervice to the godds, to humble the hearres of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and eafely conforme them selues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued Tatius, although he was a ftraunger: they have confecrated a memorie to Romulus with dinine honours, which they make vnto hun at this daye. And it maye be, that the people feeing them selues conquerers, will be full enough of warres: and the ROMAINES being nowe full of spoyles & triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth inftice, that they maye thenceforth liue in peace, under good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hartes be still full of heate and furie to fight; is it not better to turne this their defire to make wartes some other wave, when a man hathe the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to iovne the countrie, and all the nation of the SABYNES, in perpetual loue E and amitie, with fo mighty and florithing a cittie? befides all these persuasions and reasons, there were many fignes also (as they saye) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countrie cittizens. Who, so soone as they understoode the coming, and commission of the ambassadours of Rome, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightby write and incorporate them together with the Romaines. Whereupon, Numa accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done facrifice to the goddes, he fet forwardes on his jour-Roma begin the Kingdome: Then after he had done facrifice to the goddes, he fet forwardes on his jour-net binking ney towardes Rome: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull defire to fee him. The women at his entrie, went bleffing of him, and finging of his prayles. They dyd facrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither F man nor woman but seemed to be as joyfull and glad: as if a newe Realme, and not a newe Kinge, had bene come to the cittie of Rome. Thus was he brought with this open joye,

A and rejoycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called Spurius Vettius, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignitie of the King. But he him felfe commaunded they should be stayed a while. faving: He must first be confirmed King by the goddes. Then he tooke the wise men & priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mounte Tarbeian. And there, the chiefest of the soothesayers called Augures, turned him towardes the southe, Numa was having his face covered with a veyle, and stoode behinde him, laying his right hande vpon his confectated heade, and praying to the goddes that it would pleafe them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election; and so the soothesayer cast his eyes all B about, as farre as he could possiblie discerne. During all this time there was a maruelous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were affembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the iffue of this divination would be wntill there appeared vnto them on the right hande, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the eleation. Then Numa putting on his regall robes, came downe from mounte Tarpeian, into the market place, where all the people receyued him with wonderfull showtes of ioye, as a man themost holy, and best beloued of the goddes that they could have chosen. So having taken \$ the royall feate of the Kingdome, his first acte was this. That he discharged the garde of the three hundred fouldiers, which Romulus had allwayes about his persone, called Celeres: saying, The garde of he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which seleres dis C should mistrust him. His secondacte was, that he did adde to the two priests of Impiter & Mars, Nama. a thirde, in the honour of Romulus, who was called Flamen Quirinalis. For the auncient Ro- Flamen Qui-MAINES also called their priests, instituted in the olde time, Flamines, by reason of certaine litle med of Nunarrowe hattes which they did weare on their heades, as if they had called them Pilamines: for ma. Pilos in Greeke fignifieth a hatte, And at that time (as they faye) there were many moe Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this daye. For they called the mantells the Kings did weare Lanas. And Iuba fayeth that it is the very fame which the GRECIANS call Chlanas, and that the younge boye which was a feruaunte in the temple of Iupiter, was called Camillus, as some of the GRECIANS doe yet call the god Mercurie, bicause he is servaunt of the godds. Now Numa having done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne further fauour and goodwill of the people: beganne immediately to frame his cittizens to a Numa inducertaine civilitie, being as iron wrought to foftenes, and brought them from their violent and ceth civil or warlike desires, to temperate and civill manners. For out of doubt, Rome was properly that, quies life. which Plate ascribeth to a cittie full of trouble and pryde. For, first it was founded by the most lib.a. coragious and warlike men of the worlde, which from all partes were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grewe strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as pyles driven into the grounde, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster . Wherefore Numa judging it no small nor light enter-

prise, to plucke downe the hawty stomacks of sofierce and violent a people, and to frame them

vnto a fobre and quiet life: dyd feeme to worcke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing

with facrifices, feaftes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated euer him

felfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled nowe and then, pastime

and pleasure: and sometimes he layed the terrour and seare of the goddes before their eyes,

making them believe that he had feene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by

which the goddes dyd threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, allwayes to pull

downe and humble their heartes, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they

thought afterwardes that he had learned his wisdome of Pythagoras the philosopher: bi-

E them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whotte and fierce corages to fight,

cause the greatest parte of the philosophie of the one, and of the government of the other, consisted in suche ceremonies, and divine studies. They reporte also that Numa dyd put on Numa and F the outwarde showe and semblaunce of Pythagoras holines, as following his intention and Tythagoras

example. For Pythagor as as they faye, made an eagle for tame and gentle, that the would floupe, muche a life. and come downe to him by certaine voyces, as the flewe in the ayer over his head. And that

passing through the assembly of the games Olympicall, he shewed her thighe of golde, and A many other prety feates and deedes they tell of, which feemed to be wonderfull, and for which Timon Phliasian hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras wwhich loued to dwell in dignitie. and had an harte to glorie bent and past in pollecie. Muche like a man vuhich fought, by charming to enchaunte, did vee this arte to vvinne mens mindes which unto him did haunte. His grave and pleafaunt tongue in sugred speache did flouve.

vuhereby he drevve most mindes of men to bent of his ovune bovve. Euen so the fayned fable of Numa, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the love of a goddesse, or some Nymphe of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to have certaine secret B meetings and talke, whereof we have spoken before. And it is sayed he muche frequented the Muses in the wooddes. For he would saye, he had the most parte of his reuelations of the Muses, and he taught the Romaines to reverence one of them about all the rest, who was called Tacita, as ye would faye, ladye filence. It feemeth he inuented this, after the example of Pythagoras, who did so specially commaund, and recomend silence vnto his schollers. Againe, if we

feeing we cannot possibly any waye attaine to the knowledge of god, but in minde and vnder-

standing. The very sacrifices which Numa ordeined, were altogether agreable, & like vnto the

manner of seruing of the goddes, which the Pythagorians vsed . For in their sacrifices they spilt

Numa wor-Shipped Taconsider what Numa ordeined concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is Muses. Pythazoras alltogether agreable vn the doctrine of Pythagoras: who thought that god was neither sensaught his fible, nor mortall, but inuifible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And Numa dyd forbid the Schollers to ROMAINES also to beleeve, that god had ever forme, or likenes of beast or man. So that in keşe filence. Prohagoras those former times, there was in Rome no image of god, either painted or grauen: and it was C opinion of from the beginning a hundred three score & tenne yeres, that they had buylt temples & chap-Norma firbad pels vnto the godds in Rome, and yet there was neither picture nor image of god within them. For they tooke it at the first for a facriledge, to present heauenly things by earthely formes:

not the bloude, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with suche other light things. Suche as affirme that those two mendid much company and were famillier together, doe laye further proofes & arguments for the same. The first Proofes for the connersa- is this: That the Romaines did make Pythagoras a free man of the cittle of Rome, as Epichar- D

mus the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of Pythagoras schollers) sayeth in a booke he wrote & dedicated vnto Antenor. The other proofe is: That Numa having had foure children, called one of them Mamercus, after Pythagor as sonnes name, from whom they faye is discended, the house of the Emylians, which is the noblest of the Patricians: for the King gaue him the furname of Amylius, bicause of his sweete tongue and pleasaunt voyce. Furthermore, I my felf haue heard faye many times in Rome, that the Romaines having received an

Shoppes.

man that euer was amongest the GRECIAN s: caused two statues of brasse to be set vp in their market place, the one of Pythagoras, and the other of Alcibiades. Howbeit to striue about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtes: me thincketh it were but vaine. Moreo- E Numa infii. uer, they attribute to Numa, the first erection of the colledge pontificall: and saye he him selfe was the first Pontifex that euer was . But touching the name of Pontifex, some will saye they were so called, bicause they chiefly were ordeined & appointed for the service of the almighwhy so called, tie: for this worde Potens in the ROMAINE tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thincke this name was genen to them by their founders, as to exempt persones out of the worlde: who enioyned them to doe all the feruice and facrifices to the goddes they could poffibly, & yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most parte doe bring out another derivation of this name, wherein me thinckes there is litle reason. As that they should be called Pontifices, bicause they had the charge of maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the GRE- F CIANS call Gephyran, the LATINES call Pontem: that is, a bridge. And to saye truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bishoppes: aswell as the keeping of the most holy

oracle, which commaunded them to fet vp images in their cittie, to the wifest and valliantest

A and vnchaungeable ceremonies. For the ROMAINES thought it not only a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a most damnable & wicked acte, to destroye or breake the bridge of wodde, which was only joyned together (as they faye) with pinnes of worde, & without any iron at all, by the commaundement of an olde oracle. But the stone bridge was buylt long time after the raigne

of Numa, and in the time of the raigne of his nephewe Martius. Nowethe first and chiefest of these bithoppes, which they call the great Pontifex, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the highe prieste and master, of their pontificall lawe: who should be carefull, not only about The highe

all publicke sacrifices and ceremonies, but also about suche as were private, and to see that no bishoppe. man prinately should breake the auncient ceremonies, norbring in any newe thing into religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what forte he should serve R and honour the goddes. He also hath the keping of the holy virgines which they call Vestales. For they doe geue Numa the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institutional- The institutionalto of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reuerence, which these virgines haue the tien of the charge of Either for that he thought it meete to commit the substaunce of fire (being pure net. and cleane) vnto the custodie of cleane and vncorrupt maydes: or els bicause he thought the The holy and

nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fittelt, and most proper vnto immersal fire. virgines. For in GRECE, where they kept continuall fire likewife (as in the temple of spollo in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maydens doe not keepe the same, but olde women which are past mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they saye in ATHENS the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of Aristion: and in the cittie of DELPHES it was put out, C when the temple of Apollo was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME also, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had against king Mithridates: and in the time of the civil warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and confumed together: they fave that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made a newe, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the funne, and that they doe in this manner. They have a hollowe How the halp

veffell made of a pece of a triangle, having a corner right, and two fides a like: fo that from all free drawen partes of his compasse and circumference, it falleth into one pointe. Then they set this vessels from the part right against the beames of the sunne, so that the bright sunne beames come to assemble and funne. gather together in the center of this vessell, where they doe pearce the aver so strongely, that they fet it a fire: & when they put to it any drye matter or substaunce, the fire taketh it straight, D bicause the beame of the sunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drye matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thincke that these Vestall virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other fave, there are other holy thinges also, which no bodie maye lawfully fee but they; whereof we have written more largely in the life of Camillus, at See the life of the least so much as maye be learned and tolde. The first maydens which were vowed and put camillus toninto this order of religion by Numa, were (as they faye) Gegania, and Verenia: and after them, fall Numes,

Canuleia and Tarpeia. Afterwardesking Seruius increased the number with two other, and that number of four econtinueth vntill this daye. Their rule and order fet downe by king Numa was Theorder asthis: that they should vowe chastitie for the space of thirtie yeres. In the first tenne yeres they pointed the learne what they have to doe: the next tenne yeres following, they doe that which they have Numa. E learned: & the last tenne yeres, they teache young nouices. After they have passed their thirtie yeres, they maye lawfully marie if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leave their religion. But as it is reported, there have benevery fewe of them which have

taken this libertie, and fewer also which have joyed after they were professed, but rather have repented them selues, and lived ever after a very grieuous and sorowfull life. This did so frave the other Vestalls, that they were better contented with their vowed chastitie: and so remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els died. He gaue them also great priviledges, and prerogatives. As: to make their will and testament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerfeer, as women which have three children at a birth. When they programme goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete

F any offendour in their waye, going to execution, they faue his life: howbeit the professed Vefall multaffirme by othe, that the met him vnwares, & not of fet purpole. If any man prefume vnder their chayer, whereupo they are caried through the cittie, he thall die for it. Allowhen

The punish-Vestall

The temple

prefentesh.

the figure of

she worlde.

VVhere the

fire abideth.

of buriall.

of Vestare.

they them selues doe any faulte, they are corrected by the great by shoppe, who somtimes doth A whippe them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darcke place, & vnder a curté. But the that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quicke by one of the gates of the cittie, which they call Collina gate: where within the cittie there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the LATINES is fayed to be raifed. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollowe vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one maye goe downe: and with in it there is fet a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some vitells to susteine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours fake: to the ende they would not be thought to familhe a bodie to deathe, which had bene confectated by the most holy and deuoute ceremonies of the worlde. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter. which they couer strongely, and close it vp with thicke leather in suche sorte, that no bodie B canne so much as heare her voyce, & so they carie her thus shut vp through the market place. Euery one draweth backe, when they fee this litter a farre of, and doe gene it place to paffe by: & then follow it mourningly, with heavy lookes, & speake neuer a word. They doe nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any daye wherein the people are more forowful, then on fuch a daye. Then after the is come to the place of this vawte, the fergeants straight vnlose these fast bounde couerings: and the chiefe byshoppe after he hath made certen fecret prayers vnto the godds, and lift his handes vp to heaven, taketh out of the litter, the condemned Vestall mussled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the prieftes with him: and when the feely offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke vp the ladder, & cast aboun- C daunce of earthein at the open hole, so that they fill it vp to the very toppe of the arche. And this is the punishment of the Vestalls which defile their virginitie. They thincke also it was Numa that buylt the round temple of the goddesse Vesta, in which is kept the everlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they saye is Vesta, but the figure of the whole world, in the middeft whereof (according to the Pythagorians opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call Vesta, and name it the vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmoueable, not yet that it is fet in the middest of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it : but faye to the contratie, that the earth hanged in the ayer about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunte, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest partes of the world: as Plate helde opinion in that age, that the D earthe was in another place then in the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honorablest place, did apperteine to some other of more worthy substaunce than the earthe. Furthermore, the bythoppes office was to show those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whom Numa taught not to believe that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burialles, but rather it was to worshippe & honour the godds of the earthe, with viual and honorable ceremonies, as those which after their death recevue the chiefest service of vs that they canne. But about all other in burialles, they did specially honour the goddeffe called Libitina, that is fayed, the chiefe gouernour and preserver of the rites of the dead: or be it Proserpina, or Venus, as the most learned men among the Ro-MAINES doe judge, who not without cause doe attribute the order of the beginning and ende of mans life, to one self god, & power divine. Numa ordained also, how long time every bodie should mourne in blackes. And for a childe from three yeres to tenne yeres of age, that died: he ordeined they should mourne no more monethes then it had lived yeres, and not to adde a daye more. For he commaunded that the longest time of mourning should be but then moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their husbands: or els she that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to facrifice awhole bullocke. Numa also erected many other orders of priestes: of

Sali, Feciales. two forces whereof I will only make mention. The one shalbe the order of the Salii, and 62. Gell lib. the other of the Feciales: for me thinckes, both the one and the other doth manifestly showe the great holines, and fingular denotion which he had in him. The F ECIALES are F Feciales calproperly those, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would saye, peacekeepers. And in my judgement, they had their right name according to their office, bicause they

A did pacific quarells with reason by waye of order, and did not suffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter should be tried by violence, vntill they were past all hope of any peace. For the GRECIANS call it properly Irenen, when both parties agree, and decide their controuersie Irenen: a with reason, and not with sworde. Euen so those which the Romaines called the Fectales, diffed with went many times in persone to those that dyd the Romaines iniurie, and sought to persuade reason. with them with good reason, to keepe promise with the Romains, and to offer them no wrong, out the food. But if they would not yeld to reason, whom they sought to persuade: then they called the goddes to the witnes thereof, and prayed them, that if they dyd not most earnestly incense the ROMAINES, to pursue that most instely apperteined vnto their right, that all euills and mis-

chieues of the warres might fall vpon them felues, and on their countrie. This done, they dyd B threaten open warres against such enemies. And if the Fectales would not cosentto open warres, and dyd happen to speake against them: it was not lawfull in that case, neither for priuate persone, nor for the King him selfe to make any warres. But like a just prince, he must haue leaue by their sufferance to make the warres. Then dydhe consider, & consult, by what meanes he might best procure, & prosecute the same. Concerning this matter, they indge that the ill

happe which came to the ROMAINES, when the cittie of ROME was taken and facked by the GAYLES, chaunced instely for breaking of this holy institution. For at that time, the barbarous people belieged the cittie of the CLVSINIAN s: and Fabius Ambustus was fent ambassadour vnto them, to fee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunswer: whereupon Fabius thincking his embasie had bene ended, and being som-

C what whotte, and rashe in defence of the CIVSINIANS, gaue defiaunce to the valliantest GAVLE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauored him in this chalege: for he flew the GAVLE and stripped him in the fielde. The GAVLE s feeing their man flayne, fent immediately an heraulde to Rome, to accuse Fabius, howe against all right and reason, he beganne warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The FECIALES being then consulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the handes of the Gav-LES, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, & had deserued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, & by their meanes escaped his deliuerie, and punishment. Neuerthles, the GAVLES within shorte time after, came before Rome with all their po- Rome taken wer: which they tooke, sacked, and burnt euery whit, sauing the Capitoll, as we have written by the Gaules. D more amplie in the life o. Camillus . Now concerning the Priestes that were called Salij, they life.

faye he dyd institute them vpon this occasion. In the eight yere of his reigne, there came a pe- The institute ftilent disease through all I r A L 1 E, and at the length it crept also into R o ME. Whereat enery tion of the man being greatly affrayed, and discoraged, they faye there fell from heaven a target of copper, which lighted betweene the handes of Numa. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which heaven. the King him selfe affirmed he heard, of the Nymphe Egeria, and the Muses. To wit, that this target was fent from heauen, for the health and preservation of the cittie: and therefore he should keepe it carefully, and cause eleuen other to be cast and made, all like vnto the same in facion and greatnes, to the ende, that if any would enterprise to steale it, he should not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he faid, he was commaunded to conse-

E crate the place to the Muses (in the which he dyd oftentimes companie with them) and also the fieldes which were neere thereabouts: and likewise to geue the fountaine that sprange in that place, vnto the Vestalls professed, that every daye they might drawe water at that well, to washe the san Eurrie of their temple. The successe hereof proued his words true, for the sicknes ceased incontinently. So he assembled all the chief crastes men then in Rome, to proue which of them would take vpo him to make one like vnto that. Euery man despayred to performe it. Howbeit one called Veturius Mamurius (the excellentest workeman that was in those dayes) dyd make them all fo fute like, that Numa him felfe dyd not knowe the first target, when they were all layed together. So he ordeined these priests Salij, to have the custodie of these targets, to fee them safekept. They were called Salig, not after the name of a SALIAN borne in SAMO- they were called Salig, not after the name of a SALIAN borne in SAMO- they were called Salig, not after the name of a SALIAN borne in SAMO-

FTHRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as some haue vntruely alleaged, who first inueted the manner lead sais. of dauncing all armed: but they were so called, of their facion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they goe skipping and leaping vp and downe the cittie,

whereof fo

with those targetes on their armes, apparelled in red cassockes without sleues, and girded a- A bout with broade leather fworde girdells, studded with copper, having helmets of copper on their heads, & striking upon their targets with shorte daggers, which they carie in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing confifteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making tornes aboue ground and beneath, with a fodaine measure, & a maruelous force of agilitie. They call these targets Ancylia, bicause of their facion, which is not altogether compasse: for they are not all round as other comon targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the endes bowing in many foldes, and one so neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call Ancylon, Or elsthey are so called, bicause Ancon signifieth an elbow, ypon which they carie them. All these derivations are written in the historie of Iuba, who in any case will hauethis word Ancylia to be drawen out B of the Greeke tongue. And it maye be also they were so called, bicause the first came from aboue, which the GRECIANS call Anecathen : or els for healing the ficke, which is called Acesis. Or els for ceasing of the drines, which in Greke is called, Anchmon Lysis, Or for the ending of all diseases and euills, for which cause the Athenians call Castor and Pollux, Anacas: if they lust to gene this word his derivation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which Mamurius the goldsmithe had for the making of these targets was, that the Saly vnto this daye doe make mention of him, in their fonge, which they finge going through the cittie, & dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit some thincke they saye not Veturius Mamurius, but veterem memoriam, auncient memorie. But Numa after he had ordeined and inflituted these orders of priests, built his palace neere vnto the temple of Vesta, which holdeth his name Regia at this daye, to C faye, the Kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to facrifice to

Regia, the Kings palace.

The manner of the Romaines worshipping of the godder. The Pytha. geriant opi-

Hocaze, a n atcheword to tend distinc fernice.

The Smill-

and Pytha-

goras pre-

the goddes, or to teache the Priestes what they should doe, or howe with them he should best conteplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this daye, Quirinall, the place whereof is yet to be seene. But in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and processions of the Priestes, there were allwayes husshers that went before, crying to the people, kepe filence, and tend vpon divine feruice. For they fave the Pythagorians thought it good, that men should not worshippe the godds, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing:but they thought it mete, that men should of purpose goe out of their houses, to serue & praye vnto them. Euen so king Numa thought it not meete, that his subjects should come to see, and heare divine service negligently, as it were for a facion, and only to be D rydof it, as heeding an other thing: but he would have them fet a fide all other busines, and employ their thoughts & harts only vpon the principall feruice of religion, & deuotion towards the godds. So that during feruice time, he would not have heard any noise, any knocking, boufing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers shoppes of occupation, whereof at this daye yet they see some signes, and tokens, remaining in their facrifices at ROME. For all the time the Augure beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any facrifice, the vergers crie alowde: Hoe age, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wittes home, & to thincke on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the preceptes of the Pythagorians. For as they dyd warne men, not to fit vpon a litle bussihell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: E sude of Numa to facrifice to the celestiall godds in an odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts, they would not have the common people to have any knowledge or vnderstäding. Euen so there are many institutions of Numa, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept fecret: as not to offer wine to the godds of the vine neuer cut, & not to facrifice vnto them without meale:& to turne a turne about when they doe reuerence to the godds, & to fit down after they have worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recomend clemecy, & humanity, as being a parte of the deuotion towards the godds. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worthippe the goddes: they saye it representeth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thincketh it should rather come of this: for that the teples being fet to the east, he that worshippeth F entring into the teple, sheweth his backe to the West, & for this cause turneth towardes that parte, & afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the con**fummation**

A fummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behinde. Onles peraduenture that he ment fecretly to fignifie, & gene them to vnderstande by this turning & changing of their looke, that which the E GYPTI ANS figured by their wheels in showing therby that these worldly things were neuer constant & in one state. And therfore, that we should rake it thankfully, & pacietly beare it, in what forte soeuer it pleased god to chaunge or alter our life. And where he comaunded that they should fit after they had worshipped god: they saved it was a token of a good hope vnto them that prayed, that their prayers should be exalted and that their goods should remaine safe, & sticke by the Other save, that this ease & sitting, is a separating the fro doing: & therfore he would they should fit in the teples of the godds to shew they had done that which they had in had before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning B of another. And it maye well be also, that it was referred to the thing we spake of a little before.

That Numa would accustome his people, not to serue the godds, nor to speake to them at all as they paffed by, or did any other thing, or were in hafte: but would have them praye vnto the godds when they had time & leyfure, & all other busines at that time set a parte. By this good instruction & training them vnto religion, the cittie of Rome by litle & litle came to be so tra-Ctable, & had the great power of king Numa in such admiratio: that they tooke all to be as true By what as the gospell that he spake, though it had no more likelyhood of trothe, then tales deuised of means Numa

as the gospen that he space, thought nothing incredible, or vnpossible to him, if he would have made the Romaines quies it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he having bidden a great company of and gentle.

the cittizens of Rome to come & suppe with him, caused them to be served with plaine grosse C meate, & in very poore & homely veriell. And when they were fet, and beganne to fall to their meate, he cast out words sodainely vnto them, how the goddesse with whom he accopanied, The wonders was come to fee him euen at that instant, & that sodainely the hall was richely furnished, & the of Numa. tables concred with all fortes of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this farre passed all the vanity of lying, which is foud written of him, about his speaking with Impiter. The hill Aue- Numaes tine was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the walles of Rome, but was full of freshing with former 87 that downed groups what have a remainded in the walles of Rome, but was full of freshing with

forings & shadowed groues, whether comonly repaired to solace them selues, the two godds, Pieus & Faunus, which otherwise might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the Titanias: Pieus. faving it is fayed, that they went through all ITALIB, doing the like miracles & wooders in phis Fanner. fycke, charmes & arte magike, which they reporte of those the G RECIA's call idees Datirles. D There they faye that Numa tooke them both, having put into the spring both wine & honnie, where they vied to drinke. Whethey faw that they were taken they trasformed the felues into

divers forms, disguising & disfiguring their naturals shape; into many terrible & feareful sights to behold. Nenertheles in the end, peeiuing they were to fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying against light The parifying ning & thunder, which they make yet at this daye with omos, heare, & pilchers, Other faye of thunder. was not taught that by them, but that they fetched Inpiter out of heaven, with their conjuring & magicke: whereat Impiter being offended; aunswered in choller, that hosticuld make it with heads. But Numa added straight, of onios: Impiter replied, of men. Then Numa asked him againe,

to take a litle away the cruelty of the commandement What heares? Implee auniwered, quicke E hears. And Numa put to pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddesse Eceria, that taught Numa this fubtilitie. This done, Jupiter returned appealed by reason whereof the place was called Ilicium. For Ileos in the Greeke tongue fignifieth appealed, & faitorable & this puri- 11icium, the fying was afterwards made in that forte. These tales not onely vayine, but full of mockericallo, name of the doe show vs yet plainely the zeale & denotion men had in those times towards the godds witto which Numa through cultome had wonethern. And as for Numa him felf, they fave that he so firmely put all his hope & confidence in the helpe of the godds: that one days when he was told his enemies were in armes against him, he did but laugh at it les auswered And I doe sacrifice. It is he (as some saye) that first built a temple to Faith & Terme & which made the Romaine & Minister vinderstand, that the most holy & greatest other they could make was to sweare by their faith,

F which they kepe yet arthis daye. But Terme, which fighifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or Terme. borders who who where doed a crifice, borh publickly & prinately, whom the limites of inheritaunces, & now they factifice vato harding beafts. Howbeit in old time they did factifice vato

them that this god of bounds was fyncere, & vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a

witnes of suffice, & a keper of peace. It was he, which in my opinio, did first limit out the bouds

of the territorie of Rome: which Romulus would neuer doe, for feare least in bounding out his

owne he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing to

not to kepe it it is a proofe to shew his iniustice. To save truely, the territories of Rome had no

great bounds at the first beginning, & Romulus had got by coquest the greatest parte of it, & Nu-

ma did wholy deuide it vnto the nedie inhabitas to releue the, & to bring them out of pouerty:

(which carieth men hedlog into mischief, & discourageth them to labour) to the end that plo-

ciuill & gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainely bringeth a man, to loue & defire quietnes, as doth husbadrie & tillage: & yet to defend a mans own,

there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy defire, violetly to take from others, & vniustely to occupie that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbadmen. And therfore Numa having

brought in husbandrie amogest his subjects, as a medecine & meane to make them love quier-

nes:was defirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble & getle of

condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of Rome into certen

parts which he called Pages: as much to faye, as villages. And in every one of them he ordeined

controllers & visiters, which should survey all about: & he him self somtimes went abroade in

ligent, he aduaunced them vnto honour, & gaue them countenauce & authoritie: other which

he fawe flowthfull & negligent, by rebuking & reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongest all his ordinaunces which he made, one aboue all the rest caried the praise: and that

was, that he deuided his people into fundrie occupatios. For the cittie of Rome feemed yet to

be made of two nations, as we have fayed before : and to speake more properly, it was made of

two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether im-

possible to take away all factions, & to make there should be no quarrells nor contentions be-

twene both parts. Wherefore he confidered, that when one will mingle two bodies or fimples together, which for their hardnes & cotrarie natures cannot well fuffer mixture: then he breaks

der, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to denide the

people also into many small partes: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties,

which would more eafely take away the first & the greatest parte, when it should be deuided & separated thus into fundrie forts. And this division he made by arts & occupatios: as minstrells,

goldsmiths, carpinters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, taners, bell founders, & pot makers, & so forth through other craftes & occupations. So that he brought enery one of these into one bodie.&

copanie by it felf: & ordeined vinto euery particular mysterie or craste; their feasts, assemblies, &

& beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & lesser pow- D

persone, coiecturing by their labour, the maners & nature of euery man. Such as he found di- C

wing vp the faid lande, they should also plowe vp the weedes of their own barrenes, to become B

the boundes of the terrisorie of Rome. him that will keepe it instely: is a bond that brideleth power & desire. But to him that forceth

Nuna ad-

Numa deuieccupations.

Numa tooke moulius and Tains,

Numaes in funition.

Macrob. 1. Sat) r. 13.

feruices, which they should make vnto the godds, according to the dignitie & worthings of enery occupatio. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side saved, nor thought any more, those are Sabynes, these area om aines, these are of Tating, these are of Ro- E mulus. Infomuch as this division was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinauces, they did much comend his reforming of the law, that gaue libertie vnto fathers to fell their childre. For he did except childre already maried, so they were maried with their fathers confent & goodwill: judging it to be to cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought the had maried afree man should finde her felf to be the wife of a bond ma. He begane also to mende a litle the calender, not foexactly as he should have done, nor yet alname of the together ignoratly. For during the raigne of Romulus, they yield the moneths cofuledly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty dayes & lesse, and others fine & thirtie dayes & more without knowing the differece between the course of the sunne & the moone: & only they observed this rule, that there was three hudred & three score dayes in the yere. But Nama F confidering the inequality floode vpon eleuen dayes for that the 12 revolutios of the moone are ronne in 300 fiftie & foure dayes, & the revolution of the funne, in 365 dayes, he doubled

A the 11, dayes, wherof he made a moneth: which he placed fro 2. yeres to 2. yeres, after the moneth of February, & the ROMAINES called this moneth put betwene, Mercidinum, which had 22 dayes, And this is the correction that Numa made, which fince hath had a farre better amedment. He did also chaunge the order of the moneths. For Marche which before was the first, he made it now the third & Tanuary the first, which under Romulus was the 11. & February the 122 & last, Yet many are of opinion, that Numa added these two, Ianuary & February. For the Ro-MALNE'S at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the ARCADIANS amongest the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yere. The A CARNANI ANS have fixe to the yere. And the E G Y P- The rere di-TIANS had first but one moneth to their yere: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their werfily com-

B yere. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new coutrie) to be neuertheles the auncientest people of the world: for that in their chronicles they reckon vp such infinite nuber of yeres, as those which counte the moneths for the yeres. And to proue this true, that the Romaines at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere, and not twelve: it is easely to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this daye Deceber . And that the moneth of Marche was also the first, maye be conjectured by this: for the fift moneth after that, is yet called Quintilis: the 6. Sextilis, & so the other in order following the nubers. For if Ianuary & February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of July, which they call Quintilia. must have bene named Septéber: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which Romulus had dedicated vnto Mars, was also by him ordeined to be the first. The second was A-

prill: fo called of the name Aphrodite, that is to faye Venus, vnto whom they make open facrifice in this moneth. And on the first daye of the same, women doe washe them selues, hauing a garlandof myrtle vpon their heades. Howbeit some other save, that it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it was only called Aprilio, bicause then is the chiefest force & strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and erbes beginne to bud & showe forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of Maia, the mother of Mercurie, vnto whom the moneth is cofecrated. *The moneth of Iune is so called also, bicause of the quality of that season, which * Poraduenis as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of trace ye must as as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of trace ye must be seen to the year. this word Majores, which fignifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of June, of Juniores, Greke D which fignifies the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the num: (and the start of the star

bers according to their order, Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, & December . But pas) which is Ders according to their order, Quintilis, sextims, september, Solver, seven and sexting of the Quintilis, was afterward called Iulius, of the name of Iulius. Cafar, who slew Pompeisus. And Sexting and of Iunio tilis was named Augustus, Octavius Gefars frecessour in the empire, who was also furnamed Augustus. It is true also that Domitian would they should call the two moneths following (which are September and October) the one Germanicus , and the other Domitianus . But that helde not longe: for so soone as Domitian was killed, the moneths recourred their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, have ever cotinued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which Numa added, or at the least traslated: the moneth of February doth fignifie as much as purging, or arthe least the derivation of the word sowndeth neere it.

In this moneth, they doe facrifice of plantes, * & doe celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in * some side which there are many things agreable; and like to the facrifices made for purification . And Grecian cothe first, Which is landary was called after the name of lanue. Wherefore methinckes that this place. Wind took away the monethrof Marche frothe first place, Segane it vnto danuary bicanfe lid \$317015, would have peace preferred before warre, & civil things before marthall. For this Janus (were as much to heKing, or demigod) in the former age was counted very chill & polliticke. For he chaunged fine deade. the tife of me, which before his time was rude, chuell, & wild & brought it to be honelt, gettel veh James & mailh Forthis canfe they doe painte his limage at this daye with two faces, the one before, "painted and the other behinder for thus chaunging the lines of men. And there is in king at a temple dedicated white him , which hath two deeres, that be called the doores of warren for the cus distance T flome is to open them; when the Rob wint was a Hamethy warres in any place, and to thue the w them when they be adpeased. To have them thut, it was harate thinge to let, and happened in a

word feldome: by reason of the greathes whitheir emploowhich of all sides was enuronmed in the nobleî

with barbarous nations, whom they were copelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Not. A withstanding it was once shut vp in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine Antonie: & once before also in the yere when Marcus Attilius & Titus Manlius were Cosuls. But that cotinued The Romains not long, for it was opened again incontinetly, by reason of warres that came vpo them some after. Howbeit during the raigne of Numa, it was never one day opened, but remained shut cotinually by the space of three & forty veres together. For alloccasios of warres, were then veterly dead & forgotten:bicause at Rome the people were not only through thexaple of instice, clemécie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the citties there-

abouts, there beganne a maruelous chaunge of manners & alteration of life, as if some gentle aver had breathed on them, by some gratious & healthfull wind, blowe from Rome to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes fuch a harty defire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to serue the goddes truely : that almost through all I TALIE, there was nothing but feastes, playes, sacrifices, & bankets. The people did traffike & frequent together, without feare or dauger, & vifited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the fpringing fountaine of Numaes wisedom many pretie brookes & streames of good & honest life had rone ouer all ITALIE,& had watered it:& that the mildnes of his wisdom had fro handto hand bene disparsed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the ouer excessive speaches the Poets

accustomably doe vie, were not sufficiét enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time. There: fiders vycaue their cobyvebbes daye and night in harnesses, which wont to serve for warre: there: cancred rust doth fret the steele full bright of trenchant blades, well whet in many a larre. There: mighty speares for lacke of rufe are eaten, with rotten wormes: and in that countrie there. the braying trompe dothe neuer feeme to threaten. their quiet eares with blasts of bloudy feare. There: in that lande, no drowv sie sleepe is broken, with hotte alarmes, which terrours doe betoken.

For during all king Numaes raigne, it was never heard that ever there were any warres, civil diffention, or innouation of government attempted against him, not yet any secret enmitteer malice borne him neither any cospiracie once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether D it was for feare of displeasing the godds (which visibly feemed to take him into their protectio) or for the reuerent regarde they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell howbeit he fought to keepe men still pure, & honest, from all wickednes, & layed most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very exaple of that which Plato long time after did affirme, & faye, concerning true gouernmet: which was. That the only meane of true quietnes,&remedy from all euill(which euer troubleth men)was:when by fome divine ordinaunce from about there meteth in one person, the right maiestie of a King & the minde of a wife philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse & ruler ouervice. For in deede happie ming the fair is such a wife man, & more happy are they, which may e heare the grave counsaill, & good lesfons of fuch a mouthe. And there me thincks needeth no force, no copultion, no threates nor E extremitie to bridle the people. For men feeing the true image of vertue in their yifible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly growe to be wife, & of them felues doe fall into love hking, and friendshippe together, and doe vie all temperature stuft dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life withour offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe pointe of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light vato men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners fuch a good disposition: and this, Numa aboue all other; seemed best to knowe and understand. Furthermore, touching his wives and children, there are great contrarieties among the historiographers. For some of them saye, he never maried other wife then

Tatia, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and the was called Pompilia. F

of every one of the which (by fuccession from the father to the some) have descended the

A noblest races, and most auncient houses of the Romaines. As the house of the Pomponians, of Pompo: the house of the Pinarians, of Pinus: the house of the Calphurnians, of Calpus: & the house of the Mamercias, of Mamercus. All which families by reason of their first progenitor haue kept the furname of Reges, Kings. There are three other writers, which doe reproue the two first faving that they dyd write to gratifie the families, making them falfely to descend of the noble race of king Numa. Moreouer it is fayed, he had his daughter Pompilia, not by Tatia; but by his other wife called Lucretia, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter Pompilia was maried vnto one Martius, the sonne of the same: Martius, Tompilia mawhich perfuaded him to accept the kingdome of Rome. For he went with him to Rome, to Marine Co-

remaine there: where they dyd him the honour to receyue him into the number of the Se- riolanus. R natours. After the death of Numa, Martius the father stoode against Tullus Hostilius for the Martins the fuccession of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed him selfe for sorowe. But his sonne Senatour at Martius, who maried Pompilia, continued still at ROME, where he begotte Ancus Martius. Rome. who was king of Rome after Tullus Hostilius, and was but fine yere olde when Numa dyed. Ancus Mar-Whose death was not sodaine. For he dyed consuming by litle and litle, aswell through age, of cains as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his ende, as Piso hath written: and Martius Coas ano through a ling threat that water on min to his cine, as 1 for his witten and violanus.

Numa at his death was little more, then four fcore yere old. But the pompe and honour done the death of vnto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happie and glorious. For all the people his Name. neighbours, friendes, kinfemen, and allies of the Romaine scame thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selues C of the cittie (which were called Patricians) caried on their shoulders the very bedd, on which the course laye, to be conueyed to his graue. The Priestes attended also on his bodie, and so dyd all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewaling and lamenting his death, with teares, fighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinseman, and nearest friende that had dyed before he was olde. They burnt not his bodie, bicause (as some fave) he commaunded the contrarie by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called Ianiculum. In the one they layed his bodie, & in the other the holy bookes which he had written him felfe, much like vnto those, Ninnaes which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS dyd write in tables. But bicause in booker. D his life time he had taught the priestes, the substaunce of the whole conteined in the same the

willed the holy tables which he had written, hould be buried with his bodie. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners & exercises. And he followed herein they saye, the Pythagorians, who would not put policy the their worckes in writing, but dyd printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom Pythagerias they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any left making manner of persone the hidden rules and secretes of Geometrie, which had not bene worthy of them: then they fayed the goddes by manifest tokens would threaten, to reuenge such facriledge and impictie, with some great destruction and miserie. Therefore, seeing so many things agreable, and altogether like betweene Numa and Pythagoras, I easely pardone those which E mainteine their opinion, that Numa and Pythagoras were familiarly acquainted, and conver-

fant together . Valerius Antias the historian writeth, there were twelve bookes written con- 13. bookes of cerning the office of Priestes, and twelve other contening the philosophie of the GRECIAHS. priesthood. And that foure hundred yeres after (in the same yere when Publius Cornelius, and Marcus 12, bookes of Bebius were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earthe. Philosophic. and discouered these coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried awaye, they founde the one altogether voyde, having no manner of likelyhoode, or token of a bodie that had layen in it: and in the other they founde these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named Petilius (at that time Pretor) who had the charge to reade them ouer, and to make the reporte of them. But he having perused them over, declared to the Senate, that he p thought it not convenient the matters conteined in them should be published vnto the sim-

ple people : and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnte. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and just men, that

ing concer-

Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure fonnes, Pompo, Pimes, Galpus, and Mamers in

Good men maes succes-Hoffilius.

The vertues

of Numa and Lycsorgus were alike,

bus sheft

they are farre more prayfed and esteemed after their death, then before: bicause that enuie A pressed after doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwardes vnto the fine Kings which raigned at times of New Rome after Numa, have made his honour thine, with much more noble glorie then before. For the last of them was driven out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very olde. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And Tullus Hostilius which raigned after Numa, deriding, & contemning the most parte of his good and holy inftitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and fainte harted: dyd affone as euer he came to be King, turne all his subjects hartes to the warres. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a straunge, & most grieuous disease that followed him, which brought him B to chaunge his minde, and dyd farre otherwise turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouerfearfull superstition, which dyd nothing yet resemble the true Religion & deuotion of Numa; &befides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconvenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was striken and burnt with lightning.

THE COMPARISON OF

Lycurgus with Numa.



HVS having written the lives of Lyeurgus and Numa, the matter re-HVS having written the nuce of Lywa quireth, though it be fomewhat harde to doe, that we comparing the one with the other thould fet out the difference betweene them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes doe thewe it sufficiently. As in their temperature, their denotion to the goddes, their wisdome in gouerning, and their discreete handling of E their people, by making them beleeue that the goddes had reuealed the lawes vnto them, which they established. And nowe to come vnto their qualities, which are diuersely, & seuerally commended in either

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of them. Their first qualitie is, that Numa accepted the Kingdome, and Lyeurgus gaue it vp. The one receyued it, not feeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes, did reftore it againe. The one being astraunger, and a private man: was by straungers elected & chosen, their lorde & King. The other being in possession a King, made him selfe againe a private persone. Suer it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iustice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme iustice abouea Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputatio, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a minde in the other, that he esteemed not to be a F King. Their fecond qualitie is, that like as in an instrumetof musicke, the one of them did tune and wrest vp theslacke stringes which were in Sparta: so the other slackened, and set them

A lower, which were to highe mounted in ROME. Wherein Lycurgus difficulty was the greater. VV has things For he did not persuade his cittizens, to plucke of their armour & curates, nor to laye by their fwordes: but only to leave their golde & filuer, to for fake their fofte beddes, their fine wrought rables, and other curious riche furniture, and not to leaue of the trauell of warres, to geue them felues only vnto feaftes, facrifices, and playes. But to the contrarie, to gene vp bancketing and feasting, & continually to take paynes in the warres, yelding their bodies to all kinde of paynes. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, easely persuaded all-

that he would: and the other, by putting him felfe in daunger, and being hurtealfo, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpose and defire. Numa his muse was so gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his cittizens, which before were B furious and violent, were now fortractable and civill, that he taught them to love peace and iuflice. And to the contrarie, if they will compell me to number amongeft the lawes and ordinaunces of Lyeurgus, that which we have written touching the I LOTES, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that Numa was muche wifer, more gentle, and civill in his lawes, confidering that euen vnto those which in deede were borne slaues, he gaue some litle tast of honour, & sweetnes of libertie, having ordained, that in the feastes of Saturne, they Slaves fas Interest of nonour, & incention in the rest of none at meate, at their mafters owne table. Some holde opinion, that this custome mafters at

was brought in by king Numa: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage Saturnes brought in much fruite, should have some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the first featis, fruites of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equalitie, mar. ib. 1. which was emogest men in the world in Saturnes time, when there was neither master nor ser-

uaunte, but all men were a like equall, as brethern or hinsemen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to them selues, to frame their people vnto temperaunce, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre best, and the other iustice: onles it were that men would saye, that for the diuersitie of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrarie in manners) they were both compelled to vie also contrary and divers meanes from other. For it was not Divers causes of a fainte harte, that Numa tooke from his people the vie of armes, and delire to be in warres: of the diarif-

but it was to the ende they should not doe any wrong to others. Neither did Lycurgus also studies in a state of make his people souldiers and warlike, to hurte others: but for seare rather that others mad 13-D should hurte them. And so, to cut of the excesse in the one, and to supply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a straunge manner of gouernment. Furthermore, touching their feuerall kinde of gouernment, & dividing of their people into states and companies: that of Numa was maruelous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a bodie of a cittie, and a people compounded together of all fortes, as goldefinithes, minstrells, founders, shoemakers, and of all sortes of craftes men & occupations together . But that of Lysurgus, was directly contrarie: for his was more seuere and tyrannicall, in governing of the nobility, casting all crastes and base occupations upon bondemen & straungers, and putting into the handes of his cittizens the shield and launce, suffering them to exerciseno other arte orscience, but the arte and discipline of warres, as the true ministers of Mars:

which all their life time neuer knewe other science, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to have any occupation, to buye and fell, or to trafficke, free men were expressely forbidden: bicausethey should wholy & absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for flaues, and the I LOTES: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dreffe meate, and to be a scullian of a kitchin. Numa put not this difference 4mogest his people, but only tooke away couetous desire to be riche by warres: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goodes by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regarde to bring all to equalitie, and to be a like wealthy, but fuffered enery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuet pouertie, which crept in, & spred farre in his cittle. Which he should have looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequalitie F amongest them, and that his cittizens for substaunce were in manner equal one with another for then was the time whe he should have made head against avarice, to have stopped the mischieues & inconveniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not litle. For that only was

the fountaine and roote, of the most parte of the greatest euills & mischieues, which happened § afterwardes in Rome. And as touching the division of goodes: neither ought Lycurgus to be blamed for doing it, nor Numa for that he did it not. For this equality vnto the one, was a groud & foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards inflituted: and vnto other, it could not be. For this diuision being made not long before the time of his predecessour, there was no great neede to chaunge the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, & their children to be in common, both the one & the other wifely fought to take awaye alloccasion of iealousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the Ro-MAINE husband, having children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to praye him to lende him his wife, he might graunte her vnto him, and it was in him to gene her altogether, or to lende her for a time, & to take her afterwardes againe. But R the LACONIAN, keeping his wife in his house, & the mariage remaining whole & vnbroken.

might let out his wife to any man that would require her to have children by her: naye furthermore, many (as we have told you before) did them selves intreat men, by whom they thought to have a trimme broode of children, & layed them with their wives. What difference, I praye you was between these two customes? fauing that the custome of the LACONIANS shewed, that the husbads were nothing angrie, nor grieued with their wines for those things, which for forrowe and iealousie doth rent the hartes of most maried men in the world. And that of the ROMAINES was a simplicitie somewhat more shamefast, which to coue pit, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimonie, and contract of mariage: confessing that to vie wife & children by halfes together, was a thing most intollerable forhim. Furthermore, the keeping of maides C to be maried by Numaes order, was much straighter & more honorable for womanhed: & Lycurque order having to much scope and libertie, gaue Poets occasion to speake, and to geue

and Andromanes: to faye manhood. And Euripides fayeth also of them. Good nutbrowene girles which left, their fathers house at large, and sought for young mens companie & tooke their wware in charge: And shevved their thighes all bare the taylour did them wurong, on eche side open were their cotes the stytts were all to long.

And in deede to fave truely, the fides of their petticotes were not fowed beneath: fo that as they went, they shewed their thighes naked and bare. The which Sophoeles doth easely declare D by these verses:

them furnames not very honest. As Ibycus called them Phanomeridas: to saye, thighe showers:

The songe which you shall singe shalbe the sonnet sayde, by Hermione lusty laffe that strong and sturdy mayde: Which trust her pettreote about her midle shorte. and fet to shevve her naked hippes, in francke and frendly forte.

And therefore it is fayed, the LACON wives were bolde, manly, & stowte against their husbands, namely the first. For they were wholy mistresses in the house, and abroade: yea they had minus were to law on their fide also, to vtter their mindes franckly cocerning the chiefest matters. But Nama euer reserved the honour and dignitie vnto the women, which was left them by Romulus in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them awaye perforce, disposed them selues to B

The Large

dens the bes

vie them as gentely as possibly they could : neuertheles, he added otherwise thereto, great ho-The Romaine nefty, and tooke away all curiofitie from them, and taught them sobrietie, & did inure them to speake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to speake, although it were for things necessarie, onles it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one daye to pleade her cause in persone, openly before the indges: the Senate hearing of it, did fend immediately vnto the oracle of Apollo, to know what that did prognosticate to the cittie, And therfore Name thought the memorie of the naughty women, would much commend the great humilitie, gentlenes, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN historiographers doe note those which were the first that killed any of

their cittizes, or haue fought with their brethern, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: enen R fo the ROMAINES doe note that Spurius Carnilius was the first which for sooke his wife two hundred & thirtie yeres after the first foundation of Roms, which was never done by any beA fore. And that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thales, was the first which ever brawled or smark relled with her mother in lawe called Gegania, in the time when Tarquine furnamed the provide raiened: fo well and honeftly were the orders of Numa deuifed concerning mariage. Mistern uer, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other orderned : dorb agree with the rest of their education. For Lycurgus would not that they should be mavied till they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the ende that they knowing the company of man at fuch time as nature requireth, it should be a beginning of their pleasure and lone; and not of griefe and hate, when the should be compelled vnto it before time agreable by nature. and bicause their bodies also should be more stronge and able to beare children; and to indure

the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in childe bearing, considering they are maried to no B other ende but to beare children . But the ROMAINES to the contrarie . doe marve them at twelue yeres of age, and vnder: faying, that by this meanes their bodies & manners be wholv theirs, which doe marye them, being affured that no body els could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more naturall, to make themstrong to beare children: & the other more morall, to geue them the forme & manner of conditios, which a man would have them to kepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for educatio of childre, that they should be brought vp, instructed, & taught, vnder the selfe same masters & gouernours, which should haue an eye to make them drincke, eate, playe, and exercise them selues honestly, and orderly Home much etogether: Numa made no more provision for the same, then the least maker of lawes that ever discipline is was, and nothing in comparison of Lyeurgus. For Numa left the parents at libertie, to vse their worther

medle one with another, but in a rough storme or tempest, when every man is affrayed of his

owne life. For otherwise, no man careth but for him selfe. And other makers of lawes also, are

to be borne withall, if any thing hath scaped them through ignoraunce, or some time through

lacke of sufficient power and authoritie. But a wise philosopher, having receyued a realme of

people newly gathered together, which dyd contrary him in nothing: whereto should he

young men exercise them selves, to the ende they should not differ in manners, nor that they

and specially vnto such men, as place felicitie in riches, in possessions, & in the greatnes of em-

and inflice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheles, howfoeuer it was, that maketh for Lycur-

gus also, that the Romaines, after they had changed the state which they had of Numa, dyd

F pire, rather then in the quiet safety, peace, & concorde of a common weale: and in clemency

D most plye his studie and indeuour, but to cause children to be well brought vp, and to make

C discretion (according vnto their couetousnes or necessitie) to cause their children to be Arish polises. brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpinters, founders, or minstrells. As if they should not frame the manners of children, and facion them from their cradell all to one ende: but should be as it were like passengers in one shippe, which being there, some for one busines, other for another purpose, but all to diuers endes, doe neuer

should be troublesome, by their divers manner of bringing vp , but that they should all agree together, for that they had benetrained from their childhood vnto one selfe trade, and facioned vnder one selfe patterne of vertue? That good education, besides other commodities, dyd How Lycanalso serve to preserve Lycurgus lawes . For the feare of their othe which they had made . had gu lawes bene of small effect, if he had not through institution, and education (as it were) dyed in wolle fred

the manners of children, and had not made them from their nources breftes in manner fucke the Iuice and loue of his lawes, and civill ordinaunces. And this was of fuche force, that for the space of fine hundred yeres & more, Lyeurgus chief lawes and ordinaunces remained in full E perfection, as a deepe woded dye, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender

wolle. Contrariwife, that which was Numaes chief ende and purpose, to continew Rome in Why No

peace and amitie, dyed by and by with him. For he was no foner dead, but they opened both mat orders the gates of the temple of Ianus, which he so carefully had kept shut all his reigne, as if in deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and keye, and they filled all I TALIE with murder and bloude: & this his godly, holy, and iust gouernment which his Realme enjoyed all his time, did not last long after, bicause it had not the bonde of education, and the discipline of children which should mainteine it. Why, maye a man saye to me here: hath not Rome excelled ftill, and preuailed more & more in cheualrie? This question requireth a long aunswer,

fo maruelously increase & growe mightie: and that the LACED AMONIANS to the contrarie. to foone as they beganne to breake Lycurgus lawes, being of great authoritie and fwaye, fell afterwards to be of small accompt. So that having lost the soueraintie & commaundemet over GRECE, they stoode in great hazarde also to be overthrowen for ever. But in trothe it was Why Numa some divine thing in Numa, that he being a meere straunger, the Romains dyd seeke him, to make him King, and that he could fo chaunge all, and rule a whole cittie as he lifted (not yet iovned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in Lycurgus, to be affilted with the best of the citty, in resisting the comons of LACED & MON, but he could neuer otherwise haue kept them in peace, & made them loue together, but by his only wisdom & iustice.

The ende of Numa Pompilius life.

THE LIFE



dicated vnto Aclepiades, touching the tables of the lawes of Solon, al-

leageth the wordes of one Philocles, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that Solons father was called Euphorion. For all other writers agree, that he was the fonne of Execestides, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most auncient house of the cittie of ATHENS. For of his fathers fide, he was descended of king Codrus: and for his mother, Heraclides Ponticus writeth, the was colin germaine vnto Pilistra-

Great friend. Lus mother. For this cause euen from the beginning there was great friendshippe betwene them, partely for their kinred, and partely also for the curtesie, and beawtie of Pisistratus, with B Solon & Pi- whom it is reported Solon on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of state and gouernment: yet this square bred no violent inconuenience betwene them, but they referued in their hartes still their auncient amitie, which continued the memorie of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That Solon was no flaved man to withfland beawtie, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifest to all, afwell by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by alawe of his owne: wherein he dyd

forbid bondmento perfume them selves, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe A statute for among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better forte, and forbidding it to the basest. They saye also that Pisstratus selse was in loue with Charmus, and that he dyd set vp the litleimage of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candell. But Solons father (as Hermippus writeth) having spent his goodes in liberalitie, and deedes of curtefie, though he might eafely have bene relieved at divers mens handes with money, he was yet ashamed to take any, bicause he came of a house which was wont rather to geue and was yet attained to take them felues: so being yet a young man, he deuised to trade mar-relieute others, then to take them felues: so being yet a young man, he deuised to trade mar-chaundise. How beit other saye, that Solon trauelled countries, rather to see the worlde, and to him self in

learne: then to trafficke, or gayne. For fure he was very defirous of knowledge, as appeareth youth to traffe

Igrouve olde, learning fill. Also he was not couetously bent, nor loued riches to much: for he sayd in one place:

B manifestly: for that being nowe olde, he commonly vsed to save this verse:

Who so hath goodes, and golde enough at call. great heards of beastes, and flocks in many a folde, both horfe and mule, yeaftore of corne and all, that maye content eche man aboue the movulde: naricher is, for all those heapes and hoordes. then he which hathe sufficiently to feede, and clothe his corpes, with fuch as god afoordes. But if is toye and chief delight doe breede. for to beholde the fayer and heauenly face,

or els some childe, of beauvity fayre and bright, then hath he cause (in deede) of deepe delight. And in another place also he saveth:

In deede I doe desire, some vvealthe to have at vvill: but not unles the same be got, by faithfull dealing still.

For fuer wwho fo desires by wwickednes to thriue: shall finde that justice from fuch goodes, will justly him deprive.

of some sweete wrife, which is adornde with grace.

There is no law forbiddeth an honest man, or getleman, greedily to screepe goods to gether, & more then may fuffice: & likewife to get fufficient to mainteine one with all & to defrave all needefull charges. In those dayes no state was discommended, as fayeth Hesiodus, nor any arte

or science made any difference between men: but marchaundisethey thought an honorable state, as that which deliuered meanes, to traffike into straunge & farre contries, to get acquain- The com tauce with states, to procure the love of princes, & chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there hauebene marchauts, which heretofore haue bene fouders of great citties: as he which first buylt Massilia, after he had obteined the friedshippe of the Gavis solvelling builded Has by the river of Rhosne. And they saye also, that Thales Milesius the wife, did traffike marchau Gila. dife, & that Hippocrates the mathematike did eue fo: & likewife that Plato trauelling into Egipt, Thales.

E did beare the whole charges of his iorney, with the gaines he made of the fale of oile he caried Hipportates. thither. They remember also, that Solon learned to be lauish in expence, to fare deligately, & to machannus speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poemes, somwhat more licettously then became the grauity of a Philosopher: only bicause he was brought vp in the trade of marchaudise, wherein for that men are maruelous subject to great losses & daugers, they seeke otherwiles good chere to driue these cares awaye, and libertie to make much of them selues . Yet it appeareth by these verses, that Solon accompted him selfe rather in the number of the poore, than of the riche.

Riche men (oftimes) in levedest lines doe range, and often seene that vertuous men be poore: Yet would the good their goodnes never chaunge with leved estate, although their wealthe be more. For vertue stands all vvayes, both firme and stable: When richesroue, and feldome are durable.

This Poetry at the beginning he vsed but for pleasure, and when he had ley sure, writing no A matter of importaunce in his verses. Afterwards he dyd set out many graue matters of philosophie, and the most parte of such things as he had deuised before, in the government of a common weale, which he dyd not for historic or memories sake, but only of a pleasure to discourse: for he sheweth the reasons of that he dyd, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the Athenians. And some affirme also he went about to write his lawes and ordinaunces in verse, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

Vouchesaue ô mighty Ioue, of heaven and earth highe King: to graunt good fortune to my lauves, and heasts in everie thing. And that their glorie grouve in such triumphaunt wife, as maye remaine in fame for aye surhich lines and neuer dies.

He chiefly delited in morall philosophie, which treated of government & common weales: in morall, but as the most parte of the wise men dyd of those times. But for naturall philosophie, he was very rall philosogroffe and fimple, as appeareth by these verses,
phie.

The clattering hayle, and softly falling snowve doe breede in ayer and fall from cloudes on hye. The dreadfull clappes, which thunder bolts doe throwe, doe come from heaven and lightninges bright in skye: The fea it felfe by boysterous blastes dothe rore wwhich (wwere it not prouoked fo full fore) Would be both calme and quiet for to passe, as any element that ever vvas.

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the leuen wife men of Grece, who learched further the contemplation of things in common vie among men, than he . For fetting him a parte, all the others got the name of wisdome, only for their viderstanding in matters of state and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a daye all seuen together in the cittie of Delphes, and another time in the cittie of Corinthe, where Periander got them together at a feast that he made to the other fixe. But that which most increased their glorie, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending backe againe of the three sooted stoole when they all had refused it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fisher men of the Ile of Co, cast their nettes into the sea, and certaine D ftraungers passing by, that came from the cittie of MILETVM, did buye their draught of fishe at aduenture, before the net was drawen. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net

Hellen three a three footed stoole of massy gold, which men saye, Hellen (as she dyd returne from TROYE) had throwen in in that place, in memory of an aunciet oracle the called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the straungers & fisher men first fell at strife about this three sooted stoole, who (hould haue it: but afterwardes the two citties tooke parte of both sides, on their cittizens behalfe. In so much as warres had like to haue followed betwene them, had not the prophetesse Pythia geuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they should geue this three footed stoole vnto the wifest man . Whereupon themen of Co, sent it first to Thales in the cittle of MILEт v м, as being willing to graunte that vnto a private persone, for which they had made warres E The rose mo. with all the MILESIANS before . Thales fayed, he thought Bias a wifer man than him felfe: and so it was sent vnto him. He likewise sent it againe vnto another, as to a wiser man. And that other, sent it also vnto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through diuers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe vnto the cittie of M_{1LETVM} , and deliuered into the handes of Thales the seconde time: and last of all was caried vnto There s, and offered vp vnto the temple of Apollo Ismenian . Howbeit Theophraitus writeth, that first it was sent to the cittle of PRIENA, vnto Bias: and then vnto Thales, in the cittle of MILETVM, by Biss consent. And after that it had passed through all their handes, it was brought againe vnto Bias: and lastely it was sent to the cittie of DELPHES. And thus much have the best and most auncient writers written: sauing that some saye in steade of a three sooted stoole, it F was a cuppe that king Crafu fent vnto the cittle of DELPHES. Other faye, it was a pece of

A plate which Bathycles left there. They make mention also of another private meeting betweet Anacharsis and Solon, and of another betweene him and Thales, where they recite, that they had this talke. Anacharsis being arrived at ATHENS, went to knocke at Solons gate, saying that Anacharsis had this take. Anacharjis being artified at ATTHENS, white to know a absolute at Solons gates, majing that he was a straunger which came of purpose to see him, and to defire his acquaintaunce and meeting.

friedshippe. Solon aunswered him, that it was better to seeke friedshippe in his owne countrie. Anachar sis replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shew me friendshippe. Then Solon wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curteoully: and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the felfe same time wherein he was most busie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes

for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis vnderstoode, he laughed at it, to see that Solon Anacharsis

B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetouines and iniuitice. For fuch lawes, fayed faying of Sohe, doe rightly resemble the spyders cobwebbes: bicause they take holde of litle slies and long written gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. Solon answered him, that men doe justly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicause it is to the hinderace of either partie to breake them: & euen fo, he dyd so temper his lawes, that he made his cittizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & inflice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwardes, matters proued rather according to Anacharsis comparison, then agreable to the hope that Solon had conceyued. Anacharlis being by happe one daye in a common affembly of the people at ATHENS, fayed that he maruelled much, why in the consultations & meetings of the GRECIAN s, wife men C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is fayed moreouer, that Solon was fom-

time in the cittie of MILETVM at Thales house, where he sayed that he could not but maruellat Thales, that he would neuer marie to haue children. Thales gaue him neuer a worde at Solons talke that present: but within fewe dayes after he suborned a straunger, which sayed that he came with Thakes but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before . Solon asked at Milenum, but newly home from ATHENS, departing from the terms days observed about ma-him immediately, What newes there? This straunger whom Thales had schooled before, aun-riage, for hafwered: none other there, sauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittle uing of chilfollowed, for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the cittie, and the honestest man

withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they fayed) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then fayed Solon: and what was his name? I have heard D him named, fayed the straunger, but I have forgotten him nowe: fauing that they all fayed he was a worthy wife man. So Solon still trembling more and more for feare, at euery auniwer of this straunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name himselse vnto the straunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of Solon which was buried. The very fame, fayed the straunger. Solon with that, like a mad man straight beganne to beat his head, and to faye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and ouercome with sorowe. But Thales laughing to see this pageant, stayed him, and sayed. Loe, solon, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou feest it hath nowe ouercome thee, although otherwise thou arte stronge, and able to

wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath saied vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it E is but a tale, and nothing so . Hermippus writeth, that Patacus (he which sayed he had Esops fowle) reciteth this ftory thus. Neuertheles it lacketh judgement, and the corage of a man alfo, to be afrayed to get things necessarie, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning, he We sould thould neither efteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lofe things needs them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, fair, fearing decayeth oftimes through ficknes, or els by phisicke, and potions. Furthermore Thales selfe, in lafe them. although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kynsemen, nor countrie: howbeit Thales had an adopted sonne, Cybistus called Cybistus, which was his fifters some. For our soule having in it a naturall inclination to Thales adop-

loue, and being borne aswell to loue, as to feele, to reason, or viderstand, and to remember: red some. F having nothing of her owne whereupon the might bestowe that naturall love, boroweth of The instinct other. As where there is a house or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

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ordinaunces in verse, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

Vouchefaue o mighty Ioue of heaven and earth highe King: to graunt good fortune to my lauves and heasts in everie thing. And that their glorie grouve in such triumphaunt wise, as maye remaine in fame for aye, which lives and never dies.

He chiefly delited in morall philosophie, which treated of gouernment & common weales: in morall, but as the most parte of the wife men dyd of those times. But for naturall philosophie, he was very grosse and simple, as appeareth by these verses.

The clattering hayle and softly falling snowve doe breede in ayer and fall from cloudes on hye. The dreadfull clappes, which thunder bolts doe throwve, doe come from heaven, and lightninges bright in skye. The fea it felfe by boysterous blastes dothe rore which (were it not prouoked so full sore) Would be both calme and quiet for to paffe, as any element that ever vvas.

So in effect there was none but Thales alone of all the seuen wise men of Grece, who searched further the contemplation of things in common vse among men, than he. For setting him a parte, all the others got the name of wisdome, only for their vnderstanding in matters of state and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a daye all seuen together in the cittie of DELPHES, and another time in the cittie of CORINTHE, where Periander got them together at a feast that he made to the other fixe. But that which most increased their glorie, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending backe againe of the three sooted stoole when they all had refused it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fisher men of the Ile of Co, cast their nettes into the sea, and certaine D ftraungers paffing by, that came from the cittle of MILETVM, did buye their draught of fishe at aduenture, before the net was drawen. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net Hellens three a three footed stoole of massy gold, which men saye, Hellen (as she dyd returne from TROYE) of gold drang had throwen in in that place, in memory of an aunciet oracle the called then vnto her minde. rp in a drag Thereupon the straungers & fisher men first fell at strife about this three sooted stoole, who should haue it: but afterwardes the two citties tooke parte of both sides, on their cittizens behalfe. In so much as warres had like to haue followed between them, had not the prophetesse Pythia geuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they should geue this three footed stoole vnto the wifest man. Whereupon themen of Co, sent it first to Thales in the cittie of MILE-TVM, as being willing to graunte that vnto a private persone, for which they had made warres E with all the MILESIANS before . Thales fayed, he thought Bias a wifer man than him felfe: and so it was sent vnto him. He likewise sent it againe vnto another, as to a wifer man. And that other, sent it also vnto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through diuers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe vnto the cittie of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of Thales the seconde time: and last of all was caried vnto Thebe s, and

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he was a straunger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintaunce and meeting. friedshippe. Solon aunswered him, that it was better to seeke friedshippe in his owne countrie. Anacharsis replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shew me friendshippe. Then Solon wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curreoully: and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the felfe fame time wherein he was most busie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis vnderstoode, he laughed at it, to see that Solon

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him immediately, What newes there? This straunger whom Thales had schooled before, aunfwered: none other there, saving that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittle wing of this followed for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the cittie, and the honestest man dren. withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they fayed)

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also, to be asrayed to get things necessaring the losse of them; for by this reckoning, he VVe should allo, to be attayed to get things necessarily the loss of the hath them, for feare to lofe thould neither esteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lofe thing needthem. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches aman can haue, faire, fearing decayeth oftimes through ficknes, or els by phificke, and potions. Furthermore Thales felfe, to lofe them. although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kynsemen, nor countrie: howbeit Thales had an adopted sonne, Cristius called Cybistus, which was his fifters sonne. For our soule having in it a natural inclination to Thales adoploue, and being borne aswell to loue, as to feele, to reason, or vnderstand, and to remember: red some.

other. As where there is a house or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they H iii

F having nothing of her owne whereupon the might bestowe that natural love, boroweth of The insting

90 have once wonne & possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kynde and tender over A them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are ready to dye for feare & forowe, when they fee their bastardes (that they have gotten of their slaves or concubines) fall ficke or dye, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeete for men of noble corage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horse, are so out of harte, and take such thought, that they are ready to goe into the grounde, they looke so pittiefully. Other some are cleane contrarie, who though they have lost their children, forgone their friendes, or some gentleman deare vnto them, yet no sorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither have they done any vnfeemely thing; but have passed the rest of their life like wife, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weaknes, which breedeth these ex- R treme forowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they loue and desire, by reason of the continual trouble, scare and griefe they feele, by thinc-

king howe in time they maye be depriued of it. Nowe we must not arme our selues with pouertie, against the griefe of losse of goodes: neither with lacke of affe ion, against the losse of our friendes: neither with wante of mariage, against the death of children; but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS having nowefulteined along and troublesome warre against the MEGA-RIANS, for the possession of the lle of SALAMINA: were in the ende wearie of it, and made Proclamation proclamation straightly commaunding upon payne of death, that no man should presume to C preferre any more to the counfaill of the cittie, the title or question of the possession of the Ile death noman of SALAMINA. Solon could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most parte of the luto mone the stiest youthes desirous still of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fayned him felfe to be out of his wittes, and caused it to be genen out that Solon was become a foole, and fecretly he had made certaine lamentable vertes, which he had cunned Sol n fained without booke, to finge abroade the cittie. So one daye he ranne fodainly out of his house reconer Salawith a garland on his head, and gotte him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the stone where all proclamations are vfually made, out he fingeth these Elegies he had made, which beganne after this forte. I here present my selfe (an Heraulde) in this case,

which come from Salamina lande that noble wworthy place. My minde in pelting profe, shall never be exprest, But songe in verse Heroycall, for so I thincke it best.

This Elegie is intituled SALAMIN A, and conteineth a hundred verses, which are excellently

well written. And these being songe openly by Solon at that time, his friendes incontinently prayled them beyond measure, and specially Pissitratus: and they went about persuading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongest them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to followe the warres with greater furiethen before, appointing Solon to be generall in the same. But the of the temple common tale and reporte is, that he went by fea with Pilistratus vnto the temple of Venus, fur- E of " named Colsade: where he founde all the women at a solemne feast and facrifice, which they 11 Made. Made of custome to the goddesse. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man for of the A- of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to fayne him felfe a reuolted traytour, & that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chief ladves and gentlewomen of ATHENS ON 2 fodaine. The MEGARIAN'S easely beleeved him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to goe with him . But when Solon perceyued the shippe vnder sayle comming from SALAMINA he commaunded the women to departe, and in steade of them he put lusty beardles springalles into their apparell, and gaue them litle shorte daggers to conuey under their clothes, commaunding them to playe & daunce together vpon the fea fide, vntill their enemies were F landed, and their shippe at anker: and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being de-

cevued by that they lawe a farre of, as soone as euer they came to the shore side, dyd lande in

heapes,

A heapes, one in anothers necke, even for greedines to take these women but not a man of them escaped, for they were flayne enery mothers sonne. This stratageame being finely handled, & to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke fea straight, and costed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistance. Other saye that it solon wanne was not raken after this forte: but that Apollo Delphicus gaue Solon first fuch an oracle.

Thou shalt first winne by vouves and sacrifice, of whose dead bones, the dust engraved lies, the helpe of lordes and demy goddes full bright: in westerne soyle, Asopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, & dyd facrifice to Periphemus & to Cichris, demy goddes of the countrie, Which done, the ATHENIAN'S delivered him fine hundred men, who willingly offered them selues: & the cittie made an accorde with them, R that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. Solon imbarked his fouldiers into divers fifther botes, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankred hard by the cittle of SALAMINA, vnder the pointe which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA. having by chaunce heard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne prefently in hurly burley to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descrie what it was. But they fondly comming within daunger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the MEGARIANS under hatches fast bounde, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choycest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to fet their course direct vpon the cittie, and to keepe them felues as close out of fight as could be. And he him felf with all the rest of his foul-C diers landed prefently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the fielde. Now whilest they were fighting together, Solons men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the hauen, & wanne the towne. This is certainly true, & testified by that which is shewed yet at this daye. For to keepe a memoriall hereof a shippe of A-THENS arriveth quietly at the first, & by & by those that are in the shippe make a great showte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, ronneth showting towardes the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme lande and hard by the same is the temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were faued from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransome paying. Neuertheles, the MEGARIANS were sharpely bent D ftill, to recouer Salamina again, Much hurte being done & fuffered on both fides: both parts Gran first in the ende made the LACED EMONIANS judges of the quarrell. But vpon judgement genen, beinest the

common reporte is, that Homers authoritie dyd Solon good service, bicause he did adde these Megarians verses to the number of shippes, which are in the Iliades of Homer, which he rehearsed before for Salaning.

Aiax that champion stouvte, did leade with him in charge, twelve shippes from Salamina foyle, which he had left at large, and even those selfe same shippes in battell did he cast and place in order for to fight, with enmies force at last. In that same very place, whereas it seemed then the captaines which from Athens came, imbattelled had their men.

the judges, as if they had bene in deede written by Homer.

Howbeit the Athenians selves thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and saye that Solon made it appeare to the judges, that Phileus, and Eury/aces (both Aiax sonnes) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTIC A: and the other in a towne called MELITVM. And for due proofe thereof, they fave there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the countrie of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the Philaides, after the name of this Philaus, where Pisstratus was borne. And it is sayed moreouer, that Solon (bicause he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alleage that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in ME-E GARA they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet Hereas the Megarian denieth it, saying that the MEGARIANS dyd burie them

counfell for

the title of

Salamina.

madnes to

Solons Elegies

of the Sala-

Solons ftrata

The mounter also with their faces towards the West: alleaging moreouer, that at ATHENS euerie corse had A 2 2 rist with his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, & that at MEGARA they dyd put three or source corses to-

o the Abse. gether. They saye also there were certaine oracles of Apollo Pythias, which dyd greatly helpe Solon, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their strife was judged by five Arbitrators, all Spartans borne: that is to faye, Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypfechidas, Anaxilas, & Cleomenes. Solon vindoutedly wonne great glory & honour by this exployte, yet was he much more honoured & esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the teple of Apollo, in the cittie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHEIANS should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, & that they should ayde the D B L-PHIANS in honour and reuerence of Apollo. Whereupon the counsell of the Amphittyons, being moued with his words and perfuations, proclaimed warres against the CYRRHEIANS; R as divers other doe witnesse, and specially Aristotle, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne the Pythian games, where he ascribeth vnto Solon the honour of that determination . Neuertheles Hermippus fayeth, Solon was not made generall of their armie, as Euanthes Samian hath written. For Afchines the Orator wrote no fuch thing of him: & in the chronicles of the DELPHIANS they finde, that one Alemeon, & not Solon, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the cittie of Athen's had a long time benevexed and troubled through Cylons heynous offence, euer sence the yere that Megaeles (gouernour of the cittie of ATHENS) dyd with faver words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of Cylon, which had taken sanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of Minerua: that he persuaded them to be wise, and to present them felues before the judges, holding by a threede, which they should tye about the base of the C image of the goddesse where she stoode, bicause they should not lose their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddeffes fo called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to present them selves before the judges, the threede brake of it self. Then Megacles, and other officers his copanions, layed holde on them presently, saying that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse Minerua refused to saue the. So those they tooke, & all they could laye hands of, were immediately stoned to death without the cittie-the rest which tooke the altars for refuge, were flaine there also. And none were faued, but such as had made meanes to the gouernours wives of the citie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebelles that rose with Cylon, chaunced to rise again in credit, & growing D to great authoritie, they neuer left quarrelling & fighting continually with thoffpring of Megaeles. These factions were greatest highest in Solons time: who being of authoritie, & seeing the people thus divided in two parts the ftepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of ATHENS, & did so persuade & intreate those whom they called the abiects & excomunicates, that they were contented to be judged. So three hundred of the chiefest cittizens were chosen iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was Myron Phlyeian. This matter was heard and pleaded, & by sentece of the judges, the excommunicates were condened. Those that were aliue, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwen out of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whileft the cittie of ATHENS Was occupied with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught holde of the occasion deliuered, and set E vpon the Althenians, tooke fro them the hauen of Nys EA, & recoursed againe out of their handes, the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the cittie was possessed with a certen superstitious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sightes were seene. The prognosticatours also fayed, they perceived by their facrifices, the cittie was defiled with fome abhominable & wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out.

Frimenides Periander.

Hereupon they fent into CRETA for Epimenides Phastian, whom they reckoned the feuenth ken for one of of the wife men, at the least fuch as will not allowe Periander for one of the number. He was a holy and deuoute man, and very wife in celeftiall things, by infpiration from aboue: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the newe Curetes, that is to fave, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nymphe called Balte. When he was come to Athens, and growen F in friendshippe with Solon: he dyd helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his lawes . For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their facrifices much lighter, and of

A leffe coste: & brought the cittizes to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting of cerraine seuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the most parte of the women observed in their mourning, & he ordeined certain facrifices which he would have done immediately after the: obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest was, that by vsing the cittizes vnto holines & deuotion, daylie facrifices, prayers vnto the godds, purging of them selues, & huble offerings: he wanne mens hartes by litle & litle, to yelde them more confirmable to inflice. & to be more inclined to cocorde & vnity. It is reported also that Epimenides, whe he saw the hauen of Munychia, & had long conidered of it: told those about him, that men were very blinde in foreseeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS (sayed he)knew, what hurt this hauen would bring the: they would eate it (as they faye) with their teethe. It is fayed also that Thales did pro-B gnosticate such a like thing, who after his deathe commaunded they should burie his bodie, in some vile place of no reckoning, with in the territorie of the MILESIANS, saying that one dave

there should be the place of a cittie. Epimenides therfore being maruelously esteemed of every man for these causes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great presents of money and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to geue. him a boughe of the holy olyue: which they graunted him, and so he returned shortely home?

into CRETA. Nowe that this fedition of Cylon was veterly appealed in ATHENS, for that the Solon pacified excommunicates were banished the countrie: the citty fell againe into their oldetroubles and the sedition

partes and factions, as there were people of fundry places & territories within the countrie of

C ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the peo-

diffentions about the government of the common weale: & they were deuided into so divers at Athens,

ple of the sea coaste. Those of the mountaines, tooke the comon peoples parte for their lines. Those of the valley, would a sewe of the best cittizens should carie the swaye. The coaste menwould, that neither of the should preuaile, bicause they would have had a meane governmet,' & mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore & riche, proceeding of their vnequalitie, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the cittle was in great daunger, and it feemed there was no waye to pacifie or take vp thefe controuerfies, vnles fome tyraunt happened to rife, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the comon people were so fore indetted to the riche, that either they plowed their landes, & yelded them the fixt "The miseries parte of their croppe: (for which cause they were called Hettemory and servants) or els they of den. and D borowed money of them at vsurie, vpon gage of their bodies to serve it out. And if they were , vsmie. not able to paye them, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours, who kept them as bonde men & flaues in their houses, or els they sent them into straunge coutries to be sold:

& many euen for very pouertie were forced to fell their owne children for there was no lawe. to forbid the contrarie) or els to forfake their cittie & countrie, for the extreme cruelty & hard ... dealing of these abominable vsurers their creditours. Insomuch as many of the lustiest & stow-... test of them, banded together in copanies, & incoraged one another, not to suffer & beare any lenger such extremitie, but to choose them a stowte & trusty captaine, that might set them at libertie, and redeeme those out of captiuity, which were judged to be bondmen & servants, for lacke of paying of their detts at their dayes appointed: & so to make againe a newe division of E all landes and tenements, and wholy to chaunge and turne vp the whole state & gouernment,

Then the wifest men of the cittie, who sawe Solon only neither partner with the riche in their oppression, neither partaker with the poore in their necessitie: made suteto him, that it would Solons equision please him to take the matter in hande, & to appease and pacific all these broyles and sedition) and varights Yet Phanias Lesbian writeth, that he vsed a subtiltie, whereby he deceived both the one and the other fide, concerning the comon weale. For he fecretly promifed the poore to deuide the Solon by fublandsagaine: & the riche also, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. How soeuer it fell out, thin fer water the

the end he was chosen gouernour after Philobrotus, & was made reformer of the rigour of the Solon chosen F lawes, & the teperer of the state & como weale, by cosent & agreemet of both parties. The rich' reformer of accepted him, bicause he was no begger: the poore did also like him, bicause he was an honest man. They saye moreouer, that one word & sentece which he spake (which at that present was now,

it is very certain that Solon fro the beginning made it a great matter, & was very scrupulous to poore & rich. deale betwene them: fearing the couetousnes of the one, & arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in

rife in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no stryfe: did aswell please the riche and A wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one forteconceyued of this worde equalitie, that he would measure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their purpose, that he would measure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perfuaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that foueraigne authoritie. fithence he had the whole cittle nowe at his commaundement. The neawters also of energy parte, when they fawe it very harde to pacifie these things with lawe and reason, were well content that the wifest, and honestest man, should alone have the royall power in his handes. Some fave also that there was such an oracle of Apollo.

Sitt thou at helme as governour to steere to guyde our course, and rule the rovuling shippe, for thou shalt fee full many Athenians there, will take thy parte and after thee will trippe. But his familier friendes aboue all rebuked him, faying he was to be accompted no better

Transadas. and Pistacus syrannes.

Solons aunfrer for tyrannie.

Sale refuseth then a beast, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuse to take upon him a Kingdome: which is the most just and honorable state, if one take it your him that is an honest man. As in olde time, Tynnondas made him felfe King of those of Negrepont, with their confent: and as Pittaeus was then prefently of those of METELIN. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they saye he aunswered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, whe he was once entered into it. And in certen verses that he wrote C to Phocus, thus he faved:

Ineither blushe nor yet revent my felfe. that have preserude my native soyle allowayes. and that therein (to hourde up trashe and pelfe) no tyrants thought, could once eclypfe my prayfe. No might could move my minde to any veronge. wwhich might beblot the glory of my name: for fo I thought to live in honour longe; and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablish D newe lawes: he was then of great countenaunce and authoritie. But he him felfe writeth, that many fayed of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of vsurping of this tyrannie:

Suer, Solon vvas a foole, and of a bashefull minde, that vvould refuse the great good happe, vvhich goddes to him assignde. The praye vvas in his handes yet durst he neuer dravve. the net therefore: but stoode abasht and like a dastarde day ve. For had not that so bene, he would for one dayes raigne, to be a King in Athens towne)him felfe (all quicke)haue flayen. And eke subverted guyte his familie vvithall,

So sovete it is to rule the roste, yelad in princely pall. Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithstanding he had refused the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor softe therefore in gouerning, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that

had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tollerable, he dyd not straight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he so chauge the state, as he might have done, least if he should have attempted to turne vpsidowne thewhole government, he might afterwards have bene neuer able to fettle & stablishe the same againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reason he would persuade his cittizens vnto, or els by sorce he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he faied, fower with sweete, & force with instice. And herewith agreeth his aunswer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the best F lawes he could for the Athenian styea fuer, fayeth he, fuch as they were to receive. And this that followeth alfo, they have ever fince observed in the Athenian togue: to make certe things

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gan nouve beginne to looke full grym of grace, and were (like foes) in force against me set. As if I had done them, some spite or scorne, or open varonge, which were not to be borne.

Neuertheles he fayeth immediately after, that with the fame authoritie and power he had. a man possibly

Could not controll the peoples mindes:

nor still their braynes, which worought like windes. But shortely after, having a feeling of the benefit of his ordinaunce, and every one forgetting his private quarrell: they altogether made a common facrifice, which they called the facrifice of Seifachthia, or discharge, and chose Solon generall reformer of the lawe, and of the R lua authority whole state of the comon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common affemblies, voyces in election, judgemets in instice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gave him also full power and authoritie, to selfe and taxe any of them, to appointe the number, what time the feffe should continewe, and to keepe, confirme, and difanull at his pleasure, any of the auncient lawes and customes then in being. To beginne withall, he first tooke away all Dracons bloudy lawes, sauing for murder, and

demned for idlenes, were judged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens horteyards, & gar-

dens of fruite, or erbes, was as seuerely punished: as those who had committed facriledge or C

Solon tooke awaye all man flaughter, which were to seuere & cruell. For almost he dyd ordaine but one kinde of pu-Dracos lanes. nishment, for all kinde of faultes and offences, which was death. So that they which were con-

mon veale.

murder. Demades therefore encountered it pleasauntly, when he saved: that Dracons lawes were not written with incke, but with bloud, And Draco him selfe being asked one daye, why his punishmets were so vnequall, as death for all kinde of faultes: he aunswered. Bicause he thought the least offence worthie so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then Solon being desirous to haue the chief offices of the cittie to remaine in riche mens handes, as already they dyd, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in such forte, as Solon rateth enerie citti-

zen at a cer. ten samme. Pentacofiomedimns. Zeugite. Theses.

increased, the

the meaner people might beare a little swaye, which they neuer could before: he made an estimate of the goodes of euery private cittizen. And those which he founde verely worthe five hundred builhells of corne, & other liquide fruites and vpwards, he called Pentacosiomedimnes: as to fave, fine hundred buffhell men of renenue. And those that had three hundred buffhells a D yere, and were able to keepe a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, and called them knightes. They that might dispend but two hundred busshells avere, were put in the thirde place,& called Zengites. All other vnder those, were called Theres, as ye would saye, hyerlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whom he dyd not admit to beare any office in the cittie. neither were they taken as free cittizens, fauing they had voyces in elections, and affemblies of the cittie, and in judgements, where the people wholy judged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwardes they felt it was to great purpose: for hereby the most parte of private quarrells and strifes that grewe among them, were in the ende layed open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore, bicause his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might E be diverfely taken and interpreted: this dyd geue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, confidering all their controuerfies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse lawe: they were driuen of necessitie allwayes to ronne to the judges, and debated their matters before them. In so muche as the judges by this meanes came to be somewhat about the lawe: for they dyd euen expounde it as they would them felues. Solon felf doth note this equall diuision of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesses, where he sayeth,

Suche pouver haue I genen to common peoples hande, as might become their meane estate, with equity to stande: and as I have not pluct from them their dignitie, so have I not to much increast their small authoritie. Vnto theriche likewvise. I have allowved no more, then well might feeme (in just conceit) sufficient for their store.

And so I have for both provided in such vvise,

that neither shall eche other vivrong nor seeme for to despise. Yet considering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common forte of people: he suffered any man that would, to take upon him the defence, of any poore mans case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurte, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully fue the offendour, and profecute lawe against him. And this was a wise lawe ordeined of him, to accustome his cittizens to be sorie one for anothers hurte . & so to feele it as if any parte of his owne bodie had bene injured. And they fave he made an aunfwer on a time agreable to this law. For being asked what cittle he thought belt gouerned he aunswered. That cittie where such as receyue no wronge, doe as earnestly defend wrog offered B to other, as the very wrong & injurie had bene done vnto them selues. He erected also the cou-

faill of the Areopagites, of those magistrates of the cittie, out of which they did yerely choose their gouernour & he him felf had bene of that number, for that he had bene gouernour for a The counfell vere. Wherfore perceyuing now the people were growen to a stomake, & hawtines of minde, of the bicause they were cleare discharged of their detts: he set one up for matters of state, another

counsell of an hundred chosen out of euery tribe, whereof soure hundred of them were to con- 2 counsells efult & debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great refled in Acounsell of the people at large should be assembled, no matters should be put forth, onles it them. had bene before well confidered of, & digefted, by the counfell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordeined the higher courte should hauethe chiefe authoritie & power ouer all things.

C and chiefly to fee the lawe executed and mainteined: supposing that the common weale being fettled, and ftayed with these two courtes (as with two stronge anker holdes) it should be the leffe turmoyled and troubled, and the people also better pacified and quieted. The most parte of writers holde this opinion, that it was Solon which erected the counfaill of the Areapagites, as we have fayed, and it is very likely to be true, for that Dracon in all his lawes and ordinaunces made no manner of mention of the Areopagites, but allwayes speaketh to the Ephetes (which were judges of life and death) when he spake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithstanding, the eight law of the thirtenth table of Solon sayeth thus, in these very words. All fuch as have bene banished or detected of naughty life, before Solon made his laws, shalbe other lawer restored agains to their goodes and good name, except those which were condemned by or- of Solon.

D der of the counfaill of the Areopagites, or by the Ephetes, or by the Kings in open courte, for murder, and death of any man, or for aspiring to vsurpe tyrannie. These wordes to the contrarie feeme to proue and testifie, that the counsell of the Areopagites was before Solon was chofen reformer of the lawes. For howe could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counsell of the Areopagites before Solon, if Solon was the first that gaue it authoritie to iudge?onles a man will fave peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obscure and darke, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the fame by them . Those which shalbe founde attainted and conuicted of any matter , that hath

bene heard before the counfaill of the Areopagites, the Ephetes, or the governours of the cittie when this lawe shall come forth: shall stand condemned still, and all other shalbe pardoned, F. restored, and set at libertie. Howsoeuer it is, sure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongest the rest of his lawes, one of them in deede was of his owne denise; for the like was neuer stablished els where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnho-

nest, who in a civil vprore among the cittizens, sitteth still a looker on, and a neawter, and ta- gainst nearketh parte with neither fide. Whereby his minde was as it should appeare, that private men training should not be only carefull to put them selues & their causes in safety, nor yet should be careles for others mens matters, or thincke it a vertue not to medle with the miseries and misfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of every fedition that they should in every fedition that they should in the second with those that take the justest cause in hande, and rather to hazarde them selues with such. then to tarie looking (without putting them felues in daunger) which of the two should haue F the victorie. There is another lawe also, which at the first sight me thinketh is very vnhonest in attention

and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire & inheritour, and of him felfe is impotent, and vnable to doe the office of a husband, the maye law-

that it is a wife made lawe for those, which knowing them selues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for conetournes of landes, marye with riche heires and possessioners, and minde to abuse poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thincke to force and restraine nature. For, seeing the lawe suffereth an inheritour or possessioner thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bolde with any of her husbands kynne: men will either leaue to purchase such mariages, or if they be so careles that they will nedes marye, it shalbe to their extreme shame and ignominie, and so shall they deservedly paye for their greedy couetousnes. And the lawe is well made also, bicause the wife hath not scope to all her husbands kynsemen, but vnto one choyce man whom she liketh best of his house: to the ende that the children that shalbe borne, shalbe at the least of her husbands bloude and kynred. This also confirmeth the same, B that fuch a newe marved wife should be shut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him : and that he also which maryeth such an inheritour, should of duety see her thryse a moneth at the least. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honest woman, that he loueth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh awaye many mislikings and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dyenot ytterly be-Solon forbid. tweene them. Furthermore, he tooke awaye all joynters and downes in other mariages, and dethipiniters willed that the wives should bring their husbands but three gownes only, with some other litle moueables of small value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they should buye their husbands, or that they should make marchaundise of mariages, C as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman should marye together for iffue, for pleasure, and for loue, but in no case for money . And for proofe hereof, Dionysius the tyranne of Sicile, one daye aunswered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of Syracvsa) in this forte. I have power (faieth he) to breake the lawes of Sy-RACVSA, by having the Kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make mariage without the reasonable compasse of age, that passeth my reache and power. So is it not tolerable, and much leffe allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered citties, that such

marye with a young mayde, as the Poet fayeth of Philoctetes: Ah seely vuretche, how trymme a man arte thou, at these young yeres, for to be maryed nowve?

vncomely and vnfit mariages should be made, betweene coples of so vnequall yeres: con-

sidering there is no meete nor necessary ende of such matches. A wise gouernour of a cittie,

or a judge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well faye to an olde man that should D

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans house, getting his liuing by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they faye the partridge doth by treading of the hennes: he maye take him from thence, to bestowe him on some young mayde that shall have neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of Solons. A Les fabid. which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men should take great heede to offende those that are departed out of this world, besides it is a token of wise- E dome and civillitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded also in the selfe same lawe, that no man should speake ill of the liuing, specially in Churches, during diuine seruice, or in counfaill chamber of the cittie, nor in the Theaters whilest games were a playing : you payne of three filuer *Drachmes to be payed to him that was injured,& two to the common treasurie. For he thought it to much shameles boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that fuch lacked civillitie and good manners; and yet altogether to suppresse and smother it, he knewe it was not only a harde matter, but to some natures vnpossible. And he that maketh lawes, must have regarde to the common possibilitie of men, if he will punishe litle, with profitable example, and not much without some profit. So was he marue-Mass for bourly well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching willes and testaments. For before, F men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goodes came to the childre or kynred of the testatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to dispose their goods where

A they thought good, so they had no children of their owne: dyd therein preferre friendship before kynred, and good will and fauour before necessitie and constrainte, and so made every one lorde and mafter of his owne goodes. Yet he dyd not fimply and a like allowe all fortes of giftes, howfoeuer they were made: but those only which were made by men of found memorie or by those whose wittes fayled them not by extreme sicknes, or through drincks, medicines, poylonings, charmes, or other fuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither ver through the intifements and perfuafions of women. As thincking very wifely, there was no difference at all betweene those that were euidently forced by constraint, and those that were compassed and wrought by subornation at length to doe a thing against their will, taking fraude in this case equall with violence, and pleasure with sorowe, as passions with mad-B nes, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and drive men from reason. He made another lawe also, in which he appointed women their times to goe abroade into the fieldes, their mourning, their feaftes and facrifices, plucking from them all di- Alare for forder and wilfull libertie, which they vied before. For he dyd forbid that they should carie abroade. out of the cittle with them aboue three gownes, and to take vittells with them aboue the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite highe; and specially he dyd forbid them to goe in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche should be carried before them. He dyd forbid them also at the buriall of the dead, to teare and spoyle them felues with blowes, to make lamentations in verfes, to weepe at the funeralles of a straunger not being their kinseman, to sacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three C gownes with the corfe, to goe to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corfe: all which or the most parte of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this daye. Moreouer, those lawes appointe a penaltie vpon fuch women as offend in the fame, to be diffrayned for, by certaine officers expressely named, to controll and reforme the abuses of women, as womanish persones and faynte harted, which suffer them selves to be overcome with such passions and fondnes in their mourning. And perceyuing that the cittle of ATHEN'S beganne to replenish daylie more and more, by mens repayring thither from all partes, and by reason of the great affured fafetie, and libertie that they founde there: and also considering howe the greatest parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffeking the feas, are not wonte to bring any marchaundife to those, which can geue them nothing a-D gaine in exchaunge: he beganne to practife that his cittizens should give them selves vnto craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the fonne should not be bounde to relieue his craftes and father being olde, onles he had fet him in his youth to some occupation. It was a wife parte of occupations Lycurgus (who dwelt in a cittie where was no reforte of straungers, and had so great a territorie as could have furnished twife as many people, as Euripides sayeth, and moreover on all

fides was enuironned with a great number of flaues of the I L o T Es, whom it was needefull to

keepe still in labour and worcke continually) to haue his cittizens allwayes occupied in exer-

cifes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other science, but discharged

them of all other milerable occupations and handy craftes. But Solon framing his lawes vnto

things, & not things vnto lawes, when he fawe the countrie of ATTICA fo leane and barren,

matrimonie, plainely sheweth that he tooke not a wife to have children, but only to satisfie

his luft and pleafure: and fo fuch an one hath his just reward, and is disapointed of the reue-

F rece that a father ought to have of his children, since through his owne faulte the birth of his

E that it could hardely bring forth to fusteine those that tilled the grounde only, and therefore much more impossible to keepe so great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requisite to set vp occupations, and to geue them countenaunce and estima-

tion. Therefore he ordeined, that the counfaill of the Areopagites, should have full power, and The country authoritie to enquier how every man lived in the cittie, & also to punishe such as they found rive of the

idle people, and dyd not labour. But this was thought to seuere and straight a lawe which he countaile of ordeined (as Heraclides Ponticus writeth) that the children borne of common harlotts and the Arespastrumpers should not be bounde to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of give.

childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to fave truely, in Solons laws touching women, there are many obfurdities, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an

adulterer taking him with the facte. But he that rauisheth or forcibly taketh awaye a free wo-A man, is only condemned to paye a hundred filuer * drachmes. And he that was the Pandor to procure her, should only paye twenty drachmes. Onlesshe had bene a common strumpetor curtifan: for fuch doe iustefy open accesse, to all that will hier them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any persone to sell his daughters or sisters, onles the father or brother had taken them, abufing them selues before mariage. Me thincketh it is farre from purpose and reason, with seueritie to punish a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to passe it ouer in another: or to set some light fine on ones head for a great faulte, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sporte. Onles they will excuse it thus, that money being very harde & scante at that time in ATHENS, those fines were then very great & grieuous to paye. For in setting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a convenient B offering, and he setteth a busshell of come at a silver drachme. More he ordeined, that they which wonne any of the games at Athens, should payeto the common treasurie an hundred drachmes . And those that wone any of the games Olympicall, fine hudred drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought a he woulfe, should have five drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a she woulfe. Whereof as Demetrius Phalerian writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordeined in the fixtenth table of his lawes mete for burnt sacrifices, it is likely he dydrate them at a much higher price, then ordinarilie they were worth: and yet not withstanding, the price which he setteth, is very litle in comparison of that which they are worth at this daye. Nowe it was a custome ener amongest the Athenians to kill their woulfes, bicause all their coutrie laye for pasture, & not for C. tillage. Some there be that faye, the tribes of the people of ATHEN'S haue not bene called afthe Athenia ter the names of the children of Ion, as the common opinion hathbene: but that they were called after their divers trades & manners of living, which they tooke them felues vnto from the beginning. For, such as gaue them selues vnto the warres, were called Oplites: as who would faye, men of armes. Those that wrought in their occupations, were called Ergades: as much to faye, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were called Teleontes: as you would fave, labouring men. And those that kept beaftes & cattell, were called Agicores: as much to faye, as heard men. Nowe, for a fmuch as the whole prouince of ATT ICA was very drye, and had great lacke of water, being not full of rivers, ronning streames, nor lakes, nor yet stored with any great nuber of springs, insomuch as they are D drinen there to vie (through the most parte of the countrie)water drawen out of welles made with mens handes: he made such an order, that where there was any well within the space of an Hippicon, that euery bodye within that circuite, might come and drawe water onely at that well, for his vie and necessitie. Hippicon is the distaunce of foure surlonges, which is halfe a mile: & those that dwelt further of, should goe seeke their water inother places where they would. But if they had digged tenne yardes deepe in their grounde, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this case, they might lawfully goe to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water conteining fix gallons, twife a daye: judging it great reason that neceffitie should be holpen, but not that idlenes should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept & observed by those, that would set or plant trees in their ground, E planting and as being a man very skilfull in these matters. For he ordered, that whosoeuer would plante serving of any kynde of trees in his grounde he should serve the first the whosoeuer would plante any kynde of trees in his grounde, he should set them fine soote a sonder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyuetree specially, that they should in any case be nine soote a sonder, bicause these two trees doe spread out their branches sarre of, & they cannot stand neere other trees, but they must needes hurte them very much. For besides that they drawe awaye the same that doth nourishe the other trees, they cast also a certaine moisture & steame vpon them, that is very hurtefull & incomodious. More he ordeined, that who foeuer would digge a pytte or hole in his grounde, he should digge it as farre of from his neighbours pyt, as the pytte he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would fet vp a hiue of bees in his grounde, he (hould fet them at the least three hundred foote from other hines fet about him F

before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they should transporte and sell only

oyle out of the Realme to straungers, but no other fruite or graine. He ordeined that the go-

A uernour of the cittle should yerely proclaime open curses against those that should doe to the contrarie, or els he him selse making default therein, should be fined at a hundred drachmes. Drachme. This ordinaunce is in the first table of Solon lawes, and therefore we maye not altogether difcredit those which saye, they did forbid in the olde time that men should carie figges out of the countrie of ATTIC A, and that from thence it came that these picke thanckes, which bewrave & accuse them that transported figges, were called Sycophantes. He made another lawe also against the hurte that beastes might doe ynto men. Wherein he ordeined that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him should deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites longe: & this was a very good deuife, to make men fafe from dogges. But he was very straight in one lawe he made, that no straunger might be made deni-R zen and free man of the cittle of ATHENS, onles he were a banished man for ever out of his countrie, or els that he should come & dwell there with all his familie, to exercise some crafte or science. Notwithstanding, they saye he made not this lawe so much to put straungers from there freedome there, as to drawe them thither, affuring them by this ordinaunce, they might come and be free of the cittie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of ATHENS. The one of them, for that against their willes they were driven to forfake their countrie: & the other forte, for that advisedly and willingly they were contented to forfake it. This also was another of Solons lawes, which he orderned for those that should feast certe dayes at the towne house of the cittie, at other mens cost. For he would not allow, that one man should come often to feasts there. And if any man were Feasts for C inuited thither to the feast, and dyd refuse to come: he dyd set a fine on his head, as reprouing townes men in the miserable niggardlines of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancy of the other, to conteinne & despile common order. After he had made his lawes, he dyd stablishe them to continewe for the space of one hundred yeres, and they were written in tables of wood called Axo-Axones. nes, which were made more long then broade, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine some monuments yet in our time, which are to be seene in the towne hall of the cittie of AT HENS. Aristotle fayeth, that these tables were called Cyrbes. And Cratinus also the Comi- Cyrbes. call poet fayeth in one place, of Solon & Dracon: that Cyrbes was a veffell or panne wherein they dyd frye millet or hirse. Howbeit others saye, that Cyrbes properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinaunces of the facrifices: and Axones were the other tables, that concerned the D common weale. So, all the counsels & magistrates together dyd sweare, that they would kepe Solons lawes them felues, & also cause them to be observed of others throughly & particularly. Then euery one of the Thesmothetes (which were certaine officers attedaunt on the counsell, & had speciall charge to see the lawes observed) dyd solenly sweare in the open market place, neere the stone where the proclamations are proclaimed; and enery of them, both promised, & vowed openly to keepe the same lawes, & that if any of them dyd in any one pointe breake the faid ordinaunces, then they were content that fuch offender should paye to the temple of Apollo, at the cittle of DELPHES, an image of fine golde, that should wave as much as him felf. Moreouer Solon feeing the diforder of the moneths, & the moung of the moone, which followed not the course of the sunne, & vsed not to rise & fall when the sunne doth, but oftetimes E in one daye, it doth both touche & passe the sunne : he was the first that called the chaunge of the moone, Ene cai néa, as much to faye, as olde and newe moone. Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the moneth past: & that which shewed it self after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that vnderstoode Homer rightly, when he fayed then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called Neomenia, as much to faye, as the newe moneth, or the newe moone, After the twenty day of the moneth which they called Icada, he reckaned not the rest of the moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by seing the light of the moone decreasing vntill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroade, & proclaimed, there came some daylie vnto him, which either praised them, or misliked them. & prayed him either F to take awaye, or to adde fome thing vnto them. Many againe came & asked him, howe he vnderstoode some sentece of his lawes: & requested him to declare his meaning, & how it should be taken. Wherefore confidering howe it were to no purpose to resuse to doe it, and againe

howe it would get him much enuie & ill will to yelde thereunto he determined (happen what A would) to winde him selfe out of these bryars, and to siye the gronings, complaints, and quarrells of his cittizens. For he fayeth him felfe:

Full harde it is all mindes content to have. and specially in matters harde and grave.

So, to conuey him felf a while out of the waye, he tooke vpon him to be mafter of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for tenne yeres of the ATHENIANS to goe beyond fea. hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes, So went he to the seas, & the first place of his arrivall was in É GYPT, where he remained a while, as he him self fayeth. Euen there where Nylus, with his crooked cranckes

by Canobe falles into the fea banckes. He went to his booke there, and dyd conferre a certaine time with Pfenophis Heliopolitan, and Sonchis Saitan, two of the wifest priestes at that time that were in Egypt: whom when he heard rehearse the storic of the Iles ATLANTIDES as Plato writeth, he proued to put the fame in verse, & dyd send it abroade through GRECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into Cyprvs, where he had great curtefy & friendship of one of the princes of that countrie, called Philocyprus, who was lorde of a prety litle cittie which Demophon (Thefeus fonne) caused to be built vpon the river of Clarie, & was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren coutrie. Whereupo Solon tolde him, it would doe better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayer & pleafaunt valley that laye vnderneath it, and there to make it larger & statelier then it was: which was done according to his persuasio. And Solon self being C

present at it, was made ouerseer of the buildings, which he dyd helpe to deuise and order in good forte, aswell in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie dyd followe thexample of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon, called his cittie Soles, which AEpia called before was called ÆPIA. Solon in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes vnto Philocyprus, as followeth.

So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offspring maye clyme to great, and passing princely state: long time to live in Soles florishing. And that they grount, my shippe and me good gate wwhen I from hense, by feas shall take my wwave: that with her harpe dame Venus doe vouchefafe to waft me still, untill she maye conveye my felfe againe, into my countrey fafe. Since I have bene the only meane and man, which here to build, this cittie first beganne.

And as for the meeting & talke between him & king Crass. I know there are that by distace of time will proue it but a fable, & deuised of pleasure: but for my parte I will not reject, nor codemne so famous an historie, received & approved by so many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreable to Solons maners & nature, & also not vnlike to his wisedom & magnanimitie: E although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they have bufily noted the order and course of times which even to this daye many have curiously sought to correct, & could yet neuer discusse it, nor accorde all contrarieties & manifest repugnaunces in the same. Solon at the desire & request of Crassus, went to see him in the cittie of SARDIS. When Solon was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be:who being borne & bred vp on the mayne lande, & had neuer feene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine enery river that he sawe had bene the sea. So Solon paffing alongest Crassus palace, & meeting by the waye many of the lordes of his courte richely apparelled, & carying great traines of seruing men, & souldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto Crafus felfe. Who was F paffing richely arrayed, what for precious stones & iuells, & for riche cullered filkes, layed on with curious goldsmithes worke, & all to shewe him self to Solon in most stately, sumptuous, &

A magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by Solons repayre to his presence, that he shewed no manner of figure, nor countenance of woundring, to fee fo great a state before him, neither had genen out any word neere or likely to that which Crafis looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had deliuered speaches for men of judgement and viderstanding to know, how inwardly he much did millike Crafus foolish vanitie & base minde: then Crasus commaunded all his treasuries to be opened where his golde & filuer laye, next that they should shewe him his riche & fumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not for to fee Crafus felf, it was enough to difcerne his nature & condition. After he had feene all ouer & ouer, being brought againe vnto the prefence of the King: Crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene any ma more happy than crass asked him, if euer he had seene asked him felf was? Solon aufwered him, I haue: & that was one Tellus a cittizen of A THENS, who was fion to Solon B a maruelous honest man, & had left his children behind him in good estimatio; & well to liue, pinter. & laftly, was most happy at his death, by dying honorably in the field, in defence of his coutrie. Solin effec-

Crafus hearing this auniwer, beganne to judge him a man of litle witte, or of groffe vnderstan - med Tellus a ding bicause he did not thincke that to have store of gold & silver, was the only joye & felicitie of the world, & that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & private man as more happy, than all the riches & power of so mightie a King. Notwithstanding all this, Crafus yet asked him again: What other man befide Tellus he had feene happier than him felf? Solon aunfwered him, that he had feene Cleobis & Biton, which were both brethern, & loued one ano Cleobis & Bither fingularly well, & their mother in fuch forte: that vpon a folemne festivall daye, when the ton, happy me.

should goe to the teple of Juno in her coche drawen with oxen: bicause they taried to long ere

C they could be brought, they both willingly yoked them selves by the necks, & drue their mothers coche in stead of the oxen, which maruelously rejoyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to have borne two fuch fonnes. Afterwards when they had done facrifice to the goddeffe, & made good cheere at the feaft of this facrifice, they went to bed: but they rofe not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurte or sorowe, after they had receyued so much glorie & honour, Crafus then could no loger bridell in his pacience, but breaking out in choller, fayed vnto him; why, doest theu recken me than in no degree of happy men? Solon would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but auswered him thus: O King of Lydians, the godds have geve vs Grecians all things in a meane; Solon commet-& amongest other things chiefly, a base & popular wisedome, not princely nor noble : which, desh the

D confidering howe mans life is fubicate to infinite chaunges, doth forbid vs to truft or glorie in mane. these worldly riches. For time bringeth daylie misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of nor looked for. But when the goddes have continued a mans good fortune to his end, then Nomen here we thinke that man happy and bleffed, and neuer before. Otherwife, if we should judge a man pie before his happy that liueth, confidering he is euer in daunger of change during life: we thould be much ende. like to him, who judgeth him the victorie before hande, that is still a fighting, & maye be ouercomen, having no fuertie yet to carie it away. After Solon had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned backe againe, leaving king Crass offended, but nothing the wifer, nor amended . Nowe A fope that wrote the fables, being at that time in the cittie of SARDIS, & fent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honorably: was we-

E ry forie to fee that the King had geuen Solon no better entertainement so by waye of aduite he stellar for faid vnto him. O Solon, either we must not come to princes at all, or els we must seeke to please ing it solon. & content them. But Solon turning it to the contrary, aunswered him: either we must not come to princes, or we must needes tell them truely, & counsell them for the best. So Creeke made for to Ale. light accompt of Solon at that time. But after he had loft the battell against Corne. and that his fore cittie was taken him felf became prisoner, & was bounde fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stacke of wood, to be burnt in the fight of all the PERSIANS, & of Cyrus his enemie: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thryse together. O Solon. Cyrus being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this King Crass Solon he only cried upon in his extreme miletie, was a god or man. Crafis kept itnot feetet lon haging from him, but fayed he was one of the wife men of Greek, whom I fent for to come vnto me and a gibbe

F on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stoode in neede of, but only that to be burns. he might witnesse my felicitie, which then I dyd eniove the losse whereof is nowe more hurtefull, than the enioying of the fame was good or profitable. But nowe (alas) to late I

king Cræfin of Sardie.

Riches are

know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words & opinion, all which are turned now A but ander or to my bitter forowe, and to present and remediles calamitie. Which the wise GRECIAN confidering then, and foreseeing a farre of by my doings at that time, the instant miserie I suffer nowe: gaue me warning I should marke the ende of my life, and that I should not to farre prefume of my selfe, as puffed up then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground therof being fo flippery, and of fo litle fuertie. These wordes being reported vnto Cyrus, who was wifer than Crafus, & feeing Solons faying confirmed by fo notable an example: he dyd not only deliuer Crasus from present perill of death, but euer after honoured him so long as he liued. Thus had Solon glorie, for fauing the honour of one of these Kings: & the life of the other, by his graue & wife counfaill. But during the time of his ablence, great feditions role at ATHENS amongest the inhabitants, who had gotten them severall heades amongest them: as those of B

the vallie had made Lycurgus their head. The coast men, Megacles, the sonne of Alemeon, And those of the mountaines, Pissitratus: with whom all artificers & crafts men living of their hadie labour were joyned, which were the stowtest against the riche. So that notwithstanding the cittie kept Solons lawes and ordinaunces, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge. and desired to see things in another state: either parties hoping their condition would mende by chaunge, and that euery of them should be better than their aduersaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, Solon arrived at ATHENS, where every madid honour neth to Aand reuerence him, howbeit he was no more able to speake allowed in open affembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, bicause his age would not suffer him: & therefore he spake with enery one of the heades of the seuerall factions a parte, trying if he C could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whereunto Pisistratus seemed to be more

willing then any of the rest, for he was curteous, and maruelous sayer spoken, and shewed him felfe befides, very good and pittiefull to the poore, and temperate also to his enemies: further,

if any good quality were lacking in him, he dyd so finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in those that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to chaunge the present state of the common weale, and would practise any innouation. By this arte and fine manner of his , he deceyued the poore common people. Howbeit Solon found him straight, and sawe the marke he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time,

and fought still to winne him, and bring him to reason, saying oftetimes, both to him selfe, and D to others. That who so could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he afpired to be the chiefest, and could heale him of his greedy desire to rule: there could not be a The pirama man of more vertue, or a better cittizen than he would proue. About this time begane The list

to fet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delited the people for the rarenes thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to striue one against another for victorie, as afterwards

Solon repro-

there were. Solon being naturally defirous to heare and learne, and by reason of his age seeking to passe his time awaye in sportes, in musicke, & making good cheere more then euer he dyd: went one daye to see Thespis, who played a parte him selfe, as the olde facion of the Poetswas, and after the playe was ended he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not alhamed to lye so openly in the face of the worlde. The spis aunswered him, that it was not materiall to doe E or fave any fuch things, confidering all was but in sporte. Then Solon beating the grounde with his staffe he had in his hande: but if we commend lying in sporte (4) he) we shall finde it afterwards in good earnest, in all our bargaines & dealings. Shortely after Pilistratus having wounded him felf, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, caused his men to carre him in his coche into the market place, where he put the people in an vprore, & tolde them that they were his enemies that thus traiteroully had hadled & arraied him, for that he stoode with them about the governing of the comon weale:infomuch as many of the were maruelously offended,& mutined by & by , crying out it was shamefully done . Then Solon drawing neere saved vnto him , O thou fonne of Hippocrates, thou doest ill fauoredly couterfeate the persone of Homers Visiles: for thou hast whipped thy self to deceive thy cittizes, as he did teare & scratch him self, to deceive his F enemies. Notwithstanding this, the common people were still in vprore, being ready to take armes for Pissitratus: and there was a generall counsell affembled in the which one Ariston

A fpake, that they should graunte fiftie men, to cary holberds and mases before Pilistratus for garde of his persone. But Solon going vp into the pulpit for orations, stowtely inuaved against it: and persuaded the people with many reasons, like vnto these he wrote afterwards in verse.

Eche one of you (ô men) in private actes, can playe the foxe, for five and subtill craft: But wwhen you come , yfore (in all your factes) then are you blinde, dull wvitted and bedaft. For pleasaunt speache, and painted flatterie, beguile you still the wwhich you never five.

But in the ende, feeing the poore people dvd tumult ftill, taking Pilistratus parte, and that B the riche fled here and there, he went his waye also, saying the had shewed him selfe wifer than some and hardier than other. Meaning, wifer than those which sawe not Pilistratus reache and fetche; and hardier than they which knewe very well he dyd affire to be King, and yet neuertheles durst not resist him. The people went on with the motion of Ariston, and authorifed the fame, touching the graunte of halberders: limiting no number, but fuffered him to have about him and to affemble, as many as he would, vntill fuch time as he had gotten possession of the castell. Then the cittie was maruelously affrayed and amazed; and prefently Megacles, and all those which were of the house of the Alemeonides dyd flye. Solon, who for yeares was now at his last cast, and had no man to sticke vnto him; went not with standing into the market place, and spake to the cittizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beastli-C nes, and faynte cowardly hartes, and encouraged them not to lofe their libertie. He spake at that time notably, and worthie memorie, which ever after was remembred. Before faved he. you might more easely have stayed this present tyrannie: but nowe that it is already factoned you shall winne more glorie, vtterly to suppresse it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all fo amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe and tooke his weapons out of his house, and layed them before his gate in the middless of the streete, faying. For my parte, I have done what I can possible to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrie. So from that time he betooke him selfe vnto his ease, and neuer after delt any more in matters of state, or common weale. His friends dyd counsell him to flye; but all they could not perfuade him to it. For he kept his house, and gaue him selfe solons liber-D to make verses : in which he fore reproued the ATHENIAMS faults laying :

tie & conflancie.

If presently your burden heavy be: yet murmure not against the godds therefore. The fault is yours, as you your felues maye fee, which graunted have of mightie mars the love, to fuch as nouve, by your direction doe holde your necks, in this subjection.

His friends hereupon dyd warne him, to beware of fuch speaches, and to take hede what he fayed: least if it came vnto the tyrannes eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He aunswered them, in my age. E Howbeit Pisitratus after he had obteined his purpose, sending for him vpon his worde and faith, dyd honour and entertaine him fo well, that Solon in the ende became one of his counfaill, and approued many things which he dyd . For Pifistratus him felfe dyd straightly keepe, and caused his friends to keepe Solons lawes. Insomuch as when he was called by proces into the courte of the Areopagites for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrante: he prefented him felfe very modeftly to aunswer his accusation, and to purge him selfe thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further . Pisistratus him selfe also dyd make newe lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the Agoodlane warres, should be mainteined all his life long, at the common charges of the cittie. The felfe fernice. fame was before decreed by Thersippus (as Heraclides writeth) by Solons persuasion: who dyd F preferre it to the counsell. Pilistratus afterwards tooke holde of the motion, and from thence

forth made it a generall lawe . Theophrastus sayeth also, it was Pissitratus, and not Solon, that

made the lawe for idlenes: which was the only cause that the countrie of Arrica became A more fruitefull, being better manured: and the cittie of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But Solon having begonne to write the storie of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verse (which he had learned of the wife men of the cittie of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very necessary for the ATHE-NIANS) grewe wearye, and gaue it ouer in mid waye: not for any matters or busines that troubled him, as Plato layed, but only for his age, and bicause he feared the tediousnes of the worke. For otherwise he had leysure enough, as appeareth by his verses where he sayeth:

I grouve olde, and yet I learne still.

And in another place where he fayeth,

Novve Venus yeldes me svvete delights, and Bacchus lends me comfort fill: the mufes eke refreshe my (prights, and much relieuemy vveary vvill. These be the pointes of perfect ease. vuhich all mens mindes oftetimes doe please.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the storie and fables of the Iles ATLANTIDES, was defirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by waye of speache haue broken vp a field or layelande of his owne, or that this gifte had descended to him of right from Solon. He beganne to raise vp a stately fronte vnto the same, and enclosed it with high walles, and large squared courtes at the entrie thereof: such was it, as neuer any other worke, fable, or poeticall inuention had euer so notable, or the like. But bicause he beganne a litle to late, he ended his C life before his worke, leauing the readers more forowfull for that was left vnwritten, than they tooke pleasure in that they founde written. For even as in the cittle of Athens, the temple of Impiter Olympian only remained vnperfect: fo the wildome of Plato (amongest many goodly matters of his that have come abroade) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. Solon lived long time after Pilistratus had viurped the tyrannie, as Heraelides Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he lived not aboue two yeres after . For Pifitratus viurped tyrannicall power in the yere that Comius was chief gouernour in ATHENS. And Phanias writeth, that Solon dyed in the yere that Hegestratus was go-

uernour, which was the next yere after that. And where some saye, the ashes of his bodie were after his death strawed abroade through the Ile of SALAMINA: that feemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheles it hath bene written by many notable authours, and amongest others, by Ariftotle the philosopher.

The ende of Solons life.

THE

LIFE OF PVBLIVS

Valerius Publicola.





O WE we have declared what Solon was, we have thought good to compare him with Publicola, to whom the Romaine people for an honour gaue that furname : for he was called before Publius Valerius, The house of descended from that auncient Valerius, who was one of the chiefest P. Valerius. worckers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABYNES that were mortall enemies, to joyne together as one people. For it was he that most moued the two Kings to agree, and joyne together. Publicola being descended of him, whilest the Kings dyd rule yet at ROME, was in very great estimation, aswell for his eloquence, as for

B berally and curteoully, for the relief of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke state, he should be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chaunced that king Tarquine furnamed the prowde, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull Tarquinius meane, but contrarylie by indirect and wicked wayes, and behaving him felfe not like a King, Supirbus. but like a cruell tyrante: the people much hated and detested him, by reason of the death of Lucretia (which killed her felfe for that the was forcibly rauithed by him) & fo the whole cittie rose and rebelled against him. Lucius Brutus taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this infurrection and rebellion, dyd iowne first with this Valerius: who dyd greately fauour and Paterius, who dyd greately fauour and Productions affift his enterprise, and did helpe him to drive out king Tarquine with all his house & familie. panion, in ex-Nowe whilest they were thincking that the people would chuse some one alone to be chief pulling the

C ruler ouer them, in stead of a King : Valerius kept him selfe quiet, as yelding willingly vnto Brutus the first place, who was meetest for it, having bene the chief authour and worcker of their recouered libertie. But when they fawe the name of Monarchie (as much to faye, as foueraintie alone) was displeasaunt to the people, and that they would like better to have the rule deui-

hisriches: vsing the one rightly and freely, for the maintenaunce of iustice, and the other li-

ded vnto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: Valerius then Lucius Branch begane to hope, he should be the seconde persone with Brutus. Howbeit this hope sayled him. For against Brutus will, Tarquinius Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia was chosen Coful with Tarquinius him: not bicause he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation than Valerius. But the confust.

noble men of the cittle fearing the practites of the Kings abroade, which fought by all the fayer & flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the cittie: dyd determine to make fuch an one Conful, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heavy enemie, persuading them selves that Tarquinius Collatinus would for no respect yeld vnto them. Valerius tooke this matter greuously, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithstanding he had neuer any private injurie offered him by the tyrannes. Wherfore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for private men, and wholy gaue vp to medle in matters of state: infomuch as he gaue many occasion to thincke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared least vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings fide, and to bring all the cittie in an vprore, confidering it stoode then but in very tickle termes. But when Brutus, who stoode in icalousie of some, B would by othe be affured of the Senate, & had appointed them a daye folemnely to take their othes vpon the facrifices: Valerius then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his othe he would leaue nothing vndone, that might preiudice the Tarquines, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the libertie of the cittie. This othe of his maruelously rejoyced the Senate, & gaue great affuraunce also to the Consuls, but specially, bicause his dedes dyd shortly after performe his The first wordes. For there came ambassadours to Rome which brought letters from king Tarquine, full of fweete & lowly speaches to winne the fauour of the people, with commission to vse all guine for re- the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pryde and crueltie,& ment to aske nought but reasonable C

things. The Confuls thought best to geue them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But Valerius was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliuer occasion of new sturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affrayed of warres, then of tyrannie. After that, there came other ambaffadours also, which sayed that Tarquine would from thenceforth for euer geue ouer and renounce his title to the Kingdome, and to

king Tar-

coucring his

bassue from make any more warres, but befought them only, that they would at the least deliuer him and maunding his his friends their money and goods, that they might have wherewithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeld to this request, and specially Collatinus, one of the Confuls who dyd fauour their motion. But Brutus that was a fast and refolute man, and very fierce in his harte, ranne immediately into the market place, crying out D that his fellowe Conful was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyrannes matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the cittie, where in deede they deserved not so much, as to be re-

Good counfell affembly, fayed vnto them. O noble Conful & Senate, handle fo the matter, that the tyrannes goods be rather in your custodie to make warre with them, than in theirs, to bring warre vpon

your selues. Notwithstading, the ROMAINES were of opinion, that having gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrannes: they should not disapoint the offered peace, with keeping backé their goodes, but rather they should throwe their goods out after them. How-Tarquines

practife trea-

The Aquily and Vitelly with Bratus fonnes, sray-

beit this was the least parte of Tarquines intent, to seeke his goodes againe but vnder pretence F of that demaund, he fecretly corrupted the people, and practifed treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goodes and his fauourers together, faying, that they had already folde some parte, and some parte they kept, and sent them daylie. So as by delaying the time in this forte with fuch pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and auncientest houses of the cittie: to wit, the familie of the Aquilians, whereof there were three Senatours: and the familie of the Vitellians, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Conful Collatinus nephewes. The Vitellians also were allied vnto Brutus, for he had maried their owne fifter, & had many children by her. Of the which the Vitellians had drawen to their stringe, two of the eldest of them, bicause they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germaines: whom they had intifed to be of their conspiracie, allying them with F the house of the Tarquines, which was of great power, and through the which they might perfuade them felues to rife to great honour & preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather than

lieued in their exile. Hereupon the people affembled together, and the first that spake in this affembly, was a private man called Gaius Minutius, who ipeaking vnto Brutus, & to the whole A to trust to their fathers willfull hardnes. For they called his seueritie to the wicked, hardnes: for that he would neuer pardone any. Furthermore Brutus had fayned him felfe mad, and a foole of long time for fafety of his life, bicause the tyrannes should not put him to death: so that the name of Brutus only remained. After these two young men had geuen their consent to be of the confederacie, and had spoken with the Aquilians: they all thought good to be bounde one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drincking the bloude of a man, and shaking hands in his bowells, whom they would facrifice. This matter agreed youn betweene them, they met together to put their facrifice in execution, in the house of the Aquilians. The confedethem, they met orgenied to put them factines in the foliation, in the nome of the Capitalians. They had fittedy pickt out a darcke place in the house to doe this facrifice in, & where almost with drinking no bodye came; yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the seruants of the house called Vin- of mat bond,

B dicius, had hidden him felfe there, vnknowing to the traytours, and of no fet purpose, to spye and fee what they dyd, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traytours came into that place with a countenaunce to hearth all doe some secret thing of importaunce, fearing to be seene, he kept him selfe close, and laye be- their meason. hinde a coffer that was there, so that he sawe all that was done, and what they sayed and determined. The conclusion of their counsell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the mined. The conclution of their counties in the ende was tills, that they would kill both the Confuls: and they wrote letters to Tarquinius aduertifing the fame, which they gaue vnto his fin of their fine of their

ambaffadours, being lodged in the houle of the Aquilians, & were present at this conclusion. measure With this determination they departed from thence, and Vindicius came out also as fecretly as he could, being marueloufly troubled in minde, & at a maze howe to deale in this matter. For he thought it daungerous (as it was in deede) to goe and accuse the two sonnes vnto the father (which was Brutus) of fo wicked and detestable a treason, and the nephewes vnto their

vncle, which was Collatinus. On the other fide also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imparted to any private persone, and not possible for him to concease it, that was bounde in duery to reueale it. So he resolued at the last to goe to Valerius to bewraye this treason, of a fpeciall affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and curteous vsing of men, geuing easy accesse and audience vnto any that came to speake with him, and specially for that he disdained not to heare poore mens causes. Vindicius being gone to speake with him, and having Vindicius tolde him the whole conspiracy before his brother Marcus Valerius, and his wife, he was a- bewrayeth bashed and fearefull withall: whereupon he stayed him least he should slippe awaye, and loc-

D ked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no bodie went in nor out rime. vnto him. And willed his brother also, that he should goe and befet the Kings palace round about to intercept these letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their servants fled. Valerius felfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friendes and people that wayted on him, went straight vnto the house of the Aquilians, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he founde the letters in the chamber, where king Tarquines ambassadours laye. Whilest he was thus occupied, the Aquilians having intelligence thereof, ranne home immediately, and founde Valerius coming out at their gate. So they would have taken those letters from him by

force, and strong hande. But Valerius and his company dyd resist them, and moreouer hudded E them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (doe what they could) into the market place. The like was done also in the Kings palace, where Marcus Valerius founde other letters also wrapt vp in certaine fardells for their more fafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings feruaunts he founde there. There the Confuls having caused filence to be made, Valerius sent home to his house for this bondman Vindicius, to be brought before the Confuls: then the traytours were openly accused. and their letters redde, and they had not the face to aunswer one worde. All that were present, being amazed, honge downe their heades, and behelde the grounde, and not a man durft once open his mouth to speake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie Brutus, beganne to say that they should banishe them : and Collatinus also gave them some hope, bicause he fell to weeping,

F and Valerius in like manner for that he held his peace. But Brutus calling his fonnes by their names: come on (fayed he) Titus, and thou Valerius, why doe you not aunswer to that you Titus of Vaare accused of and having spoken thryse vnto them to aunswer, when he sawe they stoode some

mute, and fayed nothing: he turned him to the fergeants, and fayed vnto them. They are now A

in your handes, doe inftice. So foone as he had spoken these wordes, the sergeants layed holde

immediately vpon the two young men, and tearing their clothes of their backs, bounde their

hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was fuch a pittiefull fight

to all the people, that they could not finde in their hartes to behold it, but turned them felues

another waye, bicause they would not see it. But contrariwise, they saye that their owne father

pittie or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly dyd beholde the punishement of his

owne children, vntill they were layed flat on the grounde, and both their heads striken of with

an axe before him. When they were executed, Brutus role from the benche, and left the exe-

cution of the rest vnto his fellowe Consul. This was such an acte, as men cannot sufficiently B

prayse, nor reproue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde so

quiet, or els the greatnes of his miserie that tooke awaye the feeling of his sorowe: whereof

of, and to renewe the auncient gouernment of the same. When Brutus was gone, all the peo-

ple in the market place remained as they had benein a maze, full of feare and wounder, and

for that they fawe the other Confull Collatinus proceede gently, and mildly against them: and

so made petition they might have time geven them to aunswer to the articles they were ac-

cufed of, and that they might have their flaue and bondman Vindicius deliuered into their

handes, bicause there was no reason he should remaine with their accusers. The Consul see-

med willing to yeld thereto, and was ready to breake vp the affembly thereupon . But Valerius

fayed, he would not deliuer Vindicius (who was among the affembly that attended upon his

persone) and stayed the people besides for departing awaye, least they should negligently let

those escape that had so wickedly sought to betraye their countrie. Vntill he him selfe had

layed handes vpon them, calling vpon Brutus to affift him, with open exclamation against

was forced for iustice fake to see his owne sonnes put to death: and he in contrary manner,

to please a fewe women, sought to let goe manisest traitours, and open enemies to their coun-

trie. The Conful being offended herewith, commaunded they should bring awaye the bond-

man Vindicius. So the sergeants making waye through the prease, layed handes vpon him to

bring him awaye with them, and beganne to strike at them which offered to resist them . But

Valerius friends stept out before them, and put them by. The people showted straight, & cried

out for Brutus: who with this noyle returned agains into the market place, and after filence

made him, he spake in this wife. For mine own children, I alone have bene their sufficiet judg,

to fee them have the law according to their deseruings: the rest I have left freely to the judg-

vp, and perfuade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more wordes, but only

to hearken what the people cried: who with one voyce & confent condemned them & cried

execution, & accordingly they had their heades striken of Now was Confull Collatinus long

ment of the people . Wherefore (layed he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand E

Collatinus, that he dyd not behaue him felfe like a just and true man, seeing his fellowe Brutus D

a great while without speaking to see what was done. The Aquilians straight grew bold, C

Brutus feeth his owne Sonnes punifired & exe- had neuer his eye of them, neither dyd chaunge his austere and sierce countenaunce, with any

neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man. death of his that hath in it both diuinenes, and somtime beastly brutishnes. But it is better the judgement fonnes. of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their judgemets should diminishe his vertue. For the Romaines holde opinion, it was not so great an acte done of Romulus first to build Rome: as it was for Brutus to recouer Rome, and the best libertie there-

Sofines peri-

fome recompence, caused him not only to be manumised by the whole graunte of the people, F but made him a free man of the cittle besides : and he was the first bondman manumised, that was made cittizen of Rome, with permission also to gene his voyce in all elections of officers,

before had in some suspition, as allied to the Kings, and disliked for his surname, bicause he collainure was called Tarquinius: who perceyving him felfe in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarely yelded vp his Confulshippe, and departed the cittie. The people afdeparted fembling then them selues, to place a successour in his roome: they chose Valerius in his roome, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull trauaill and diligence bestowed in now in this great matter. Then Valerius judging that Vindicius the bondman had well deserved also

A in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in Long time after that, and very lately Appias to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumifed, to geue their voyces also in elections, as other cittizens dyd: and vnto this daye the perfect manumifing and freeing of bondmen, is called Vindicta, after the name of this Vindicius, that was then Vindicta fo made a free man. These things thus passed ouer, the goodes of the Kings were geuen to the called, by reaspoyle of the people, and their palaces were rased and ouerthrowen. Nowe amongest other fine friends lands, the goodliest parte of the field of Mars was beloging vnto king Tarquine: the fame they confecrated forthwith vnto the god Mars, & not long before they had cut downe the wheat

thereof. The sheaues being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the field cofectawheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threwe both corne & sed to Mars. B sheares into the river, & trees also which they had hewen downe & rooted vo to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. These sheaues thus throwe into the river, were caried down by the streame not farre from thence, vnto a forde and shallowe place of the water, where they first dyd staye, and dyd let the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there these heapes gathered toge-

ther, and laye so close one to another, that they beganne to sincke and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the streame of the river brought downe continually such mudde & gravell, that it euer increased the heape of corne more and more in suche sorte, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather foftly preffing and driving it together, dyd firme and harden it and made it growe so to lande. Thus it leape rising still in greatnes and C firmenes, by reason that all that came downe the riu there, it grewe in the ende, and oly Ilande in ROME: in which are by time to spread so farre, that at this daye it is called many goodly temples of divers goddes, and fundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, holy Iland Inter duos pontes: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell came in Ro-

not out at that time when the field of the Tarquines was confecrated vnto Mars: but that it happened afterwardes, when one of the Vestall Nunnes, called Tarquinia, gaue a field of hers bridges. vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto Tarquines field. For which liberalitie and bowntie of hers, they dyd graunte her in recompele many priviledges, and dyd her great honour besides. As amongest others, it was ordeined, that her word & witnes should stand good, & be allowed, in matters indiciall: which priniledge, neuer woma besides her self dyd enioye. D By speciall grace of the people also, it was graunted her, that she might marie if she thought

it good: but yet the would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the reporte how this thing happened. Tarquinius then being past hope of euer entring into his Kingdome Tarquinius coagaine, went yet vnto the THVSCANS for Succour, which were very glad of him: and so they mail with a leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his Kingdome againe. The Confuls the Thuleans also hearing thereof, went out with their armie against him . Both the armies presented them to rage batfelues in battell raye, one against another, in the holy places consecrated to the goddes: wherRemainer. of the one was called the worde Arsia, and the other the meadowe Assura. And as both ar- Arsia sima. mies beganne to geue charge vpon eche other, Aruns the eldest sonne of king Tarquine, and the Conful Brutus encoutered together, not by chaunce, but fought for of fet purpose to exe-

F. cute the deadly fode and malice they dyd beare eache other. The one, as against a tyrante and red, and students enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as against him that had bene chief authour & ethe other, worker of their exile and expulsion. So they set spurres to their horses, so soone as they had foved eche other, with more fury then reason, and fought so desperately together, that they both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onser of the battell being so cruell, the end thereof was no leffe bloudy: vntill both the armies having receyued and done like damage to eche other, were parted by a maruelous great tempest that fell vpon them. Nowe was Valerius maruelously perplexed, for that he knewe not which of them wanne the field that daye: seeing his fouldiers as forowfull for the great loffe of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the flaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the flaine

F bodies of either fide, the number was so equall in fight, that it was very hard to judge, of which fidefell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were persuaded in their opinion, that they had rather lost then wone,

of the Romaines againft

a charres.

coniecturing a farre of the fall of their enemies. The night being come, fuch things fell out, as A maye be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both campes were all layed to rest, they faye the wodde wherein they laye incamped, quaked and trembled : and they heard a voyce faye, that onely one man more was flaine on the THUSCANS fide, than on the ROMAINES parte. Out of doubt this was some voyce fro heaven: for the ROMAINES thereupo gaue a shrill showte, as those whose hartes received a newe quickening spirite or corage. The THVSCANS the Thissan. on the contrarie parte were so affrayed, that the most parte of them stole out of the campe, & scattered here and there: & there remained behind about the number of five thousand men.

whom the Romaines tooke prisoners every one, and had the spoile of their campe. The carkaffes were viewed afterwards, & they found that there were flaine in that battell, eleuen thoufand and three hundred of the THYSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, fo many fauing one. This B battell was fought (as they fave) the last daye of Februarie, and the Conful Valerius triumphed, first Consid

being the first of the Consuls that ever entered into Rome triumphing ypon a charet drawen with foure horses, which sight the people found honorable & goodly to beholde, & were not offended withall (as some seeme to reporte) nor yet dyd enuy him for that he beganne it. For if it had bene fo, that custome had not bene followed with so good acceptatio, nor had cotinued fo many yeres as it dyd afterwards. They much commended alfo the honour he dyd to his fellowe Conful Brutus, in fetting out his funeralles & obsequies, at the which he made a funerall

oration in his praise. They did so like & please the Romaines, that they have ever since continued that custome at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly praition among the fed at his buriall, by the worthiest man that liueth among them. They reporte this funerall o- C ration is farre more auncient then the first, that was made in GRECE in the like case: onles they will confirme that which the orator Anaximenes hath written, that the manner of praifing the dead at their funeralls, was first of all instituted by Solon, But they dyd most enuve Valerius, and fareth, Solon beare him grudge, bicause Brutus (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their libertie) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twife, that they should appoint Valerius fellowe Conful with him. This man in contrariwife (fayed the people) taking vpon him alone for the dead the rule & foueraintie, sheweth plainely he will not be Brutus successiour in his Consulshippe,

but Tarquinius felf in the Kingdome. For to great purpose was it to praise Brutus in wordes,& to followe Tarquinius in deedes: having borne before him felfe only all the mases, the axes and the roddes, when he cometh abroade out of his owne house, which is farre greater, and more D stately, then the Kings palace which he him self ouerthrewe. And to save truely, Valerius dwelt in a house a litle to sumptuously built & seated, vpon the haging of the hill called mount Veding on moint lia: & bicause it stoode highe, it ouerlooked all the market place, so that any man might easely fee from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he

came out of his house, it was a maruelous pompe and state to see him come downe from so highe a place, & with a traine after him, that carried the maieftie of a Kings courte. But herein Valerius left 2 noble example, thewing howe much it importeth 2 noble man & magistrate, rugood example ling weighty causes, to have his eares open to heare, and willingly to receive free speache in steade of flatteries, & playne trothe in place of lyes. For, being enformed by some of his frieds for maziftrases, how the people misliked & complained of it, he stoode not in his owne conceit, neither was E angrie with them: but forthwith fet a worlde of workmen vpon it, earely in the morning before breake of daye,& comaunded them to plucke down his house, & to rase it to the ground. Infomuch as the next day following, whe the ROMAINES were gathered together in the market place, & fawe this great fodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte & minde of Valerius, in doing that he dyd: but so were they angrie, and sorie both, to see so faver and stately a buylt house (which was an ornament to the cittie) ouerthrowen vpon a sodaine. Much

like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and enuie they had vniustly put to death: and to fee their chief magistrate also like a straunger and a vacabonde, compelled to feeke his lodging in another mans house. For his friends receyued him into their houses, vntill such time as the people had geuen him a place, where they dyd build him a newe house, farre F more orderly, and nothing fo stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place, where the temple called Views Publicus standeth at this daye. Now bicause he would not only

A reforme his persone, but the office of his Consulthippe, & also would frame him selfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he feemed vnto them to be fearefull, he put awaye the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the fergeants vied to beare before the Conful. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were affembled, he caused the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reuerence of the fourraine maiestie of the people: which all the magistrates observe yet at this daye. Nowe in all this humble showe and lowlines of his, he dyd not so much imbase his dignitic and greatnes, which the common people thought him to have at the first: as he dyd thereby cut of enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in semblaunce he would

seeme to haue lost. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to submit them B felues vnto him: infomuch as vpon this occasion he was furnamed Publicola, as much to fave, vvin Valeas the people pleaser. Which surname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth also wri- vine was surting the rest of his life, will vse no other name; for he was contented to suffer any man that blicole. would, to offer him felfe to aske the Confulshippe in Brutus place. But he yet not knowing what kynde of man they would ioyne fellowe Conful with him, and fearing leaft through enuie or ignoraunce, the party might thwart his purpose and meaning: employed his sole power and authoritie whilest he ruled alone, vpon highe and noble attempts. For first of all Publicolars he supplied up the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, bicause king Tarquine after and

had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had bene lately slaine in the warres: in whose places he had chosen newe Senatours, to the number of a hundred three C fcore and foure. After that he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly dyd aduaunce the authoritie of the people. The first lawe gaue libertie to all offendours, condemned by judgement of the Confuls, to appeale vnto the people. The fecod, that no man vpon payne of death should take upon him the exercise of any office, unles he had come unto it by the gifte of the people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore cittizens of Rome should paye no more custome, nor any impost whatsoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to geue him selfe to some craste or occupation, when he sawe his trauaill should not be taxed. nor taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the Consuls, it was founde to be so fauorable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the

poore, than for the riche & great men. For the offendours & breakers of that lawe, were con-D demned to paye for a penaltie, the value of fine oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, tenne oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in those dayes, the ROMAINES had no store of coined mony, otherwise, they lacked no sheepe, nor other rother beasts. Hereof it came, that to this daye they call their riches or fubftaunce, Peculium, bicause Pecus fignity fieth sheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the stampe vpon their money was an oxe . 2 Peculis mutton, or a hogge: & fome of them called their children Bubulei, which fignifieth cowheards: was called. others Caprarij, to saye goateheards: and others Porcij, as you would saye, swineheardes. Nowe

that moderation fomtimes he dyd fet grieuous paynes & punishements. For he made it law-

though in all his other lawes, he was very fauorable & temperate toward the people : yet in

full to kill any man without any accusation, that dyd aspire to the Kingdome, & he dyd set the E murderer free of all punishement: so he brought forth manifest proofe, that the party slaine. had practifed to make him felfe King. As being impossible a man should pretend so greats matter, and no man should finde it : and contrariwise being possible, albeit hewere spyed, that otherwise he might attempt it, by making him selfe so strong, that he needed not passe for the law. In this case he gaue every man libertie by such acte or meane, to prevent him if he could of discretion: who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to reigne. They greatly commended him also for the lawe that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessarie that euerie prinate cittizen should according to his abilitie, be contributer to the charges and maintenaunce of the warres: he him felf would neither take fuch collection into his charge, nor fuffer any man of his to medle with the fame, nor yet that it should be layed in any primate

F mans house, but he dyd ordeine that Saturnes tepleshould be the treasurie thereof. This order they keepe to this present daye. Furthermore, he grauted the people to chuse two young men Questores of the same, as you would saye the treasurers, to take the charge of this money: Questiones.

found a hundred and thirtie thousand persones which had payed subsidie, not reckoning in

Publim Ve- and the two first which were chosen, were Publius Veturius, and Marcus Minuteus, who ga- A main, Mare thered great fummes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were

Conful.

this accompt, or phanes, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had established all these things, he caused Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) to be chosen fellowe Lucretine & Consul with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they should carie before him the roddes, which were the signes of the chief magistrate: and euer since they have geven this honour vnto age. But Lucretius dying not Publicola & long after his election, they chose againe in his place Marcus Horatius, who held out the Macus Ha- Confullhippe with Publicola the rest of the yere. Nowe about that time king Tarquine remained in the coutrie of Thys cane, where he prepared a secode armie against the Romaines, B & there fell out a maruelous straunge thing thereupon. For when he raigned king of Rome, he had almost made an ende of the building of the temple of Impiter Capitolin, and was determined (whether by any oracle receyued, or vpon any fantafy it is not knowen) to fet vp a coche of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certaine THYSCAN workemen of the cittie of VEIES: but whilest they were in hand with the worcke, he was driven out of his Realme. When the worckemen had formed this coche, and that they had put it into the fournes to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worcke put into the fournes. For the earth dyd not shut and close together in the fire, nor dryed up all the moisture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it dyd swell to such a bignes, and grewe so harde and strong withall, that they C were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the fournes to get it out. The foothefayers dyd expounde this, that it was a celestiall token from aboue, and promised great prosperitie and increase of power vnto those, that should enjoye this coche. Whereupon the VEIANS resolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but aunswered that it dyd belong vnto king Tarquine, and not vnto those that had banished him . Not many dayes after, there was a solemne feast of games for running of horses in the cittie of VEIES, where they dyd alfo many other notable actes, worthy fight according to their custome. But after the game was played, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they dyd vie at that time, brought his coche and horses fayer and softely out of the showe place: and fodainely the horse being affrayed vpon no present cause or occasion seene, whether it was D by chaunce, or by fome fecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coche to the cittie of Rome. The coche driver dyd what he could possible at the first to staye them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backs, and speaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceyuing he could doe no good, and that they would have their fwynge, he gaue place to their furie, & they neuer linne ronning, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrewe him and his coche, not farre from the gate called at this prefent, Ratumena. The VEIANS woundering much at this matter, and being affrayed withall: were contented the workmen should deliuer their coche made of earth vnto the Romaines. Now concerning Iupiter Capitolins temple, king Tarquine the first (which was the sonne of Demarawowed in the warres that he made against the SABYNES, that he would buyld it. And E Tarquine the prowde, being the sonne of him that made this vowe dyd buyld it: howbeit he dyd not confecrate it, bicause he was driven out of his Kingdome before he had finished it. When this temple was built and throughly finished, & set forth with all his ornaments: Publicola was maruelously desirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content him felfe with all those honours that he had receyued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obteined & well deferued, but further that he would feeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing dyd pertaine vnto him: they then dyd egge Horarius, & persuaded him to make sute for the same . Occasion fell out at that time, that Publicola must have the leading of the ROMAINES armie into the field: in the meane time, while Publi- F cola was absent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to Horatius, to consecrate the temple, knowing they could not so well have brought it to passe he being present. Other

A faye, the Confuls drewe lotts betweene them, and that it lighted upon Publicola to leade the armie against his will, and vpon Horatius to consecrate this temple, which maye be consectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being affembled together in the Capitoll with great filence, on the fiftenth daye of the moneth of September, which is about the newe moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call Metagitnion: Horatius having done all the ceremonies needefull in fuche a case, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vie was even to vtter the solemne wordes of dedication: Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, having stoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to speake, beganne to say alow de in this wife. My lorde Consul, your sonne is dead of a ficknes in the campe. This made all the affembly forie to heare it, but it nothing amafed B. Horatius, who foake only this muche. Cast his bodie then where you will for me, the thought

is taken. So he continued on to ende his confectation. This was but a deuile and nothing true, of Marcus Valerius, only to make Horatius leave of his confectation. Horatius in this shewed him selfe a maruelous resolute man, were it that he streight founde his deuise, or that he beleeved it to be true: for the sodainenes of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in confecrating of the second temple. For this first which Tarquine had built and Horatius confecrated, was confumed by fyer in the ciuill warres: and the fe-How of Iupicond was built vp againe by Sylla, who made no dedication of it. For Catulus fet vp the fu-temple was

perscription of the dedication, bicause Sylla dyed before he could dedicate it. The second burn and

temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at Rome, vnc der Vitellius the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by Velbafian, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to fee his worke perfited and finished before his death, and not ouerthrowen as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he dyd farre passe the happines of Sylla, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and thother deceased before he sawe his worcke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost Tarquinius fortic thousand Pondos of filuer. And to gyld only the temple which we fee nowe in our time, they fave all the goodes and fubstaunce How much that the richest cittizen of ROME then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it cost a- was seen in boue twelue thousand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of mar-D bell, called pentlike marbell, and they were squared parpine, as thicke as long: these I sawe at

ATHEN S. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and polished in Rome, by which doing they got not so much grace, as they lost proportion: for they were made to slender, and lest naked of their first beawtie. Nowe he that would wounder at the stately buylding of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes vnto the palace Domitian, and dyd but fee fome galerie, porche, hall, or hotte house, or his concubines chambers: he would save (in my opi nion) as the poet Epicharmus sayed of a prodigall man.

> It is a fault, and folly both in thee to lashe our giftes, and prodigall revvardes: For fande delights, without all rule that be, regarding not wohat happens afterwardes.

So might they justly faye of Domitian. Thou art not liberall, nor deuoute vnto the goddes: butit is a vice thou halt to loue to buyld, and desirest (as they saye of olde Midas) that all a- Domition bout thee were turned to gold, and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. Tarquine mad building after that great foughten battell wherein he fost his fonne (that was flaine by Bruttu in figh-humor. ting together hande to hande) went to the cittie of C L V S I V M, vnto king Claras Porfena: the mightiest prince that raigned at that time in all ITATIE, and was both noble and a curteous prince. Porfena promiled him ayde: & first of all he fent to Rom sto fummone the cit- Porfena protizens to receive their King againe. But the ROMATNES refuling the furnmones, he sene the warres with forthwith an Heraulde to proclaime open warres against them, and to tell them where, and Rome.

F when he would meete them and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great are Publicola & mie. Publicola nowe being absent, was chosen Consult the second time, and Titus Lucretius in Consult.

116 PVBLICOLA. with him. When he was returned home againe to R o ME, bicause he would exceede king Por. I fena in greatnes of minde, he begane to buyld a cittle called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre fro Rome: & having walled it about to his maruelous charge. he fent thither feuen hundred cittizens to dwell there, to shewe that he made litle accompt of this warre. Howbeit Porfena at his coming dyd geue suche a lustie assault to the mount Janisulum, that they draue out the fouldiers which kept the fame: who flying towards Rome, were pursued so harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the towne, had not Publisola made a faly out to refift them. Who beganne a hotte skirmithe harde by the river of Tyber, & there fought to have stayed the enemies to follow any further which being the greater number, dyd ouerlaye the ROMAINES, & dyd hurte Publicola very fore in this skirmishe, so as he was caried away into the cittie in his souldiers armes. And eue so was the other Cosul Ly B eretime hurte in like case: which so discoraged & frayed the Romaines, that they all tooke the to their legges, & fled towards the cittie. The enemies purfued them at their heeles as farre as the wodden bridge: fo that the cittie was in maruelous hazarde of taking vpon the fodaine. But Horaius Co- Horatius Cocles, & Herminius, and Lucretius, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the cittie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, & made head against the enemie. This Hon ratius was furnamed Cocles (as much to faye, as one eye) bicaufe he had loft one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers fave, it was bicause of his flat nose which was so soncke into his head, that they fawe nothing to parte his eyes, but that the eye browes dyd meete together by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him Cyclops, by corruption of the togue they called him(as they faye) Cocles . But how focuer it was , this Horatius Cocles had the courage to C thew his face against the enemie, & to kepe the bridge, vntill such time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he faw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurte in the hippe with a pike of the Thuscans, he leaped into the river of Tyber, and faued him felfe by fwimming vnto the other fide. Publicola woundring at this manly acte of his, perfuaded the Romaie NES Itraight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him so much as he spent in a daye; & afterwards also he caused the common treasury to geue him as much lande as he could compasse about with his plowe in a daye. Furthermore he made his image of brasse to be set up in the temple of Vulcane, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after, Nowe whilest king Porfena was hottely bent, very straightly to besiege Rome, there beganne a famine among the ROMAINES: & to encrease the daunger, there came a newe ar- D mie out of Thyscane, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of Rome. Whereupon Publicola being chosen Consul, then the third time, thought he should neede to doe no more to resist Porfena brauely, but to be quiet only, & to looke well to the safe keeping of the citrie. Howbeit spying his oportunity, he secretly stole out of Rome with a power, & did fet vpon the THYSCANS that destroyed the countrie about: & ouerthrew &slue of them, five thousand men. As for the historie of Mutius, many doe diversely reporte it: but I will write it in such sorte, as I thincke shall best agree with the trothe. This Mutius was a worthic man in all respects, but specially for the warres. He denising howe he might come to kill king Porfena, disguised him selse in THVSCANS apparell, and speaking Thuscan very persectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chayer, in the which he gaue audience: and not know- E ing him perfectly, he durft not aske which was he, least he thould be discouered, but drue his fworde at aduenture, & flewe him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layed holde on him, & examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that enteded to doe facrificevnto the goddes, Mutius held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileft the flesh of his hand dyd frye of, he neuer chaunged hewe nor contenaunce: the King woundering to fee fo straunge a fight, called to them to withdraw the How Musius fire, and he him felfe dyd deliuer him his fworde againe. Musius tooke it of him with his left

hand, whereupon they saye afterwardes, he had geuen him the surname of Scaula, as much

to saye, as left handed, and told him in taking of it. Thou couldest not Porsena for feare have onercomed me, but nowe through curtefy thou hast wonne me. Therefore for goodwill I will F

reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could have made me vtter. There

are three hundred Romains s dispersed through thy campe, all which are prepared with

Publicola

The mable

afte of Mu-

A like mindes to followe that I have begonne, only gaping for oportunitie to put it in practile: The lot fell on me to be the first to breake the Ise of this enterprise: & yet I am not foriemy hande fayled, to kill so worthie a man, that deserueth rather to be a friend, then an enemie vnto the ROMAINES. Porfena hearing this, did beleeue it, & euer after he gaue the more willing eare to those that treated with him of peace: not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMAINES noble minde and great corage. All other writers call this man, Mutius Scauola: howbeit Athenodorus, furnamed Sandon, in a booke he wrote vnto Octania; Augustus fifter, fayeth that he was also called Opliq onus. But Publicola taking king Porfena not to be so daugerous an enemie to Rome, as he should be a profitable fried & allie to the same: let him understand, that he was coteted to B make him judge of the controuerfie betweene them & Tarquine. Whom he dyd many times Publicola

prouoke to come & haue his cause heard before king Porsena, where he would instifute to his maketh Porsena indee, face, that he was the naughtiest & most wicked man of the world, & that he was justly driven between them out of his countrie. Tarquine sharpely aunswered, that he would make no man his judge, and and the Tar-Porfena least of all other, for that having promifed him to put him againe in his Kingdom, he was nowe gone from his worde, and had chaunged his minde. Porfena was very angrie with this aunswer, judging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore Porsena being solicited againe by his owne some Aruns, who loued the Romaines, dyd easely graunte them maines by peace youn condition: that they should redeliuer backe agains to him the lands they had got- Porfena. ten before within the countrie of THVSCAN, with the prisoners also which they had taken in

C this warre. & in liew thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the ROMAINES that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the ROMAINES delivered him oftages, tenne of the noblest mens sonnes of the cittie, & so many of their daughters: emog which, was Valeria; Publicolaes owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, Porfena brake his armie, & withdrewe his strength, trusting to the peace cocluded. The ROMAINES daughters deliuered for oftages, came downe to the rivers fide to washe them, in a quiet place where the streame ranne but gently, without any force or swiftnes at all. When they were there, and saw they had no garde about them, nor any came that waye, nor yet any botes going vp nor down the streame: they had a defire to swime ouer the river, which rane with a swift streame, & was maruelous deepe. Some faye, that one Chelia swamme the river vpon her horse backe, & that she did imbolden The boldenes

D & incorage the other to swimme hard by her horse side: & recourring the other bancke, and of Clelia and being paft all daunger, they went & prefented them sclues before Publicola the Consul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the parte they had played, but was maruelous forie, fea- gines ring least men would judge him lesse carefull to keepe his faith, then was king Porsena: & that he might suspect the boldnes of these maidens, was but a crafty slight deuised of the Romar-NES. Therefore he tooke them all againe, & fent them immediatly vnto king Porfena. Whereof Tarquine having intelligence, he layed an ambushe for them, that had the conduction of them. Who so some as they were paste the river, did shew them selves, & brake vpon the Ro-MAINES: they being farre fewer in number than the other, did yet very flowtely defend them selues. Now whilest they were in earnest fight together, Valeria Publicolaes daughter, and E three of her fathers feruants, escaped through the middest of them, and saued them selues. The refidue of the virgines remained in the middest among their swordes, in great daunger

of their lives. Aruns king Porfenas sonne advertised hereof, ranne thither incotinently to the rescue: but when he came, the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their iorney to redeliuer their oftages. Porfena seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne first to passe the river, and had encouraged the other to followe her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was Clelia. He looked vpon her very earnestly, and with a pleafaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they should bring him one of his best horse in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which holde opinion that none but Clalia passed the river a horse backe, doe alledge this to proue F their opinion true. Other doe denie it saying that this THYSCAN king, did onely honour her noble courage. Howfoeuer it was they fee her image a horfe backe in the holy streete, as they goe to the palace: & some saye it is the statue of Valeria, other of Clalia . After Porsena theRomaines.

lerius , Post-Marcus Valerius the bro blicola,trian-Sabynes.

had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking up his campe, he shewed his noble A minde vnto them in many other things, and specially in that he commaunded his fouldiers they (hould carie nothing but their armour and weapon only, leauing his campe full of corne, vittells, and other kynde of goodes. From whence this custome came, that at this daye when they make open fale of anything belonging to the common weale, the fergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king Porsenas goodes, and taken of thankefullnes and perpetuall memorie of his bowntie and liberalitie towards them. Further, Porfenas image standethadiovning to the palace where the Senate is vied to be kept, which is made of great antike worke. Afterwardes the SABYNES inuading the ROMAINES territorie with a great Marcus Va- force, Marcus Valerius Publicolaes brother, was then chosen Consul, with one Posthumius Tubertus. Howbeit all matters of weight and importaunce passed by Publicolaes counsell and au-B thoritie, who was present at any thing that was done: and by whose meanes Marcus his brother, wanne two great battells, in the last whereof he slewe thirteene thousand of his enemies. not losing one of his owne men. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumphe he ther of Pu- had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house, in the streete of mounte Palatine, and graunted him moreouer that his doore thould open outwards into the streete, where all others mens doores dyd open inwards into their house: fignifying by graunte of this honour and priviledge, that he should allwayes have benefit by the common weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houses in olde time, dyd all open outwards after that facion, & they doe coiecture it by the comedies that are played. Where those that would goe out of their houses, dyd first knocke at their doores, and make a noyse within the house, C least in opening their doore vpon a sodaine, they might ouerthrowe or hurte him that taried at the streete doore, or passed by the wave: who hearing the noyse, had warning straight to auoyde the daunger. The next yere after that, Publicola was chosen Conful the fourth time, bicause they stoode in great doubt that the Sabynes and Latines would in the together to make warres vpon them: befides all this, there was a certaine superstitious feare ranne through the cittie, of some ill happe toward it, bicause most parte of the women with childe were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking some one limme or other, & all of them came before their time. Wherfore Publicola looking in fome of Sybillaes books, made private facrifice vnto Pluto, & did fet vp againe some feastes & solemne games that were left of, & had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the oracle of Apollo. These meanes having a little rejoyced the cittle D with good hope, bicause they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appealed: Publicola then begane to prouide for the daugers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, & made great preparation to inuade them. Nowe there was at that time amongest the SABYNES, a great riche man called Appius Clausus, very strong and active of bodie, & otherwise a man of great reputation & cloquence, aboue all the rest of his countrie men: but notwithstading, he was much enuied, and could not auoyde it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to staye those intended warres against the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occasion to murmure against him, dyd nowe much more increase the same: with saying he sought to mainteine the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their ayde he might make him selfe ty- E ranne & King of the countrie. The common people gaue easy eare vnto such speaches, & Appius perceyuing well enough how the fouldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine, & accuse him. Wherefore being well backed & stoode to by his kynsemen, friends, and followers, he practised to make a sturre among the SABYNES, which was the cause of staying the warres against the Romaines. Publicola, also for his parte was very diliget, not only to vnderstad the originall cause of his sedition, but to seede on further & increase the same, having gotten men meete for the purpose, which caried Appius such a message from him. That Publicola knewe very well he was a just man, and one that would not be reuenged of his cittizens, to the generall hurte of his countrie, although the injuries he received at their hands, deliuered him iust occasion to doe it : neuertheles if he had any desire to prouide for his F fafety and to repaire to ROME, leaving them which causeles wished him so muche euill, they would both openly and privately receyue him with that due honour which his ver-

A tue deserved and the worthines of the ROMAINE people required. Clauses having long and many times confidered this matter with him felfe, refolued that it was the best waye he could rake, making vertue of necessitie: & therefore being determined to doe it, he dyd procure his friends to doe as he dyd, & they got other also vnto them, so that he brought awaye with him out of the countrie of the SABYNES, flue thousand families with their wives and children (of figure of the the quietest and most peacible people among the SABYNES) to dwel at ROME. Publicola being dwel at Rome. advertised thereof before they came, dyd receyue them at their comming to Rome with great jove, and all manner of good curteous enterteinment. For at their first coming, he made them all and their families free cittizens, & assigned vnto every persone of them two ingera of lande, (which coteined one acre, one roude, eleuen pole, & 69. partes of a pole) by the river of Tyber: B & vnto Appius self he gaue him 25. iugera (towit, 16. acres & 4. pole, 16. acres & a halfe, 4. pole

& 76, partes of apole) & received him into the nuber of the Senatours. And thus came he first whto the gouernment of the common weale in Rome, where he did so wisely behave him self, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignitie & authoritie in Rome, so long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the familie of the Claudians, desceding fro him: which for honour, and worthines, gaue no place to the noblest familie in Rome. But nowe the fedition amongest the SABYNES being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to diame. ROME: the feditious governours would not fuffer those that remained to line in peace, but still cried out, it were to much shame for them, that Clause being a fugitive, and become an

enemie, should honour their enemies abroade, that being present durst not shewe so much at home, and that the Romaine's should scape vnreuenged, who had done them such apparant wronges. So they raised great force and power, and went and encamped with their armie neere the cittie of FIDENES, and layed an ambushe harde by ROME, in certen hidden and hollowe places, where they put a two thousand choyce footemen, very well armed, and dyd appoint the next morning to fend certaine light horse men to runne and praye to Rome gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the cittle to charge them, they should feeme leviurely to retire, untill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambush. Publicola receyuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuie ambushe, and so deuided his armie in two partes: for he gaue his fonne in lawe Posthumius Balbus, three thousand footemen,

n whom he fent awaye by night, commaunding them the fame night to take the hilles, in the bottome whereof the SABYNES were layed in ambushe. Lucretius, fellowe Confull with Publicola, having the lightest and lustiest men of the cittie, was appointed to make head against the vautcurriers of the SABYNES, that minded to approache the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the armie, marched a great compasse about to inclose his enemies behinde. The next morning betimes by chaunce it was a thick mifte, & at that prefent time Post humius coming down from the hilles, with great showtes, charged them that laye in ambush. Lucretino on the other fide, fet vpon the light horsemen of the SABYNES: & Publicola fell vpon their campe. So that of all fides the SABYNES enterprise had very ill successes for they had the worst in every place. & the ROMAINES killed them flying, without any turning againe to make relistance. Thus the

p place which gaue them hope of best safety, turned most to their deadly ouerthrowe. For euery one of their companies supposing the other had bene whole & vnbroken, when a charge was geuen vpon them, dyd ftraight breake, & neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemie. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them which laye in ambushe: & those which were in ambushe on the contrarie side, ranne towards them that were in cape. So that in flying, the one met with the other, and founde those, towards whom they were flying to have bene fafe, to stand in as much neede of helpe as them selves . That which saved fome that were not flaine, was the cittle of Fidenes, which was neere the campe, and specially faued those which fled thither. But such as came shorte of the cittie, and could not in time recouer it, were all flaine in the fielde, or taken prisoners. As for the glorie of this ho-E norable victorie, albeit the ROMAINES were wonte to afcribe all fuche great notable mat-

ters to the speciall providence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithstanding they dyd iudge, that this happy fuccesse fell out by the wife foresight and valliantnes

SOLON and PVBLICOLA. 120 of the captaine. For every man that had ferued in this jorney, had no other talke in his A mouth, but that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and as a man might fave, bounde hande and feete to kill them at their pleasure. The people were maruelously enriched by this victorie, as well for the spoile, as for the ransome of the prisoners that they had gotten. Nowe Publicola after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the cittie to those, which were chosen Consuls for the yere following: dyed incontinently, having lived as honorably and vertuoufly all the dayes of his life, as any man living might

doe. The people then tooke order for his funeralles, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the cittie, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene still debters vnto him for the noble seruice he had done vnto the state and common weale whilest he lived. Therefore towardes his funeralle charges, every cittizen gave a pece B of money called a Quatrine. The women also for their parte, to honour his funeralles, agreed among them felues to mourne a whole yere in blackes for him, which was a great and honorable memoriall. He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the cittie, in the streate called Velia: and they graunted priviledge also vnto all his posteritie, to be buried in the felfe same place. How beit they doe no more burie any of his there. But when any dye. they bring the corfe vnto this place, and one holding a torche burning in his hande, doth put it vnder the place, and take it straight awaye againe, to shewe that they have libertie to burie him there, but that they willingly refuse this honour: and this done, they carie the corfe awaye againe.

THE COMPARISON OF



OWE presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not founde in any E other of their lines which we have written of before. And the fame is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like . So as the sentence that Solon spake to king Crassus, touching Tellus felicitie & happines, might have better bene applied vnto Publicola, than to Tellus: whom he judged to be very happy, bicause he dyed honorably, he had liued vertuously, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet Solon speaketh nothing of

his excellencie, or vertue, in any of his poemes: neither dyd he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas Publicola fo long as he lived, was allwayes the chief man amongest the F ROMAINES, of credit and authoritie: and afterwards fince his death, certaine of the noblest families, and most auncient houses of Rome, in these our dayes, as the Publicoles, the Messales,

A 8the VALERIAN S. for fix hundred yeres continuance, doe referre the glorie of the nobilisie & auncietie of their house vnto him Furthermore, Tellu was flaine by his enemies fighting valliantly like a worthy honest man, But, Publicala died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farremore great good happe, then to be flaine, For after he as generall had honorably ferued his country in the warres, & had left them conquerers, having in his life time received all hot nours & triumphes due vnto his service: he attained to that happy end of life, which Solen accompted & esteemed, most happy & blessed. Also in withing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his prayle, in a place where he confuteth Mimnermus, about the continuaunce of mans life by faying:

Let not my death wwithout lamenting paffe, but rather let my friendes bewvayle the same: Whose grieuous teares, and cries of out alas, maye ofte resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he Publicola: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsefolkes, but the whole cittie also, and many a thousand persone besides, dyd bitterly bewayle the loffe of him. For all the women of Rome dyd mourne for him in blacks, and dyd most pittiefully lament his death, as euery one of them had lost either father, brother, or True it is that I couet goodes to have: husband.

but yet so got, as maye me not depraue.

Solon fayeth this, bicause vengeance followed ill gotten good. And Publicola tooke great C heede, not only to get his goodes most justly, but had regarde that those which he had the fpent most honestly in helping the needle . So that if Solon was justly reputed the wisest man, we must needes confesse also that Publicola was the happicst. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can haue in this worlde: the other hath wonne it, kept it, and vied it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath Solon honoured Publicola, and Publicola hath done like vnto Solon, shewing him felf a perfect example and looking glaffe, where men maye fee howe to gouerne a popular state: when he made his Confulshippe voyde of all pride & stately shewe, and became him self affable, curteous, and beloued of euerie bodie. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordeined, that the people only should have authoritie to choose and create, all common officers and magistrates, D and that they might appeale from any judge to the people: as Solon when he suffered them to appeale vnto the judges of the people. In deede Publicola dyd not create any newe Senate as Solon dyd: but he dyd augment the first number, with as many persones almost as there were before. He dyd also first erect the office of Quastores, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other Publicolarcollections of money. Bicause the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for netted the offolightan occasion be taken, from the care of better and more weightie affayers: and if he fore. were wickedly genen and ill disposed, that he should have no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by having the treasure of the cittie in his handes, and to commaund

what he lyst. Moreouer in hating the tyranes, Publicola therein was farre more sharpe & terrible. For Solon in his lawes punished him that went about to make him selfe tyranne, yet after E he was connicted thereof by lawe: but Publicola ordeined that they should kill him before the lawe dyd passe on him, that sought to be King. And where Solon iustly, and truely vaunteth him felf, that being offered to be King & Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole confent of the cittizens: yet he dyd notwithstanding refuse it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto Publicola: who finding the dignitie of a Conful tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauora fa And it feemeth that Solon knewe before him, what was the true and direct waye to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he fayeth in one place:

Both great and small of powver the better will obaye: if we to litle or to much whon them doe not laye.

The discharging of dettes was proper to Solon, which was a full confirmation of libertie, For litle preuayleth lawe to make equalitie among cittizens, when dettes doe hinder the poore people to enjoye the benefit thereof. And where it feemeth that they have most liber-

SOLON and PVBLICOLA

tie, as in that they maye be chosen judges and officers to speake their opinion in the counself and gene their voyces also: there in deede are they most bounde and subject, bicause they doe but obaye the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thinge more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly discharging of dettes, was wont to breede great tumultes, and feditions in common weales. And Solon having vied it in a very good time(as the philitian ventring a daungerous medecine) dyd appeale the ledition already begonne, and did veterly quenche through his glorie, and the common opinion they had of his wisdome and vertue, all the infamie and accusation that might have growen of that acte. As for their first entrie into the gouernment, Solons beginning was farre more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and him felfe alone without any others helpe, dyd put in execution the best, and more parte of all his notable and goodly lawes . Yet was Publicolate ende and death much more glorious and happie. For Solon before he dyed, fawe all his comon wealthe ouerthrowen: but Publicolaes common weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broyle of ciuill warres beganne againe among them . Solon, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wodden tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his waye immediatly out of the cittle of Athens, Publicola abiding continually in Rome governing the state, dyd throughly stablishe & confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore Solon having wifely forfeene Pisitratus practises, aspiring to make him selse King: he could neuer let him for all that, but was him selfe ouercome and oppressed with the tyrannie he sawe stablished in his owne fight, and in dispight of him. Where Publicola ouerthrewe and dyd put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished: his vertue and de-C fire being equall with Solons, & having had belides fortune favorable, and sufficient power to execute, his vertuous and well disposed minde. But as for warres and marshall deedes, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For Daimachus Plataian, doth not attribute the warres of the Megarians vnto Solon, as we have written it: where Publicola being generall of an armie, and fighting himselfe in persone, hath wonne many great battells. And as for matters of peace and civill government, Solon never durst present him self openly to persuade the enterprise of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfeat madnes, and as a foole to make sporte, Where Publicola taking his aduenture from the beginning, thewed him felfe without diffimulation, an open enemie to Tarquine, and afterwardes he reuealed all the whole conspiracie. And when he had bene the only cause and autor of punishing the traitours, he dyd not only D driue out of Rome the tyrannes selues in persone, but tooke from them also all hope of returne againe. Who having allwayes thus nobly & valliantly behaued him felf without shrinking backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly corage, or open resistaunce: dyd yet shewe him selfe discreete, where wisedome was requisite, or reason and persuasion needefull. As when he conningly wanne king Porfena, who was a dredfull enemie vnto him, and inuincible by force: whom he handled in such good forte, that he made him his friend . Peraduenture some might stand in this and saye: that Solon recoursed the Ile of SALAMINA VIIO the ATHENIANS, which they would have lost . Publicola to the contrarie, restored the lands vnto Porfena againe, which the Romaines had conquered before, within the countrie of THYSCAN . But the times in which these things were done, are allwayes to be considered of. E For a wife gouernour of a Realme, and politicke man, doth gouerne diverfely according to the occasions offred, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in letting goe one thing, he faueth the whole: and in lofing a litle, he gayneth much . As Publicola dyd: who losing a little pece of another mans countrie which they had vsurped, saued by that

ouercome, and haue fentence paffe of his fide. For the King their enemie dyd not only make peace with them, but dydalfo leave them all his furniture, prouision, and munition for the F warres: euen for the vertue, manhood, and inflice, which the great wifedome of this Conful

persuaded Porsena to beleeue to be, in all the other ROMAINES. The ende of Publicolaes life.

meanes all that was affuredly his owne. And whereas the Romaines thought he should doe

very much for them, to faue their cittie only: he got them moreouer, all the goodes that were

in their enemies cape, which dyd besiege them. And in making his enemie iudge of his quar-

rell, he wane the victorie: winning that moreouer, which he would gladly haue geuen to haue

THE

THE LIFE OF

Themistocles.



HEMISTOCLES parentage dyd litle aduaunce his glorie: for his father Neocles was of small reputation in ATHENS, being of the hunodred of Phrear, & tribe of Leontis: of his mother an allien or straunger: as these verses doe witnesse,

Abrotonon I am yborne in Thracia, and yet this highe good happe I have that into Grecia: I haue brought forth a fonne, Themistocles by name, the glorie of the Greekishe bloods, and man of greatest fame. Howbeit Phanias writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN,

but borne in the countrie of CARIA: and they doe not call her Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And B Neanthes fayeth furthermore, that she was of HALICARNASS VS, the chiefest cittle of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cause when the straungers dyd affemble at Cynosargos (a place of cynosargos, a exercise without the gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, place of exercise without the gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, place of exercise without the gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) Themistocles persuaded divers youthes of the most new world the themselves and the most new world the mos honourable houses, to goe down with him, & to annointe them selues at Cynosargos, conningly colles.

thereby taking away the differece betwene the right & alien forte. But fetting a parte all thefe circumstaunces, he was no doubt allied vnto the house of the Lycomedians: for Themistocles caused the chappell of this familie, which is in the village of Phiyes, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be buylt vp againe at his owne charges: and as Simonides (ayeth, he dyd fet it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confesse it, that euen from C his childhood they dyd perceyue he was geuen to be very whotte headed, sturring, wise, and

of good spirite, and enterprising of him selfe to doe great things, and borne to rule weighty somethin. causes. For at such dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to playe, he neuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they allwayes founde him conning some oration without booke, or making it alone by him selfe, and the ground of his matter was euer comonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolemaster obseruing him, ofte sayed vnto him: suer some great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boye, for it cannot be chosen but that one daye thou shalt doe some notable

good thing, or fome extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any A thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and civilitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime : he would flowly and carelesly learne of them, But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they sawe he would beate at it marueloufly, and would vnderstande more then any could of his age and cariage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwardes by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberall sciences, he was driven for reuenge and his owne defence, to aunswer with great and stowte wordes, faying, that in deede he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a pfalterion : but if they dyd put a cittle into his handes that was of small name, weake, and little, he knewe wayes enough how to make it noble, stronge, and great. Neuertheles, Stesimbrotus writeth, how he went to Ana- B Themistocles xagoras schoole, and that vnder Melissus he studied naturall philosophie. But herein he was greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great hede vnto the time. For Melissus was captaine of

this is true, Pericles was much younger then Themistocles, and Anaxagor as dwelt with Pericles

in his owne house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to beleeue those that write,

speache, and by litle and litle haue translated the exercise of deedes, vnto bare and curious

thould be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As D

that his father dyd difinherite him, and that his mother for very care and forowe she tooke to

fee the lewde life of her fonne, dyd kill her felf. For there are that write to the contrary, that his

father being defirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and shewe him all a-

longest the sea shore, the shippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes cast here and there, whereof

no reckoning was made, and fayed to him: thus the people vie their gouernours, when they

can serue no lenger. How soeuer it was, it is most true that Themistocles earnestly gaue him self

to state, and was sodainely taken with desire of glorie. For euen at his first entrie, bicause he

would fet foote before the prowdest, he stoode at pyke against the greatest and mightiest per-

fones, that bare the swaye and gouernment, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus sonne,

he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cause . For they both loued Stesslaw, that was

borne in the cittie of TEO s, as Ariston the philosopher writeth. And after this iealousie was

kindled betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one against another, not only in

their private likings, but also in the government of the comon weale. Yet I am persuaded, that

the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discorde be-

twext them . For Ariftides being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, & honest of life, and

one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ferue his owne glorie, but rather

who euer encountered him, and was still his aduersarie opposite. Yet it seemeth the euil will E

was Anaxaliffing schollers, the Samians against Pericles, at what time he dyd laye seige vnto the cittle of Samos Now

Mnefichilus Themistocles dyd determine to followe Mnesiphilus Phrearian. For he was no professed Orator, nor natural philosopher, as they termed it in that time; but made profession of that

which then they called wifedome. Which was no other thing, but a certen knowledge to VVhat rife. handle great causes, and an indeuour to have a good wit and judgment in matters of state and gouernment: which profession beginning in Solon, dyd continue, and was taken vp from man C to man, as a secte of philosophie. But those that came sithence, haue mingled it with arte of

wordes: whereupon they were called Sophisters, as who would saye, counterfeate wife men.

Notwithstanding, when Themistocles beganne to medle with the gouernment of the common weale, he followed much Mnesiphilus. In the first parte of his youth, his hehauiour and doings Themistocles were very light and vnconstant, as one caried awaye with a rashe head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners & conditions seemed maruelously to chaunge, and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him felf dyd afterwards confesse by saying: that a ragged colte of times proues a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he

The privie grudze beswexs Themistocles and

Aristides a

to the contrary would doe, would fave, & counfaill all wayes for the most benefit & comoditie of the commo weale: was oftenmes enforced to reful Themistocles, & disapoint his ambition, being euer busilie mouing the people, to take some new matter in hande. For they reporte of F him, that he was so inflamed with defire of glorie, & to enterprise great matters, that being but a very youg man at the battell of Marathon, where there was no talke but of the worthines of captaine

A captaine Militades that had wonne the battellihe was found many times folicarilie there alone deuising with him self: besides, they saye he could then take no rest in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wouldred to fee him fo in his muses, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayled: that Miltiades victorie would not let him fleepe, bicause other thought this ouerthrowat MARATHON, would have made an end of all warres. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to preuent them, and how to see to the fafetie of GREECE. & before occasion offered, he did exercise his cittie in feats of warre, forefeeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizes of ATHEN'S before dyd vse to B deuide among them selues the reuenue of their mines of silver, which were in a parte of Ar-

TIC A called LAVRION: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & persuade them, Themistocles that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selues, & employe the contributions money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the Æ G I NET ES. For their make gallyes, warres of all GREECE were most cruell, bicause they were lords of the sea. & had so great a nuber of shippes. This persuasion drue the cittizens more easely to Themistocles minde, than the threatning them with king Darius, or the Persians would have done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred & iealousse betwene the ATHENIANS & the #GINETES, made the peopleto agree, of the faid money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king Xerxes, & did C ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wanne the cittizes by de-

grees to bende their force to sea, declaring vinto them, howe by lande they were scant able to The Ashemake heade against their equalles, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende nide bit their them selves from the barbarous people but more over the able to company dell Grane a Hone force to sea. them selves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to comaund all GRECE. Here-by Themistoupon he made them good mariners, & paffing fea men, as Plato fayeth, where before they were cles perfueflowte & valliant fouldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe af-flow. terwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, & had brought them to the bake & the ower: & so he got the vpper hand of Miltiades. Who inveyed against

him in that, as Stefimbrotus writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this fea feruice to passe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the justice of the como weale or not. I leave that D to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all GRECE stoode at that time vpo the fea, & that the gallyes only were the cause of setting vp ATHENS againe: Xerxes him self is a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lade being yet whole, & vnfet on, when he faw his armie by fea broken, difperfed, & founcke, he fled straight vpon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the GREECIANS, & left Mardonius his lieutenant in GREECE, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GREECIANS should not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome the. Some write of Themistocles, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & carefull to Themistocles looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally, & loued ofte to make sacrifices, & honorably to agordhaubad

receyue & entertaine straugers: wherefore he had good reason to be carefull to get, to defraye his traugers. E his charges. Other to the cotrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & miserable: for some faye, he would fell prefents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one Philides on a time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly he was fo angrie, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him understande, that he would shortly set strife & quarrel between him, & his nearest kinsemen & familliar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a youg man, & feantly knowen, he earneftly Themistocles intreated one Epicles, borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at exnemely that time the conningest man in all ATHENS at that instrument, that he would come & teache his arte at his house; and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him

F playe, should aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went vnto the feast & assembly of the playes Olympicall, he would nedes keepe open house for all commers. haue his tents richely furnished, & a great traine of servants & all other furniture, only to con-

VVodden

ftone, which he founde there by chaunce, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, A where there was very good harber for shippes, and fit places also to lye in. These were the wordes, that the I o N I A N S should take the GREECIANS partes being their founders and auncesters ,& such as fought for their libertie : or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, & doe them all the mischief they could, when the Greecians should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their parte, or at the least he should make the barbarous people realous & mistrustfull of them. Xer. xes being already entred in the vppermost parte of the prouince of Dorica, into the countrie of PHOCIDA, burning & destroying the townes & citties of the PHOCIANS: the other GREE-CIANS laye still & suffered the inualion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANS did request them to mete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to faue the countrie of ATTICA, as before they B had done, when they wet by fea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearke to it in no wife. & all was bicause they were desirous they should drawe to the straite of Peloponnes vs, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of GREECE within the barre of the fame, & make a strong substantiall walle from the one seato the other. The ATHENIANS were very angrie at this deuise, & were half discoraged & out of harte, to see the selues thus forsake and cast of, by the rest of the Greecians. For it was out of all speache that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was to leave their cittie: & to get them to the sea. The people were very viwilling to listen hereuito, making their reckoning it was nedeles to be carefull to ouercome or to faue them felues, having once for faken the teples of their godds, & the graues of their parents. Wherfore Themistocles feeing that C neither reason, nor mans persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to frame a deuise (as men doe vse somtimes in tragedies) & to threaten the ATHENIANS with significant gues from heaven, with oracles & aunswers from the goddes. And the occasion of Minerwaes draggo ferued his turne for a celestiall signe & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in those dayes in the teple as it was wont to doe: & the priests found the sacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole & vntouched by any . Wherefore being enformed by Themistocles what they should doe, they spred a brute abroade amongest the people, that the goddesse Minerua, the protectour & defendour of the cittie, had forfaken it, pointing them the wave vnto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which comaunded them to saue them felues in walles of wodd: faying, that the walles of wodd dyd fignifie nothing els but shippes. D And for this cause he saied, Apollo in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miserable nor vnfortunate, bicause it should geue the name of a most happy victorie which the GREECIANS should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leave the cittle of Athens to the custodie of the goddesse Pallas, that was lady & gouernour of the country,& that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get the nion for ske to the gallyes: & for the reft, that every man should see his wife, children, & bondmen placed in them by some five places well as he could A fear this decreases and & could be be could be seen that the could be seen the same of the Themisticles fome fuer place as well as he could. After this decree was past & authorised by the people, the perjusion or most parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wines & litle children, into the cittle of Troezen, where the Troezenians receyued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained of the comon charge, allowing them a pece, E two obulos of their money a daye, & fuffered the young children to gather fruite wherefoeuer they founde it & furthermore dyd hier schoolemasters at the charge of the comon wealth, to bring them vp at schoole. He that was the pener of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The A THE NIANS at that time, had no como money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle fayeth) furnished euery souldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet Clidemus writeth, that this was a crafte deuised of Themistocles. The A-THENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIREA, he made as though Pallas tergat (on the which Medufus heade was grauen) had bene loft, & was not found with the image of the goddeffe : and faining to feeke for it, he ranfacked every corner of the gallyes, and founde a great deale of filuer which private persones had hidden among est their fardells. This mo-F ney was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the fouldiers that were shipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of necessary things. When time came that they were

A to departe the hauen, & that all the cittle of ATHENS had taken sea: one waye it was a pittle to beholde them. Another waye it made all fortes to wounder, that confidered the boldnes and corage of those men, which before sent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, therikes, & limbrafings of their wines, their children, & departures, but flowtly and resolutely helde on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many olde cittizens left still of necessitie in ATHENS, bicause they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beafts, & cattell ronne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alow de after their mafters, in token of forowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongest these, there goeth a straunge tale of Xan-R thippus dogge, who was Pericles father: which for forowe his master had left him behinde him, Xanth dyd cast him self after into the sea, & swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he helde on to the Ile of S A LAM IN A, where so sone as the poore curre laded, his breath sayled him. & dved presently. They saye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place The dogge where he was buried. These were strauge acts of Themistocles, that beholding the ATHENIANS grave. fory for the absence of Aristides, and searing least of spyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might have bene the ruine & distruction of the state of GREECE, being banished five veres also before the warres, by Themistocles procurement: that he dyd fet forth a decree; that Aristides reall those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to saye, & to moreth from gene counfell to the cittizens in those things, which they thought best for the preservation of banishement C GREECE. And also where Eurybiades, being generall of the GREECIANS whole army by fea, cles decree. for the worthines of the cittle of Sparta, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case departe from thence, & retire into the goulse of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by lande affembled: that Themistocles withstood him; and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that Themistocles made so notable aun- Notable aunfivers, which specially are noted, & gathered together. For when Eurybiades sayed one day vnto frees of Thehim. Themistocles, those that at playes & games doe rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, faid Themistocles: but those that tarie last so, doe never winne any game. Another time Eurybiades having a staffe in his hande lift it vp, as though he would have striken him. Strike & thou wilt, faid he, so thou wilt heare me. Eurybiades wouldring to see him so paciet, suffered him D then to fave what he would. Then Themistocles beganne to bring him to reason: but one that floode by fayed vnto him. Themistocles for a man that hath neither cittie nor house, it is an ill parte to will others that have, to forfake all. Themistocles turning to him, replied. We have willingly for faken our houses and walles, sayed he, cowardly beaste that thou arte, bicause we would not become flaues for feare to lofe things, that have neither foule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greatest of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to faue you if you lift. But if you will needes goe your waves. & for fake vs the seconde time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free cittie, & have possessed againe as much good land, as that they have already lost. These wordes made Eurybiades presently thincke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would E not goe, and that they would forfake them. And as another Eretrian was about to vtter his reason against Themistocles opinion: he could not but aunswer him . Alas , and must you my masters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleue? In deede you have a sworde, The Sleue is but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whilest Themistocles was talking thus from his gal- affile facisley, they fpyed an owle flying on the right hande of the shippes, which came to light on and like a one of the mastes of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GREECIANS dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by fea. But when the flete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coaftes of ATTICA, harde by the hauen Phalericus, and couered all the rivers therea-

bouts, as farre as any bodie could fee, and that king Xerxes him felfe was come in persone

with all his army by lande, to campe by the fea fide: fo that his whole power both by lande

persuasions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANS, considering how they

might recouer the goulfe of Paloponnesvs, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man

F and sea might be seene in sight: then the GREECIANS had forgotten all Themistocles goodly

good thing, or fome extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and civilitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and carelesly learne of them. But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning flate: they fawe he would beate at it marueloufly, and would vnderstande more then any could of his age and cariage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwardes by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberall sciences, he was driven for reuenge and his owne defence, to aunswer with great and stowte wordes, saying, that in deede he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a pfalterion: but if they dyd put a cittie into his handesthat was of small name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how

to make it noble, stronge, and great. Neuertheles, Stefimbrotus writeth, how he went to Ans. B

Themistocles dyd determine to followe Mnesiphilus Phrearian. For he was no professed O-

fee the lewde life of her fonne, dyd kill her felf. For there are that write to the contrary, that his

father being defirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and shewe him all alongest the sea shore, the shippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes cast here and there, whereof

no reckoning was made, and faved to him: thus the people vie their gouernours, when they

can ferue no lenger. Howfoeuer it was, it is most true that Themistocles earnestly gaue him self to state, and was sodainely taken with desire of glorie. For euen at his first entrie, bicause he

would fet foote before the prowdest, he stoode at pyke against the greatest and mightiest per-

fones, that bare the swaye and gouernment, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus sonne,

who euer encountered him, and was still his aduersarie opposite. Yet it seemeth the euil will E

Themistocles xagoras schoole, and that vinder Welissus he studied naturall philosophie. But herein he was was Anaxagreatly deceaued for that he tooke no great hede vnto the time. For Melissus was captaine of goras & Methe Samians against Pericles, at what time he dyd laye seige vnto the cittie of Samos. Now liffics fcholler. this is true, Pericles was much younger then Themistocles, and Anaxagoras dwelt with Pericles in his owne house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to beleeve those that write.

Mnesiphilus

rator, nor naturall philosopher, as they termed it in that time; but made profession of that which then they called wifedome. Which was no other thing, but a certen knowledge to VVhat wife. handle great causes, and an indeuour to have a good wit and judgment in matters of state and dome was in

elde sime. gouernment: which profession beginning in Solon, dyd continue, and was taken up from man C to man, as a fecte of philosophie. But those that came sithence, haue mingled it with arte of speache, and by litle and litle haue translated the exercise of deedes, vnto bare and curious

wordes: whereupon they were called Sophisters, as who would fave, counterfeate wife men. Howe the name of So-Notwithstanding, when Themistocles beganne to medle with the gouernment of the common weale, he followed much Mnesiphilus. In the first parte of his youth, his hehauiour and doings Themistacles were very light and vinconstant, as one caried awaye with a rashe head, and without any order

phisters came

or discretion: by reason whereof his manners & conditions seemed maruelously to chaunge, and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him felf dyd afterwards confesse by faying: that a ragged colte oftimes proues a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As I that his father dyd difinherite him, and that his mother for very care and forowe the tooke to

The printe grudge be-

mistocles and Aristides.

Ariffides a

of the commo weale: was oftenimes enforced to refult Themistocles, & disapoint his ambition, being euer busilie mouing the people, to take some new matter in hande. For they reporte of F him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glorie, & to enterprise great matters, that being but a very yoog man at the battell of Marathon, where there was no talke but of the worthines of

he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cause . For they both loued Stefilaus , that was borne in the cittie of TEOs, as Ariston the philosopher writeth. And after this jealousie was kindled betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the comon weale. Yet I am persuaded, that the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discorde betwext them . For Ariftides being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, & honest of life, and one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ferue his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary would doe, would fave, & counfaill allwayes for the most benefit & comoditie

his arte at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him

A captaine Miltiades that had wonne the battellihe was found many times folitarilie there alone denifing with him felf:besides, they save he could then take no rest in the night; neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wouldred to fee him fo in his muses, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayled: that Militades victorie would not let him fleepe, bicause other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would have made an end of all warres. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to preuent them, and how to see to the fafetie of GREECE, & before occasion offered, he did exercise his cittie in feats of warre, forefeeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizes of ATHENS before dyd vse to B deuide among them selues the reuenue of their mines of silver, which were in a parte of Ar-

TIC A called LAVRION: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & persuade them. Themistocles that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selues, & employe the contributions money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the Æ G INETES. For their make gallyes, warres of all GREECE were most cruell, bicause they were lords of the sea, & had so great a nu-

ber of shippes. This persuasion drue the cittizens more easely to Themistocles minde, than the threatning them with king Darius, or the Persians would have done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred & icalousie betwene the ATHENIANS & the EGINETES, made the people to agree, of the faid money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king Xerxes, & did ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wanne the cittizes by degrees to bende their force to fea, declaring vnto them, howe by lande they were feant able to The shiemake heade against their equalles, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende mids bet their them selues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to comaund all GRECE. Here- by Themists-

them to the bake & the ower & so he got the vpper hand of Miltiades. Who inueyed against

him in that, as Stefimbrotus writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this fea feruice

to passe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the instice of the como weale or not, I leave that

a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lade

n to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all Grece stoode at that time ypo the sea & that the gallyes only were the cause of setting vp ATHENS againe: Xerxes him self is

upon he made them good mariners, & paffing fea men, as Plato fayeth, where before they were des perfueflowte & valliant fouldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe af-fon. terwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, & had brought

being yet whole, & vnset on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, dispersed, & souncke, he sted ftraight vpon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the GREECIANS, & left Mardonius his lieutenant in GREECE, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GREECIANS should not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome the. Some write of Themistocles, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & carefull to Themistocles looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally, & loued ofte to make sacrifices, & honorably to agood houbad receyue & entertaine straugers: wherefore he had good reason to be carefull to get, to defraye his profit. E his charges. Other to the cotrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & milerable: for some faye, he would fell prefents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one Philides on a time.

which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly, he was fo angrie, that he

quarrel betweet him, & his nearest kinsemen & familliar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a young man, & scantly knowen, he earnefely Themistocles intreated one Epicles, borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at exmember that time the conningest man in all ATHENS at that instrument, that he would come & reache

playe, should aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went your the feaft & affembly of the playes Olympicall, he would nedes keepe open house for all commers, haue his tents richely furnished, & a great traine of feruants & all other furniture, only to con-

threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which

TROTA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him understande, that he would shortly set strife&

tende with Cimon. This marueloufly spighted the GREECIANS, who thought Themistocles ex. A pences fit for Cimons countenance, & abilitie, bicause he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house: but for him that was but a new come man, & would be are a greater porte, then either became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not only vnallowable in him, but meere presumption & vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which was played openly: & being fet out therein to haue wonne the prife, & the ATHENIANS being maruelous desirous of the honour in such playes, he caused this victorie of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate & fet vp in a temple, with this infeription. Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus vvas chief ruler. Yet notwithstading he was well taken of the common people, partly bicause he would speake to enery cittizen by his

the Corinthians, considering they were lords of so great & strong a cittie. Likewise he was

Epicydes an

was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of PERSIAES ambaffadours, & demann-

quarrels vntill the warres were done, in the which they faye Chileus Arcadian did helpe him Themistocles more then any other man. He being now chosen generall of the Athenians, wet about pre-

generallof the Athenias against Xer-

fently to imbarke his cittizens into gallyes, declaring to them they should leaue their cittie,& goe mete with the barbarous King by fea, so farre fro the coast of GREECE as they could: but the people did not thincke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of fouldiers by lande, E into the countrie of TEMPES with the LACED EMONIANS, to keepe the passage & entrie into THESS ALIE, against the barbarous people, which countrie stoode yet sownde to GREECE, & not revolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GRECIANS coming fro thence without any acte done, and the Thessalians also being wonne somewhat on the Kings side, for that all the whole country vnto Boro TIA was at the deuotion & goodwill of the barbarous people: then the ATHENIANS beganne to finde howe Themistocles opinion to fight by fea was very good. Wherupon they fent him with their naule to the cittle of ARTEMISIVN, to kepe the straight. There the other GRECIANS would have had the LACED EMONIANS & their admirall Eurybiades to have had the authoritie & comaundement of the rest. But the Athen I and would not fet sayle vnder any other admirall then their own, bicause theirs were the greatest number F of shippes in the armie, & aboue all the other GRECIANS. Themistocles foreseing the daunger that was likely to fall out amongest them selues, dyd willingly yelde the whole authoritie vnto

name, no man telling him their names: and partly also bicause he shewed him self an ypright B iudge in priuate mens causes. As one daye he aunswered the poet Simonides, borne in CHIO, who dyd request an vnreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernour of A wife faring the cittie. Thou couldest be no good poet, Simonides, if thou diddest finge against the rules of of Themister mulike:neither my felf a good gouernour of a citie, if I should doe any thing against the lawe. And mocking the fame Simonides another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of

not wife to make him felf to be drawen, being so deformed & ill fauored. But being growne in Themisticles credit, & having wone the fauour of the people, he was such an enemy to Aristides, that in the made Athens, for 5 yeres. Who newes were brought that the king of Persia was onwardes on his iorney & coming downe to make warres ypon C. the Greecians: the Athenians cosulted whom they should make their generall. And it is reported, that all their comon counsellers which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the daunger, dyd drawe backe, saue an orator called Epicydes, Euphemides sonne, very eloquent in grain fued to speache, but somewhat womanishe, fainte harted, & gredie of money, offred him self to sue for this charge, & had some hope to obteine it. Wherefore Themistocles fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be generall of the armie, he bought out Epicydes ambitio with ready money, & fo made him let fall his fute. It fell out Themistocles was greatly comeded, about that

ded the empire of the GREECIANS both by fea & lande, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, & put to death by a comon cosent, for vsing D the Greeke tongue in the service & comaundement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, Arthmius born at Zelea, was noted of infamie, both he his children, & all his posteritie after him, bicause he brought gold fro the king of PERSIA, to corrupt & winne the GREECIANS. But the greatest & worthiest acte he did in those parts, was this that he pacified all civill warres among the GREECIANS, perfuading the citties to leave of their

THEMISTOCLES.

Eurybiades, & got the ATHENIANS to agree vnto it: affuring them, that if they behaued them selves valliatly in these warres, the other GREECIANS of their own accordewould afterwards submit them selues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the originall cause of the fauing of GREBCE, & dyd most aduquince the honour and glorie of the ATHENIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, & their frieds & allies with liberalitie. In the meane time, Eurybiades seing the barbarous slete riding at anker, all alongest the Ile of Apheres, with such a great nuber of thippes in the vaward, he begane to be affrayed. And understading moreouer, there were other 200 sayle that wet to cast about the Ile of SCIATHE, & fo to come in the presently would have retired further into GREECE, & would have drawe necrer vnto Peloponne sys, to the end their army by sea might be neare their army by lade, as thinking it vnpossible to fight with king Xerxes power by sea. Whereupo the inhabitants of the Ile of EVBOEA, fearing least the GRECIANS would to the spoyle of the enemy, they caused Themistocles secretly to be spoke with all, & sent him a good some of money by one called Pelagon. Themistocles tooke the money, as Herodotus writeth, & gauc it to Eurybiades. But there was one Architeles amogest the ATHENIANS, captaine of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against Themistocles intended purpose: who having no money to paye his mariners, dyd what he could that they might departe with speede from thence. Themistocles sturred up then his souldiers more against him then before, insomuch as they wet aborde his galley, & tooke his supper from him. Architeles being maruelous angrie & offeded

withall, Themistocles fent him both bread & meat in a panier, & in the bottome thereof he had o put a talent of filuer, bidding him for that night to suppe with that, and the next morning he should prouide for his mariners, or els he would coplaine, & accuse him to the cittizes that he had take money of the enemies. Thus it is writte by Phanias Lesbia. Moreouer these first fights in the straite of Evboen, between the Greecians, & the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the warres between them. For it was but a taste gene vnto them, which serued the GREECIANS turne very much, by making them to fee by experiece, & the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of thippes, nor the pope & fumptuous fetting out of the same, nor the prowde barbarous showts & songes of victorie that could stande them to purpose, against noble harts & valliat minded souldiers, that durst grapple with them, & come to hands strokes with their enemies: & that they should make no reckoning of all that brauery & bragges, but should sticke to it like men, & laye it on the lacks of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet Pindarus vnderstoode very well, when he sayed touching the battell of ARTE-The stownte Athenians, have nouve foundation layed, MISIVM. unto the libertie of Greece, by thes assaults assayed. For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place ARTEMISIVE is a The coaft of

parte of the Ile of Ev BOEA, looking towards the North, about the cittle of Esti & Alying directly ouer against the country which somtimes was under the obedience of the PHILOCTE-TES, and specially of the cittle of OLIZON. There is a litle temple of Diana, surnamed Orientall round about the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillers of white stone, which when a man rubbes with his hande, they shewe of the culler and sauour of safferne. And in E one of those pillers there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect. When boldest bloods of Athens by their might beganne to builde this noble monument: and to Diane the same they dyd present, had ouercome the numbers infinite for that they had the Medes like vvife subdued, of Mia: they then in memorie, er with their bloud their hardy hands embrued. of all their dedes and valliant victorie There is a place seene also vpon that coast at this daye, a good wave into the lande, in the

middest whereof are great sands full of blacke dust as alhes: and they thincke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and olde shippwracks. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrie of THERMOPYLES, how that king Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerwes had wonne that entry into GREECE by lande: the GREECIANS then brought their whole F army by fea more into GREECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retire, as me whose hartes were lifte up with the glorie of their former valliant dedes . Nowe Themistocles Themistocles passing by those places where he knewe the enemies must of necessitie fall vpon the lee shore francement

for harborow: he dyd ingraue certen wordes spoken vnto the I o NIANS, in great letters in

stone, which he founde there by chaunce, or purposely brought thither for that purpose A where there was very good harber for shippes, and fit places also to lye in . These were the wordes, that the I o N I A N S should take the GREECIANS partes being their founders and auncesters, & such as fought for their libertie: or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, & doe them all the mischief they could, when the GREECIANS should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their parte, or at the least he should make the barbarous people iealous & mistrustfull of them. Xerxes being already entred in the vppermost parte of the province of Dorica, into the countrie of PHOCIDA, burning & destroying the townes & cittles of the PHOCIANS: the other GREE-CIANS laye still & suffered the inuation, notwithstanding the ATHENIANS did request them to mete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to faue the countrie of ATTICA, as before they ! had done, when they wet by fea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearke to it in no wife. & all was bicause they were desirous they should drawe to the straite of Peloponnes vs, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of GREECE within the barre of the same, & make a strong substantiall walle from the one seato the other. The ATHENIANS were very angrie at this deuise, & were half discoraged & out of harte, to see the selues thus for sake and cast of, by the rest of the GREECIANS. For it was out of all speache that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was, to leave their cittie: & to get them to the fea. The people were very vnwilling to liften hereuto, making their reckoning it was nedeles to be carefull to ouercome, or to faue them selues, having once for faken the teples of their godds. & the graues of their parents. Wherfore Themistocles feeing that C neither reason, nor mans persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion; he beganne to frame a deuise (as men doe vie somtimes in tragedies) & to threaten the Athenians with signes from heaven, with oracles & aunswers from the goddes. And the occasion of Mineruaes draggo ferued his turne for a celestiall signe & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in those dayes in the teple as it was wont to doe: & the priests found the sacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole & vntouched by any . Wherefore being enformed by Themistoeles what they should doe, they spred a brute abroade amongest the people, that the goddesse Minerua, the protectour & defendour of the cittie, had forfaken it, pointing them the wave vnto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which comaunded them to saue them felues in walles of woodd faying, that the walles of woodd dyd fignifie nothing els but shippes. D And for this cause he faied, Apollo in his oracle called SALAMINA diume, not miserable nor vnfortunate, bicause it should geue the name of a most happy victorie which the GREEGIANS should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leave the cittie of ATHENS to the custodie of the goddesse Pallas, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get the nian for fake to the gallyes: & for the rest, that every man should see his wife, children, & bondmen placed in Themiffeeler some suer place as well as he could. After this decree was past & authorised by the people the persusfien, es most parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wives & little children, into die geenthe the cittie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS receyued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained of the comon charge, allowing them a pece, E two obulos of their money a daye, & fuffered the young children to gather fruite wherefoeuer they founde it:& furthermore dyd hier schoolemasters at the charge of the comon wealth, to bring them vp at schoole. He that was the pener of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The ATHENIANS at that time, had no como money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle fayeth)furnished euery souldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet Clidemus writeth, that this was a crafte deuised of Themistocles. The A-THENIANS being come downe unto the hauen of PIREA, he made as though Pallas tergat (on the which Medusus heade was grauen) had bene lost, & was not found with the image of the goddesse: and faining to seeke for it, he ransacked every corner of the gallyes, and sounde a great deale of filuer which private persones had hidden amongest their fardells. This mo-F ney was brought out vnto the people', and by this meanes the fouldiers that were shipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of necessary things. When time came that they were

A to departe the hauen, & that all the cittle of ATHENS had taken fea: one waye it was a pittle to beholde them. Another waye it made all fortes to wounder, that confidered the boldnes and corage of those men, which before sent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, therikes, & limbrafings of their wines, their children, & departures, but stowtly and resolutely helde on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many olde cittizens left still of necessitie in Athens, bicause they could not beremoued for very extreme age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beasts, & cattell ronne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alow deafter their mafters, in token of forowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongest these, there goeth a straunge tale of Xan-B thippus dogge, who was Pericles father: which for forowe his mafter had left him behinde him, dogge, dyd cast him self after into the sea, & swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he helde on to the Ile of S ALAMINA, where so sone as the poore curre laded, his breath fayled him, & dyed presently. They saye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place The dogge where he was buried. These were strauge acts of Themistocles, that beholding the ATHENIANS grave. for for the absence of Aristides, and fearing least of spyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might have bene the ruine & distruction of the state of GREECE, being banished five veres also before the warres, by Themistocles procurement: that he dyd set forth a decree; that Aristides reall those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to saye, & to maneth from geue counsell to the cittizens in those things, which they thought best for the preservation of by Themiston C GREECE. And also where Eurybiades, being generall of the GREECIANS whole army by fea, cle decree. for the worthines of the cittie of Sparta, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case departe from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by lande affembled: that Themistocles withflood him; and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that Themistocles made so notable aun- Notable aunfwers, which specially are noted, & gathered together. For when Eurybiades sayed one day vnto fwers of Thehim. Themistocles, those that at playes & games doe rise before the company, are whiftled at. It is true, said Themistocles: but those that tarie last so, doe never winne any game. Another time Eurybiades having a staffe in his hande lift it vp, as though he would have striken him. Strike & thou wilt, faid he, so thou wilt heare me. Eurybiades wouldring to see him so paciet, suffered him D then to fave what he would. Then Themistocles beganne to bring him to reason: but one that stoode by fayed vnto him. Themistocles for a man that hath neither cittie nor house, it is an ill parte to will others that have, to for fake all. Themistocles turning to him, replied. We have willingly forfaken our houses and walles, sayed he, cowardly beaste that thou arte, bicause we would not become flaues for feare to lofe things, that have neither foule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greatest of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred galleys readv to fight, which are come hither to faueyou if you lift. But if you will needes goe your wayes, & for fake vs the seconde time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free cittie, & haue possessed againe as much good land, as that they haue already lost. These wordes made Eurybiades presently thincke, and seare, that the ATHENIANS would E not goe, and that they would for fake them. And as another Eretrian was about to vtter his reason against Themistocles opinion: he could not but aunswer him . Alas , and must

his opinion, and prepared to fight by fea. But when the flete of their enemies shippes shewed

on the coaftes of ATTICA, harde by the hauen Phalericus, and couered all the rivers therea-

bouts, as farre as any bodie could fee, and that king Xerxes him felfe was come in persone with all his army by lande, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by lande

F and sea might be seene in sight: then the GREECIANS had forgotten all Themistocles goodly

persuasions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANS, considering how they

might recouer the goulfe of Palopo nnesvs, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man

you my masters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleue? In deede you have a sworde, The slewe is but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whilest Themistocles was talking thus from his gal-affle faite-ley, they spyed an owle slying on the right hande of the shippes, which came to light on founded by a one of the master of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other Greecians dyd agree to

to

went about to talke of any other matter. To be shorte, it was concluded that they should a fayle awaye the next night following & the mafters of the shippes had order geuen them to make all things readie for them to departe. Themistocles perceyuing their determination, he was maruelous angry in his minde, that the GREECIANS would thus disperse them selues 2 fonder, repairing every man to his owne cittie, and leaving the advantage which the nature of the place, & the straight of the arme of the sea, where they laye in harber together, did offer them: and so he bethought him selfe howe this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practise of one Sicinus came into his minde, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken prisoner before

firatageame, in the warres, loued Themistocles very well, and was schoolemaster to his children. This Sicinus he fecretly fent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertise him that Themistocles (generall he want sa of the ATHENIANS) was very desirous to become his maiesties seruaunte, and that he dyd B let him understand betimes, that the GREECIANS were determined to flye: and therefore that he wished him not to let them scape, but to set vpon them, whilest they were troubled and affrayed, and farre from their army by lande, to the ende that youn a sodaine he might ouerthrowe their whole power by sea, Xerxes supposing this intelligence came from a man that withed him well, received the messenger with great ioye, and thereupon gaue present order to his captaines by fea, that they should imbarke their men into the other shippes at better leyfure, and that prefently they should put out with all possible speede, two hundred fayle to followe the GREECIANS in the taile, to shut up the foreland of the straite, and to compasse the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies shippes should scape: and so it fell out. Then Aristides (Lysimachus sonne) being the first that perceyued it, went to Themistoeles tente, though he was his enemie, and through his only meanes had bene banished before, as ye have heard: and calling him out, told him how they were environned. Them: Stocles, who knewe well enough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to feeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicie he had vied by the meffage of Sicinus, praying him to put to his helpe to staye the GREECIANS, and to procure with him, considering his & Mittides worde had more authoritie among them, that they would fight within the straight of SALA-MINA. Aristides commending his great wildome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallyes, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he fayed, untill fuch time as there arrived a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one Panetius was captaine, who being stolen out of the hoste of the barbarous army, brought certen newes, that D the straight out of doubt was shut up. So that besides the necessitie which dyd vrge them, the fpight which the GREECIANS conceyued thereof dyd prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of dave, king Xerxes placed him felfe on a maruelous steepe highe hill, from whence he might descerne his whole flete, and the ordering of his army by fea, about the temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth. Which is the narrowe waye or channell betweet the Ile of SALAMINA, and the coast of ATTICA: or as Acestodorus sayeth, vpon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the pointe which they commonly call the hornes. There Xerxes fet up a throne of golde, and had about him many fecretaries, to write all that was done in the battell . But as Themistocles was facrificing vnto the goddes in his galley that was admiral, they brought to him three young prifoners, fayer of complexion, E richely arrayed with gold and juells, whom they fayed were the children of Sandauce the kings fifter, and of prince Autarctus. So foone as Euphrantides the foothefayer had feene them, and at their arrivall observed there rose a great bright same out of the sacrifice, and at the very felfe fame instant that one on his right hand had sneesed: he tooke Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to facrifice all those three prisoners vnto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes, as much to faye, as the cruell Bacchus: for in doing it, the GREECIANS should not only be faued, but they should have the victorie over their enemies. Themistocles woundred much, to heare so straunge and terrible a commaundement of the soothsayer. Neuertheles, the comon forte following his custome, which is to promise safety soner in the greatest daungers, & most desperate cases, by straunge & vnreasonable, rather then by reasonable and ordinary meanes: F they beganne to call upon the god with one voyce, and bringing the three priloners neere vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the facrifice in that forte as the foothefayer had

appointed.

A appointed. Phanias Lesbian, an excellent philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous nauie: Æschylus the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainely the trothe, fayeth thus:

King Xerxes had a thousand shippes I knowve, amongest the wwhich two hundred wwere (I trouve) and feuen: wwhich all the rest dyd ouersayle with swifter course. This is withouten fayle.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in enery one of the which there were eightene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. Themistocles also did with no B leffe skill & wifedom choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the hower was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea winde arose, and brought in a rough ryde within the channell, which dyd not hurt the GRECIAN gallyes, being made lowe and fnugge, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallyes, being highe cargged, heavie, & not yare of steredge, and made them lye sidelong to the GREECIANS, who siercely set vpon them having allwaves an eye to Themistocles direction, that best foresawe their aduatage. At the same time, Ariamenes, Xerxes admirall, a man of great valure and worthiest of the Kings brethern, be Ariamenes flowed arrowes and dartes as it were from the walles of a castell, charging the gallye of Aminias Decelian, and Solicles Pedian, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the fame, was by them valliantly receiued vpon their pikes, and thrust ouer borde into C the fea. Whose bodie floting amongest other shippewracks ARTEMISIA knowing, caused to be carried to king Xerxes. Nowe whilest this battell stoode in these termes, they saye that there appeared a great flame in the element, toward the cittie of ELEVSIN, and that a lowde vovce was heard through all the plaine of Thriasiavnto the fea, as if there had bene a nuber of men together, that had fonge out alowde, the holy fonge of Iacchus. And it feemed by litle and litle, that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which sange: that left the land, & came & lighted on the gallyes in the sea. Other affirmed, that they sawe armed men, which did reache out their hands from the Ile of ÆGINA, towards the GREBCIAN gallyes: & they thought they were the ÆACIDES, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begonne. The first man of the ATHENIANS that tooke any of the enemies (hippes, was Lycomedes, a captaine of a D gallye: who hauing take very rich furniture & flagges, did afterwards cofecrate them to Apollo laurellias ye would faye victorious. The other GREBCIANS in the fronte being equall in nu-

ber with the barbarous shipps, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherein they

fought, & fo straightned as they could not fight but by one & one, where by the BARBARIANS

disorderly layed one another abourde, that they did hinder them selues with their ouer multi-

tude: & in the end were so fore pressed upon by the Grebectans, that they were costrayned to

flye by night, after they had fought & mainteined battell, vntil it was very darke. So the GR &- The Greeisman

nasy by sea.

CIANS wanne that glorious & famous victorie: of the which maye truly be affirmed that, as Si- the Personal VV as neuer yet nor Greeke nor Barbarous crevu monides fayeth: that could by fea, so many men subdevv: . Nor that obteind, so famous victorie in any fight against their enemie.

Thus was the victorie wonne through the valliantnes and corage of those that fought that battell, but especially through Themistocles great policie and wisdome. After this battell Xerxes being mad for his losse, thought to fill vp the arme of the sea, and to passe his armie by lande, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of SALAMINA. Themistocles, bicause he would feele Aristides opinion, tolde him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupie the straight of Hellespont with the armie by sea, to breake the bridge of Thippes which Xerxes had caused to be made: to the ende, said he, that we maye take Asia into Evrope. Arifides liked not this opinion . for we have (faid he) fought all this while against this barbarous F King, who thought but to playe with vs: But if we shut him within GREECE, and bring him to fight of necessitie to faue his life: such an enemie that commaundeth so great an armie, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease under his golden paullion, to see the pastime of the battell, but will proue euerie waye, and be him felfe in euery place at all affayes to take

him self from such a straight & daunger. Thus with politicke care & foresight, he maye easely

amend his former faulte committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he thall fee Ariffides his life and Kingdome both depend upon it. Therefore Themistocles, I would thinke not best to breake his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made: but rather if we could, to build

for the brea another to it, to drive him out of Evrore as fone as we could. Themistocles then replied: hing of xer- Seeing you thincke this were good to be done, we must all laye our heades together, to deuise how he mave be forced to come out affone as we could. They breaking of with this resolution Themistocles sent immediately one of the Kings enuches, called Arfaces, that was one of the gromes of his chaber, whom he found out amogest the prisoners, & by him he sent this mesfage vnto the King. That the GREECIANS having wone the battell of him by fea, had decreed B in their counsell, how they would goe to the straight of HELLESPONT, to breake the bridge of shippes he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him, for the goodwil he did beare him, and to the ende he might bethincke him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, and so passe backe againe into Asia as sone as he could whilest he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to staye following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderstading these newes, was so affrayed, that he hoysed away with all noth, ble speede. The further foresight and great wisdome of Themistocles, and Aristides, in marine causes, dyd manifestly appeare afterwards in the battell the GREECIANS fought before the cittle of PLATEA, against Mardonius, king Xerxes lieutenante: who having but a small power of the King his soueraines there, dyd yet put the GREECIANS to great distresse, and in hazard C to haue loft all. Of all the townes and citties that fought in this battell, Herodotus writeth, that the cittie of Æ GINA wanne the fame for valliantnes about the rest: & of private men, among

the GRECIANS, Themistocles was judged the worthiest man: although it was fore against their

willes, bicause they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being

gotten into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and having sworne vpon the altar of their facti-

fices, that they would geue their voyces after their consciences, to those they thought had

sembly of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victorie: when Themistocles was

once come into the showe place where these games were played, the people looked no more

on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the straungers which

they esteemed him. Whereat he him selfe tooke so great delite, that he confessed to his fami-

best deserved it: every one gave him selfe the first place for worthines, and the seconde vnto Themistocles Themistocles . The LACED & MONIANS caried him into Sparta, where they judged the honour and dignitie to their admirall Eurybiades: but the wisedome and pollicie they attributed to Themistocles. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunche, and the goodliest coche 0 Grecians. that was in their cittie: and moreouer they fent three hundred of their lufty youthes to accompany him, and conducte him out of their countrie. They fave, at the next feaftes and af-

knewe him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes dyd witneffe howe much

liar friends, he then dyd reape the fruite and benefit of his fundry and painefull services he had taken in hande, for the preservation of GREECE: so ambitious was he of nature, & couetous ambition no. of honour, as we maye easely perceyue by certen of his dedes and notable sayings they have E noted of him. For being choien admirall of ATHENS he neuer dispatched any causes private or publicke, howfoeuer they fell out, vntill the very daye of his departure, and taking thippe: and all bicause that men seeing him ryd much busines at once, and to speake with so many persones together, they should esteeme him to be the notabler man, & of the greater authoritie. Another time he walked upon the fandes by the fea fide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the fea had cast vp vpon the shore: and seing some of them that had on still their chaynes of golde, and bracelets, he passed by on his waye, but shewed them yet to his familiar friende that followed him, and fayed vnto him: take thou those, for thou art not Themistocles. And vnto one Antiphates, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boye. and at that time dyd fcornefully behaue him selfe vnto him, making no reckoning of him: and F now that he sawe him in authoritie came to see him, he sayed. O my young sonne, and friend: we are both even at one time(but to late) growen wife . He fayed the ATHENIANS dyd not

esteeme of him in time of peace : but when any storme of warres were towardes, and they floode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they ronne to the shadowe of a plane tree, vpon any fodaine raine: and after fayer weather come againe, they cut awaye then the braunches, and bowghes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, dyd cast him in the teethe, that it was not for his worthines, but for the noble cittie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne fuch glorie. Thou fayest true faved he: but neither should I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a S BRI-PHIAN, nor thou also if thou haddest bene an ATHENIAN. An other time one of the captaines of the cittie, having done good service vnto the common weale, made boalt before Themistocles, and compared his service equall with his . Themistocles to aunswer him, A prey rate B tolde him a prety tale. That the working daye brawled on a time with the holy daye, repining of The wiffagainst her, that he laboured for his living continually, and howe she dyd nothing but fill her

bellie, and spende that they had gotten. Thou hast reason sayed the holy daye. But if I had not benebefore thee, thou haddest not bene here nowe. And so, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene nowe? His owne sonne was a litle to sawsie with his mother, and with him also, bearing him felf ouer boldely of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupo being merely disposed, he would saye that his sonne could doe more then any ma in all GRECE. For, fayeth he, the ATHENIANS commaunde the GRECIANS, I commaunde Themistocles

the ATHENIANS, my wife commaundeth me, and my sonne commaundeth her. Moreouer faing of his bicause he would be singular by him selse aboue all other men having a pece of lande he fame. C would fell, he willed the crier to proclaime open fale of it in the market place, and with all he should adde vnto the sale, that his lande laye by a good neighbour, Another time, two men being suters to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, saying : he had rather haue to his sonne in lawe a man that lacked goodes, then goodes to lacke a man. These were Themistocles pleasaunt conceites and aunswers . But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he tooke in hande to buylde againe the cittie and walles of ATHENS, and dyd corrupt the officers of LACED & MONIA with money, to the end. Themittedes they should not hinder his purpose, as Theopompus writeth. Or as all other saye when he buyt against had deceyued them by this subtilitie, he went vnto SPARTA as ambassadour, sent thither of the raile of purpose vpon the complaintes of the LACED EMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS, Athens, D dyd inclose their cittie againe with walles, who were accused vnto the counsaill of Sparta,

by an orator called Poliarchus, who was fent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. Themistocles stowtely denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderstanding of the trothe, they would fende some of their men thither to fee it. This was but a fetche only to winne by this delaye, the ATHENIANS A fubile fo muche more time to rayse vp their walles, and that the ATHENIANS should keepe fetche of as oftages for fuertie of his persone, those they should send to ATHENS, to bring backe the reporte thereof: and so it fell out. For the LACEDEMONIAN s being informed of the trothe as it was, dyd him no hurte, but diffembling the misliking they had to be thus abufed by him, fent him awaye fafe and founde. Afterwardes he made them also mende and for-E tifie the hauen of PIREA, hauing confidered the fituation of the place, and all to incline The hauen of

the cittie to the sea. Wherein he dyd directly contrary to all the counsell of the auncient Pressont kings of A THENS: who feeking (as they faye) to withdrawe their people from the fea, and fed. to accustomethem to live vpon the lande, by planting, sowing, and plowing their groundes, dyd deuise and geue out abroade, the fable they tell of the goddesse Pallas. And that is this, how the contending with Neptune about the patronage of the country of ATHENS, brought forth and shewed to the judges the olyue tree, by meanes whereof the preuayled, and obteined the preheminence. Euen so Themistocles dyd not joyne the hauen of PIREA, vnto the cittle of ATHENS, as the comicall poet Aristophanes fayeth: but rather loyned the cittle vnto the hauen PIREA, and the lande vnto the sea. By this meanes he made the people

F strong against the nobilitie, and brought the communaltie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of saylers, mariners, pilottes, shippemasters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the pulpet where all the oracles were

goddes, Loue and

goddeffes.

Force.

made, stoode in the market place of PNYx, and dyd looke towardes the sea. But the thirtie A tyrannes that came in afterwardes, dyd remoue it, and turne it towardes the lande: holding opinion to be strong by fea, was it that dyd mainteine the authoritie of the popular state. And that contrariwise they which line by the labour and toyle of the earthe, doe more willingly like the gouernment of Nobilitie. Themistocles called to minde another matter also of greater importance, to make the cittle of ATHENS of a greater power by ica. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GR ECIANS wintered in the hauen of P A G A S E s: he fayed one daye in an open affembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them.

but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to imparte it to Aristides: and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedely. Themistocles then tolde Ari- B flides: the thing he had confidered of, was to burne the Arcenal where the GRECIANS nauy laye, and to fet on fire all their shippes. Aristides hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and tolde them: howe nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniust, then that which Themistocles had deuised. The ATHENIANS then willed Aristides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACED & MONIANS had exhibited their petition to the counsell of the Amphictyons (that is the generall counsaill of all the

states of GRECE affembled) howe the townes and citties of GRECE which had not bene

parties with the GRECIANS to the league, against the barbarous people, should be put of

wholy from this counfaill. Themistocles dowting of the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS, and the THEBANS also should by this meanes be exempted, that the LACED EMONIANS C would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might doe what they would in this counsell: he spake so consideratly for the citties which they would have thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly vtterly to chaunge their opinion. Declaring, howe there were but one and thirtie citties comprised only the league, and yet that some of them were very weake and small: and howe it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of GRECE, the greatest authoritie of this counsaill should fall into the handes of two or three of the chiefest citties alone. For this cause chiefly the LACED EMONIANS dyd euer beare him extreme hatred, and dyd fet vp Cimon all they could, to be allwayes aduerfary opposite vnto him, and as it were to bearde him in all matters of state, and the go-

uernment of ATHENS. They procured him besides, the ill will and displeasure of all the D friendes and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went fayling still to and fro alongest the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be knowen by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would have had money) and by the aunswer they made him, as Herodotus writeth. Which was, howehe had Themistocles brought them two mightie goddes: Loue, and Force. And they aunswered him againe, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from gening of him any money: Pouertie, and Impossibilitie. And to make this good also: Timoereon the Rhodian poet galled him to The Andrias the quicke, when he tharpely taunted him, for calling many home agains for money that were banished: and howe for couetousnes of money he had betrayed, and forfaken, his hoste

and friende. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effecte. Who list commend wworthy Paufanias, Xanthippus or good Leotychides, yet shall I seeme but light thereof to passe, compared with valliant Aristides. For yet was naye the like in Athens towne. nor neuer shall come none of like renouve. Themistocles by right and due deserte, is hated of Latona, for his lyes, and for he bare a traitrous vvicked harte, vuho like a vuretche & nigard did denife. for small revvardes his host Timocreon so holde out of his countrie Ialison.

He tooke for bribe (uniustly yet therewuhile) of redy corne three talents fayre and bright, renoking such as pleased him from exile and banishing full many a worthy weight. Or putting them to death without cause tolde. he date thereby great heapes of come and golde. But in the ende (ô right rewvarde for (uch) this bribing vuretch, was forced for to holde, a tipling bounthe most like a clouvne or famohe, at holy feastes and pastimes manifold, wwhich wwere amongest the people in those dayes Istmiciane folke, dyd vse the like alluvayes. And there he ferued his gests with cold meat still, pubilest they that tasted of his cookerie. gan wishe that they (to ease their weary will) had never lived to fee the treccherie. of falle Themistocles, and that he might

no longer line, which wwrought them such despight. After this, he dyd more openly blase him to the worlde, when he was banished and condemned: in a fongethat had beginning thus. O Mufe let thefe my verfes be differft,

throughout all Grace since they deserve no lesse: and lince the truthe which is in them rehearst, deserveth same, whom no man should suppresse. They fave the cause was, why this Timocreon was banished: the friendshippe which he had

with the Barbarous people, and for gening them intelligence. Whereof Themistocles was one that judicially condemned him . Wherefore when Themistocles him selfe was accused afterwards of the same faulte, Timocreon then made these verses following against him. Timocreon was not without his pheere,

which did conferre with Medes prinely, Since others mo the felfe same blame might beare, mo foxes lurke in dennes as vvell as 1. Belides these verses, Themistocles owne cittizens for the ill will they bare him, were conten-

D:

F

He

ted to heare him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought wayes, to redresse all this: he was driuen to yse such meane, which more increased their hatred toward him . For in his orations to the people, he dyd ofte remember them of the good feruice he had done them and perceyuing howe they were offended withall, he was driven to faye. Why, are ye weary to ofte to receyue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he furnamed Diana (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) Aristobule, as much to fave, as the good counfeller: meaning thereby, howe he had geuen graue and wife counfell, both vitto E his cittie, and to all the rest of the GRECIANS. He built this temple also neere his house, in a

place called Melita, where the hangemen doe cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throwe the ragges and halters endes of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by lawe. There was also in our dayes in the temple of Diana Aristobule, a litle image of Themistocles, which shewed plainely, that he was not only wife, and of a noble minde, but also of a great maiestie and countenaunce in face. In the ende, the ATHENIANS banished him A-THEN'S for five yeres, bicause they would plucke downe his overgreat corage and authoritie, Themistackes as they dyd vie to ferue those, whose greatnes they thought to be more, then common equa- banished for litie that ought to be among cittizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, fine year. called Ostracifmon, was no punishment for any faulte committed, but a mitigation and taking

F away of the enuie of the people, which delited to plucke downe their stomaks that to much feemed to exceede ingreatnes: and by this meanes they tooke awaye the poyfon of his malice, with diminishing his glorie and honour . So Themistocles being banished ATHENS, went to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane season, Paulanias treechery fell out, which gaue his enemies

occasion to lye heavie on his backe. But he which became his accuser, & was partener of the

treason, was one called Leobotes (Alemeons sonne) borne in a village called AGRAVLA. Besides

this, the Spartans also dyd fit on his skirtes, & charged him forely. For Paulanias never be-

fore reuealed to Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familliar

friende. But after he sawe Themistocles was banished, and dyd take his exile very unpaciently:

then Paulanias was bolde to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his parte, and

shewed him the letters the king of Persia had written to him, and all to sturre him yo against

treafon vnto Themisfacles, the GRECIANS, as against vingratefull and vinatural people. Howbeit Themisfocles shooke

S. petted of

Ile of Corphu.

him of, and tolde him plainely he would be no partener of his treason. Notwithstanding, he neuer reuealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practife he intended: hoping ei- B ther he would have geven it over, or that thortely it would appeare by fome other meane. considering he so fondly aspired to things of great daunger, and without purpose or possibilite. After Paulanias was condemned, and had suffered paynes of death for the same : they found amongest his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made Themistocles to be very fore suspected. Whereupon the LACED & MONTANS on the one side cried out of him: and his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accused him on th'other side. To the which he made aunfwer by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he (who fought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to ferue, neither had any minde thereto) would euer haue thought in his heade, to fell his owne libertie, and the GRECIANS also vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the C procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehende him, and to bring him before the states of all GRECE, to be judged by that counfaill, Whereof Themistocles having intelligence in time, he Themistocles dyd conucy him selfe into the Ile of Corphy, bicause the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certen pleasure in time paste he had done them. For they being at sute and strife with the CORTNEHIANS, he tooke up the matter betweene them, and gaue judgement on their fide, & condemned the CORINTHIANS to paye them twety talents damages: and did fet downe an order, that they should occupie the He of Levende in comon together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aswell of the one cittie, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epirus, whether being followed by the ATHENIANS, & the LACEDEMONIANS, he was compelled to venter him felfe vpon a doubtfull and very daungerous hope. For he went D to yelde him selfe into the hands of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Who having heretofore made certen requeltes vnto the ATHENIANS, and being shamefully denied them by meanes of Themistocles (who then was at his chiefest height and authoritie) the King was maruelously offended with him: and it was a clere case in deede, that if he could then have layed handes on him, he would have bene reuenged of him throughly. How beit feeling the prefent milerie of of his exile, he thought he might lesse search Kings olde quarrell and displeasure. then the freshe hate & enuie of his contriemen. Whereupon he went vnto king Admetus, trusting to his mercie, and became an humble futer to him in a straunge extraordinarie forte. For he tooke the Kings litle young fonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suinge the Molossians take to be most effe- E ctuall, and fuch as they dare not denie, nor refuse. Some saye that Queene Phthia her selfe, the Kings wife, dydenforme him of this their country cultome and manner, & brought her litle sonne also neere vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was Admetus him selfe that taught & shewed him this inforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse him felse to those that should come to demaunde Themistocles of him: that by duetie of religion he was so straightly bounde & restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this meane time, Epicrates Acharnian founde the meanes secretly to conuey Themistocles wife and children out of ATHENS, & dyd fend them privelie vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, & put to death, vpon Cimons accusation & motion, as Stefimbrotus writeth. Who not remembring those matters I knowe not howe, or making as though Themistocles had not re- F membred him selfe, doth saye, that Themistocles sayled into Sicile, where he sought to mary Hierons daughter, the tyranne of Syracvsa: promising him if he would let him have her, he

At wanted affire him to conquer all GRECE for him, and to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went from thence into Asia: but that is not likely, For Theophralius writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that Hieron having fent certain running hories to the feast of games Olympicall, & having set vp a maruelous riche and sumprious tent there: Themistocles made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrannes tente in peces, and not to suffer his horses to ronne with other freifte and light horfes, and to cary away the price in those holy games. Thueydides againe declareth howe he went vnto the other fea, and imbarked in the cittle of PyDNE being knowen of neuer a man in the shippe, vntill such time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce dyd besiege at that time, where being afeard to be fet on lande, he was forced to bewraye him felf to the master of the shippe, & the masters mate, and wrought them, what with fayer wordes and what with threates (by faying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they dyd not ignorantly receive him in, but hiered for money) so as he compelled them to fayle on further, and to cary him into Asia. As for his goodes, his friendes faued the most parte of them, and sent them into A siA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state: Theopompus writeth, they dyd amounte to the value of one hundred talents . And Theophrastus fayeth, but to foure score talents only. So that all his goodes was not worth three talents, when he beganne to gouerne the state of the common weale, when he came vnto the cittle of C v MA, he perceyued that all the coastes by sea were layed for him to apprehende him, and that he had many spyalls C vpon him: among the which, these were two special noted men, Ergoteles, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that fought their gayne any waye they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaymed by found of trupet, two hundred talets to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of AoLIA, called AGEs, where no liuing bodie knewe him, but his host only, called Nicogenes: who was the richest man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knewe all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. Themistocles continued hidden certen dayes in his house : in which time, on a night after the feast of a facrifice, one Olbius, schoolemaster to Nicogenes children, by some secret working of

> Doe thou beleeue, what fo the night the tells and genethy voyce thy counsell and conceipts Vnto the night in darck somnes that duvells. thereon also thy victorie avvaits.

the goddes, sodainely fell besides him selfe, and beganne to singe these verses out alowde.

Thenext night following, Themistocles being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake Themistocles wounde it selfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwardes to his necke, vntill it touched dreame, his face, and fodginely then it became an eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and fo at length dyd lifte him vp into the ayer, and caried him a maruelous waye of, vntill he thought he fawe a golden rodde (fuche as Herauldes vse to carie in their handes) whereupon the eagle dyd let him, and so was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him selfe in. The trothe was, Nicogenes had this deuise in his heade, howe he might bring him fafe to E the king of PERSIAES courte. The Barbarous nations for the most parte (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a very straunge nature, and maruelous lealous ouer their women, and The Persians that not onely of their wives, but also of their bonde women, and concubines: which they it their wives. keepe fo straightly locked up, that no man euer seeth them abroade at any time, but are allwayes like housedones kept within doores. And when they have any occasion to goe into the country, they are caried in close coches couered all about that no man can looke into them. Themistocles was conveyed into one of these coches drest after this manner, and had warned Home Themihis men to aunswer those they met by the waye, that asked whom they caried: howe it was a focies was young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrie of Ion 1 A, which they carried to the courte for the king of a noble man there. Thueydides, and Charon Lampfacenian fave, he went thither after the Persta

F death of Xerxes, and spake with his sonne there. But Ephorus, Dino, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and many other write, that he spake with him selfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thucydides wordes doe best agree with the chronicles & tables, recording the succession of times,

(as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: dyd first present him selfe vnto one Artes

banus, Colonell of a thousand footemen, and sayed vnto him. Syr, I am a Garosan borne, and

defire to speake with the King: I have matters of importance to open to his maiestic, and such

as I knowe he will thanckefully receyue, Artabanus aunswered him in this manner, My friend

fyr straumger, the lawes and customes of men are divers, and some take one thing for honest,

others some another thing; but it is most honesty for all men, to keepe and observe the lawes

A It is reported also he did facrifice vnto the goddes, to gene them thankes therefore, and drings fed him felfe prefently to be mery, Infomuch as dreaming in the night, in the midded of this dreame he cried our three times rogether for loye I draue Themitocles the Ashanian The Deskin

morning the King having fent for the chiefest lordes of his courte, he made Themittegles allo to be brought before him: who looked for no goodines at all specially when he sawe the fouldiers warding at the courte gates, geue him ill countenaunce and language both, when they, behelde him, and vnderstoode his name. Moreoner, Roxanes, one of the captaines, as Thereillo eles passed by him going to the King (who was set in his chayer of state, and enery man, keeping) filence) fortely fighing, fayed vinto him. O thou Greekishe serpent, subtill and malicrous: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hether. Neuertheles when he came to the Kings & had B' once againe made him a very humble and lowe reuerence: the King faluted him, & spake very;

curteoully to him, laying. I am nowe your detter of two hundred talents, for presenting your

felf. It is good reason I should deliuer you the money promised him that should have brought you:but I geue you a further warrante, be bolde I charge you, & speake your minde freely, sayo

other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and layed open.

Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut vp,& close solded whereupon

he fayed to the King, he must nedes require some further time of aunswer. The King liked his

comparison passingly well, & willed him to appointe his owne time. Themistocles asked a yere:

felfe without any interpreter. So, suche as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the

King of matters of GRECE. But bicaufe the chaunge & alteration of the courte fellout great,

at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene to bolde to comon with the King of them,

C in which time having pretily learned the Perlian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King him.

The Perfuns honour their

and manners of their owne countrie. For you GRECIANS have the name to love libertie, and equalitie aboue all things: & for vs. amongest all the goodly lawes and customes we have we effeeme this about the rest: to reverence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt facion ? king at the thy selfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both see him, and speake with image of the self in the should be self the self that t

persone for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King neuer geneth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him, Themistocles hearing what he faved aunfwered him againe. My lord Artabanus, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the defire I have to advaunce his glorie and power, is the only cause of my present repaire vnto his courte : therefore I meane not only to obey your lawes (fince it hath fo pleased the goddes to rayle up the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatnes) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there doe at this present. Therefore let there be no staye, but that my felfe in persone maye deliuer to the King that I have to saye ynto C him. Well, fayed Artabanus: whom then shall we faye thou arte? For by thy speache it feemeth, thou art a man of no meane state and condition. Themistocles aunswered him: as for that Artabanus, none shall knowe before the King him selfe. Thus doth Phanias reporte it. But Eratosthenes, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: howe Themistocles had accesse vnto this Artabanus, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA Themistocles whom the King kept . Themistocles being brought to his presence, after he had presented his talk with the humble duety and reuerence to him, stoode on his feete, and sayed neuera worde, vntill the sayed. King commassed the interpreter to aske him what he was and he aunswered. May e it please. King commanded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunswered. Maye it please your maiestie, ô noble King: I am Themistocles the Athenian, a banished man out of my country by the Grecians, who humbly repayreth to your highnes, knowing I have done great D hurt to the PERSIANS, but I persuade myself I have done them farre more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS backe they dyd not follow you, whe the state of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, and my natiue country from daunger, and that I knew I stoode then in good state to pleasure you. Nowe for me, I finde all mens good willes agreable, to my present misery and calamitie: for I come determined, most humbly to thanke your highnes, for any grace and fauour you shall shewe me, & also to craue humble pardone, if your majesty be yet offended with me. And therfore licence me (most noble King) to beseche you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witnesses of the pleasures I have done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vse my harde fortune, as a good occasion to shewe your honorable vertue, rather then to fatisfie the paffion of your heate and choller. For in fauing E my life, your maiestie saueth an humble suter that put him selfeto your mercie: and in putting me to death, you shall ryd away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Hauing spoken thus these words, he fayed further. That the goddes, by divers fignes and tokens had procured him, to come to fubmit him selfe vnto him, and tolde the King what vision he had seene in his dreame in Nicogenes house: and declared also the oracle of Iupiter Dodonian, who had commaunded him that he should goe vnto him that was called as a god, and howe he thought it was the perfone of his maiestie, bicause that god and he in trothe were called both great Kings. The King having thus heard him speake, gave him then no present aunswer againe, notwithstanding he maruelously wondred at his great wisedome and boldenes. But afterwardes amongest his familliars the King fayed, he thought him felfe very happy to mete with the good fortune of F Themistocles comming to him: and so befought his great god Arimanius, that he would allwayes fend his enemies fuch mindes, as to banishe the greatest, & wifest men amongest them.

alfo. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, & afterwardes murmured much against him, For in deede the king dyd honour Themistoeles aboue all other straugers whatsoeuer they were, On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him fee his mother, with whom he Themistocke a time the king had him out a nunting with min, it made him tell is made the disputations of honoured of grewe familliar; and by the kings owne commandement he was to heare the disputations of the king of the wife men of PERSIA touching fecret philosophie, which they call magike. Demaratus the Persia LACEDEMONIAN being at that time in the courte of PERSIA, the king willing him to aske D what gifte he would. He belought the king to grafit him this fauour: to licece him to goe vp. Demoratur &down the cittle of SARDIS, with his royall hat on his head, as the kings of PERSIA doc, Mis fond demade thropsustes, the kings cofin , taking him by the had, sayed vnto him. Demaratus , the kings hatte of the King.

thou demaundest, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though 14piter dyd geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee Impiter. But the king gaue him fo sharpe a repulse for his vnreasonable request, & was so angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgeuen him: howbeit Themistocles was so earnest a suter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings successours which haue bene since that time, winder whom the Persians haue had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great E state or personage of GRECE into their service, they wrote vnto him, and promised him they

would make him greater about them, then cuer was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept vp to great countenaunce and authoritie, & followed with great traines of futers after him by reason of his greatnes: seing him self one daye very honorably ferued at his table, & with all fortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his childre, & fayed vnto them. My fonnes, we should have benevndone, if we had not bene vindone. The most writers doe agree, that he had given him the revenue of 3. citties for his al- Themisticales lowance of bread, wine & vittailes: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, & MYVNTA. But Neather had the rene-10wance of Dread, wine & Vittalies to Wit, Wind NESTA, LAMPS ACT 3, & PALES CEPSTA: the one to cities more, PERCOTA, & Phanias, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & Phanias, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & Phanias, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & Phanias, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & Phanias, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & PALES CEPSTA: the one to defraye his charges of apparell, & the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themistocles going into him for his

F the lowe countries towards the fea, to take order against the practises of the GRECIAN sithere dec. Was a Persian lord called Epixies (gouernour of highe Phry GIA) that had layed atraineto

kill him (hauing of long time hiered certaine murderers of P151D1A to doe it) fo some as he

what you thinke of the state of GRECE. Themistocles then aunswered him. That mens wordes in excellent did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one & in the comparison of

140 should come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he slept on a daye A Themistocles in his house in the after none, the mother of the goddes appeared vnto him, and layed, The-

a fraged man mistocles, goe not to the Lyons heade, for feare thou mete with the Lyon and for this warning, I doe aske thy daughter Anesiptolema for my servante. Themistocles waking sodainely out of his dreams made his most sold for this warout of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddeffe, and turning out of the highe waye, fetched another compasse about. Afterwardes hauing passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beaftes which carried his tente, fell by the waye, vnfortunatly in a river, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his servaunts were driven to laye them out a drying by moone light. The Pssidians that laye in wayte, and could not discerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to dive, thought it had bene the very tente Themistocles felfe dyd lye in : whereupon they went vnto it with their fwordes A drawen in their handes, hoping to haue taken him fleeping. But when they were come thither, and beganne to lifte vp a pece of the hangings: some of the people of Themistocles (which kept watche) perceyuing them, ranne vpon them, and tooke them. So Themistocles having escaped this daunger, wondred greately at the sauour of the goddesse which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the cittie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto Dindymena, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema prioresse of the same, As he passed by the cittle of SARD IS for his recreation, he went to visite the temples, and offerings that had bene geuen there. So he fawe an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the goddes, being two yeardes highe, which they called the Hydrophora: as much to saye, as the water carier. And it was a statue, which him selfe had heretofore dedica- C ted, and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had payed for feytures, for stealing or turning awaye the water course at ATHENS, at such time as he was master surveyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether Themistocles was fory to fee this goodly image a prisoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would showe vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions; he spake to the gouernour of Lydia, & prayed him for his sake that he would fend this image againe to ATHENS. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his request, and tolde him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then Themistocles beganne to be afeard, & was driuen to feeke to the gouernours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreate him, and so made fayre weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he tooke D better garde of him felfe in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuy of the Barbarous people. For he progressed not up and downe A s I A, as Theopompus writeth, but lave a long time in the cittle of MAGNESIA, quietly enjoying the Kings gratious giftes bestowed on him: where he was honoured & reuerenced for one of the greatest persones of PERSIA, whilest the King was els where occupied in the affayres of the highe prouinces of Asia, and had no leyfure to

to leavy men, to affemble captaines, & to dispatche postes vnto Themistocles at MAGNESIA. with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he should faithfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shewe that he neither maliced his cittizens, nor was moued with the defire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growen vnto in those warres, or els for that he thought the Kings ex-

pectation would proue to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, confidering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that Cimon amongest the rest had maruelous good fortune, and that it should be a reproche to him to stayne the glorie of fo many noble actes, fo many triumphes, and fo great victories as Cimon had done and wonne: he tooke a wife resolution with him selfe, to make suche an ende of his life, as the F fame thereof deserved. For he made a solemne sacrifice vnto the goddes, and feasted at the fame all his friends. And, after he had taken his leaue of them all, he drancke bulles bloude,

thincke vpon those of GRECE. But when newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled,

by meanes of the fauour & affiftance of the ATHENIANS, & that the GRECIANS gallyes dyd

scowre the seas even vnto the Ile of Cyprvs, & vnto the coastes of Cilicia, & that Cimon

had all the fea in subjection: that made him then to bende all his thoughts howe to resist the GRECIANS, that their greatnes might not turne to his hurte. Then commissions went out E as most men thincke (or as other saye) poy for i, which dispatches a man in source and twenty howers, and so ended his dayes in the cittle of Magnes 1 %, after he had lived threescore and fine yeres, and the most parte of them allwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the king of PERSIA vnderstanding the cause and manner of his deathe, dyd more esteeme him afterwards, then he dyd before, and that euer after he continued to vie his friends and familliars in very good forte. For he left children behinde him, which he had of Archippa (Ly-Themistacles funders daughter) of the towne of ALOPROIA: Archeptolis, Polyeuttus, and Cleophantus, of children. whom Plate the philosopher maketh metion, faying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwise that there was no goodnes in him. His other sonnes that were elder, as Neocles, dved

being bitten with a horse : and as for Diocles another sonne, his grandfather Lifander dyd a-B dopt him for his sonne . He had many daughters , of the which Anespetalema (which he had by a seconde wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother Artheptolis, for they were not both of one venter. An other called Italia, was maried vnto one Panthial of C HI O. Sybaris, vnto Nicomedes an ATHENIAN. And Nicomacha, vnto Pharlicles, Themistocles nephue: vnto whom her brethern dyd mary her within the cittie of M A G MESTA, after the death of their father. This Pharsicles dyd bring up Asia, which was the youngest of all Thimstocker his daughters. Furthermore, his sumptuous tumbe standeth yet in the market place of sambe and MAGNESIA. But that Andocides writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is

dvd cast them vp into the aver, as a denise to sturre vp the noble men against the people. And

not tell what Neocles, and Demopolis, for Themistocles sonnes, to moue the readers with com-

paffion. Howbeit no man is fo simple, but will judge it straight a very fayning and deuise. Dio-

down the cosmographer also, in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments sayeth by

consecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alonget the hauen of PIROBA, coming

towardes the head of Alcimus, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which

when they have doubled the pointe, the fea is allwayes calme, and there they finde a great and

C. Phylarchus in his historie (much like vnto the fayned subtilities of a tragedie) bringeth in I can

not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS having founde the ashes of his bones,

long foundation or bale, upon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (fayeth he) Themistocles tumbe. And he supposeth that Plato the comicall poet doth witnesse irin thefeveries. Administration of an appropriate and and to Thy grave is fet and plast comodiously. D where passengers and marchants that come by maye visite thee and where it maye regarde, all fuch as feeke that porte to be their vvarde. Somtimes alfo it maye reloyce to fee, the bloudy fights upon the feathat be.

· James

of Ammonius the philosopher.

a Maria Continue

And furthermore, those of MAGNESIA dyd institute certen honours vnto the iffue of The to Themisto mistocles, which continew yet vnto this daye. And in my time, another Themistocles also of A- clei after his THEN'S dydenioy the fame honours, with whom I was familliarly conversante in the house

Attended to the

The ende of Themistocles life.

the later of the Archer

THE LIFE OF

Furius Camillus.



MONGEST many great matters which are spoken of this Fr. A rius Camillus, this seemeth most straunge and wonderfull aboue the rest. That he having borne the chiefest offices of charge in his couna trie and having done many notable and worthy deedes in the fame:as one that was chosen fine times Dictator, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne him felfe the name & title of the feconde founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Conful. But the only cause thereof was, that the common weale of Rome stoode then in such flate and forte. The people were then at differition with the Senate.

They would chuse no more Consuls, but other kynde of gouernours whom they called Tribuni militares: these dyd all things with like power & authoritie as the Consuls, yet were they B nothing so odious vnto the people, by reason of the number that was of them. For it was some hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the small number of nobilitie, that the gouernment of the state being put into fixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eafier, and tollerabler. Nowe Camillus being at that time in his best credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, dyd not defire to be made Conful without the goodwill of the people, although whilest he was in authoritie, there were many times Confuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and chosen. He behaued him felfe in such forte, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie comon to other: and when he had companions & affociates, the glorie of all redounded to him felf alone. The cause whereof, was his modestie on the one side, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great C wifedome and wifedome and fufficiencie on the other fide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yelded to him. The house of the Furians being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that beganne to set him self forwards. For in a great battell which was fought against the Æques and Volsces, he being but a private man at armes vnder the Dictator Posthumius Tubertus, was the first that riding out of the army, aduaunced him selfe, and gaue the charge. And being ronne into the thighe at that time with a staffe broken vpon his thighe, he plucked the trunchen out, and retired not for all that: but geuing chardge againe vpon the stowtest of the enemies, he fought it out so valliantly to the encoraging of other, that he was the chief cause they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his feruice done at that time (befides other

lus neuer Conful. edious to the

Camillas

CAMILLVS. A honours they dyd him) they made him Cenfor an office at that time of great preheminence & dignitie. In his office of Cenforthippe, he dyd two notable acts. The one very honest: when Camillus acts he brought men that were not maried, to marie the women whom the warres had left widows, his cenforwhich were in nuber many. To this he got them partly by perfuafion, & partly by threatnings, to fet roud fines vpo their heads that refused. The other very necessary in that he brought the orphanes to be cotributories, vnto taxes, & fublidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale susteined great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the VEIANS (which some call VENETIANIANS!) The sinie of that was a very foreburden to the at that time. For it was the capitall cittle of all THYSCAN, the Veies befiewhich for store of armour, & nuber of souldiers, was nothing inferiour vnto the cittle of Rome, ged. B For the VEIANS being growe to stomake & corage in time, by reason of their wealth & profperitie, & for the fundry great battells they had fought against the ROMAINES, that conteded with them for glory and empire: now it fell so out, that they finding them selues weakened by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receyued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacokes brauery, & ambition, to byd them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittle of V BIBS having raifed the walles, & made very great high rapers.beganne to fortifie them felues, & made good prouision for armour & munition, besides store of corne, shotte, & other necessary things: they valliantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the fiege of the ROMAINES, that cotinued long time, & was no leffe hard & painefull vnto the that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where the ROMAINE SWETE WOT before time to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the sommer times that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and Tribuni militares, to buylde fortes, and to intrenche their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countrie, and to winter abroade as they were wont to lye in the campe in sommer. Nowe this siege had continued fe- The fiege co-

uen whole yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they dyd not their dueties, nor tinned seven floode manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other cap-iber. taines placed in their roomes to followe the fiege. Among those, Camillus was one, whom

then the seconde time they created Tribunus militaris. Who notwithstanding dyd nothing Camillus then in that fiege, bicause it was his happe by lot, to make warres vpon the PHALERIANS, and mile those the CAPENATES. These people whilest the ROMAINES were occupied other where, had the foulding. D inuaded their countrie, and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the

rest in chase, and draue them to take their cittie, and dyd shut them vp within their owne

walles. The chaunce that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCAN The wonderwarres were greatest, dyd maruelously amate the Romaines, being no lesse wounderfull, then full outsides. the most straunge and vncrediblest thing that could be tolde by man. For they could not finde, lake Albanus, out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall grounde: considering it was in the later end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much rayne, nor notable fowthewinds. And although there are many lakes, many brooks & riuers, many fprings, and other waters in I TALIE: yet some of them dried up altogether, other ranne but faintely by reason of the drought, and all the rivers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in fommer) very lowe, and there was scante any water. But the lake ALBANV s contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whether out of him felfe, being enuironned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earthe is good: beganne to swell, and rife to every mans fight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden vinto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, vntill suche time as it came to be even with the height of the highest mountaine, gathering vowardes still without any waves or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore shepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their eattell thereaboutes, maruelously affrayed. But at the lengthe when the earthe and weight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle, F from running ouer into the felde) beganne to breake by reason of the waight, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a maruelous extreme force and violence ouer

all the arrable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the

THYSCANS. But Camillus having overthrowen a great number of them in the fielde, had the

ding to his good hope, he gaue an affaulte to the walles in all places alike about the cittie at

one instante, to bring out all the inhabitants of the cittie to man the walles. Whilest they were

fea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wounderfully A affrayed, and judged that it was fome figne and prognostication of some wounderfull thing in come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which lave at fiege of the citie of V B I E s:infomuch as the very brute of it flewe ouer the walles of the cittie, vnto them that were befieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long fieges, that those which lye in campe doe oftentimes talke with them that are befieged: there was a Romaine who fell acquainted and commonly vsed to talke familiarly with one of the cittie, who could tell of many olde & straunge things done and happened, and was very skillfull about any other in the cittie, in the arte of diuination or footheraying. The Romaine then tolde him one daye the violent brea-

gaue good eare vnto him hoping to have heard fome great fecret, So the Romaine training

him on still from one matter to another, holding on his waye, vntill he sawe he was a good

distance of from the gates of the cittie, he sodainely cought holde on him, and by strong hand

caried him awaye with him, and with helpe of other fouldiers which came ronning out of the

vsed, and knowing also that fatall desteny cannot be anoyded, beganne to declare vnto the Ro-

MAINES, the auncient oracles and prophecies touching the fortune of their cittie: by which

it was reported vnto them, that the cittie of VEIES should neuer be taken, vntill the enemie

had caused the water of the lake ALBANYS (which should breake out) to be brought backe

campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The V BIAN feeing him felf thus forciblie

king out of the lake ALBANYS, and perceyuing that the other after he had heard him, was as mery as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their fiege: he tolde him further, that this a The refie of wounderfull chaunce was not only happened vnto the Romaines at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very

willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but harde fuccesse, yet he would procure that his owne private matters might prosper well with him. The V BIAN aunswered him, he would heare them with a goodwill. &

againe, and to turne it some other wave from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was carried vnto the Senate at Rome, to be consulted of in counsail: and there it was determined they should fend to the oracle of Apollo, at the cittle of Deiphes, and aske him what they should doe therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Politus, and Fabius Ambustus: who having ended their iorney by sea, and received aunswer of that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongest other oracles they brought one that fayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted some auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could keepe the water of the lake ALBANY s that it fell not into the fea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be droncke vp in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were understanded, the priests prepared all things for divine service, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres against the VEIANS, put of all those which Comillus cho- dyd beare office, and created Camillus Dictator, who named for generall of the horse men, Corfor Different nelius Scipio. And before he went in hande with any thing, he made a vowe vnto the goddes, E that if it pleased them to graunte a happy ende of these warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and buyld a temple vnto the goddeffe which the Romaines call Ma tuta: which seemeth to be her whom we call Leucothea, considering the ceremonies done in Manue. these sacrifices. For they cause a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, & there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and doe embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto those that are done vnto Bacchia nurces, and to the missortunes that chaunced vnto Ino, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred

with his army into the Falissians territories, whom he ouerthrewe in a great battell, toge-

of the cittle of V E 125, where perceyuing to take it by affaulte, was not to be wonne without

ther with the CAPENATES also, which came to ayde them. From thence he went to the siege F

within the castell, harde by the temple of Iuno: which was the chiefe Churche of all the cittie, by mining. and whereunto the cittizens had most deuotion. They saye that euen at that present time the generall of the Thyscans dyd facrifice vnto the goddes, & that his foothefaver having considered the intrells of the beastes offered up in sacrifice, cried out alowde, that the goddes game the victorie vnto him, which should happen to come vpon them in this sacrifice. The Ro-MAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaved B out, crying, and making noyfe with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were fo aftonied. that they fled vpon it, and so the Romaines tooke the intrells, and caried them vnto Camillus. And these be even much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit Camillus having by this meanes taken the cittie, and feeing from the toppe of the castell the infinite goodes & riches within the cittie, which the fouldiers spoyled & made hauoke of he wept for very pittie. And when those that were about him tolde him he was a happy man: he lift vp his handes vnto heauen, and made this prayer. O mightie god Iupiter, and you o goddes, which fee and judge camillus mens good and ill worckes: you knowe right well, that we have not willingly (without wrong you as the view mustas

will (with as litle hurte as maye be) let it all fall and light vpon my persone alone. And as he

the whole cittie being spoyled and rifled, he was also desirous to carie Iunos image to Rome. to

accomplishe the vowe he had made. And having sent for worckemen for this purpose, he dyd

that the would willingly vowchesafe to come and dwell with the other goddes, who had the

protection of the cittle of Rome. Some faye, that the image aunswered, the was contenred.

But Liuius writeth that Camillus made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the affi-

stants aunswered she was contented, and would goe with a goodwill. Yet they which doe af-

firme, it was the image selfe that spake, doe fauour this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon

the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from so base and meane beginning had im-

neth fortimes after vanitie and superstition, and otherwhile also dispiseth and contemneth

holy and divine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, & not to goe to farre in this,

as in all other things belides, it is the best. Nowe Camillus, whether his late enterprise perfor-

med, in winning a cittle that stoode out with Rome, & helde siege with them tenne yeres to-

people, which dyd bleffe and prayfe him, had made him looke highe, and prefume vpon him

felfe, more then became the modestie of a civill magistrate, and governour of the common

F gether, had put him into an ouerwening or conceipt of him felfe: or that the wordes of the

D facrifice first vnto the goddesse, beseching her to accept well of the ROMAINES good will, &

and cause offered vs) begonne this warre, but instly, and by compulsion, to be reuenged of a kin. cittie our enemie, which hath done vs great injuries. But if to conteruavle this our great good

C. prosperitie, and victorie, some bitter aduersitie and ouerthrowe be predestined vntovs: I befeeche you then (most mercifull goddes) in sparing our cittie of Rome, and this her army, you

had spoken these wordes, and was turning on his right hande (according to the manner of the Romaines after they have prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requested of the goddes was happened vnto him. And that was, a litle hurte, in exchaunge of a great good fortune. So

possibly attained vnto so highe glorie and power as it had, without the singular fauour of the goddes, and that hath manifestly appeared vnto the world, by fundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images have heretofore let fall Fagned were E droppes of swet from them : that they have bene heard to sighe: that they have turned : and ders of ima-

that they have made certen fignes with their eyes, as we finde written in many auncient fto- 80. ries. And we could our selues also tell such like wonders, which we have heard men of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for fuch matters, it Plataches is as daungerous to geue to much credit to them, as alfoto discredit them to much, by reafon of the weaknes of mans nature, which hath no certen boundes, nor can rule it felf, but ron-

great daunger: he beganne to vindermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with

weale, & one that was subject to the lawe:he shewed a stately triumphe, set forth with all riche & furniture, & specially for that him self was caried through Rome vpon his triumphant charge of the Visions, drawen with foure fayer white courfers. This, neuer captaine nor generall before him duff vndertake to doe, neither any euer after him attepted it: for they thinke it is a facred cariage. and only mete for the King, and father of the goddes. This bred him much enuy amongest the cittizes, which had not bene acquainted with fo great statelynes. There was another occasion also that made them mislike him much: which was, bicause he stood against the lawe put forth

that they should deuide the cittie of Rome. For the Tribunes of the people dvd let out an E. dict, that the Senate & people of Rome should be deuided into two partes: and that those on whom the lotte should fall, should abide still in Rome, and the other should goe dwell in the newe wonne cittle of VEIES. These were the reasons to persuade this: that both the one and R the other forte should be richer then they were before, & should more easely keepe their lands and goodes from the inuation of their enemies, by meanes of these two great citties. The people which were multiplied nowe into great numbers, & had ferued duetifully & daugeroufly, thought it the best waye in the worlde: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumulte, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voyces of the people. But the whole Senate, and wifest cittizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the diuision of the cittle of Rome: could in no wife abide it should goe any further. Whereupon they went & prayed Camillus helpe: who fearing to bring it to the pointe, whether the lawe thould paffe or no, dyd allwayes fecke new occafions and letts, still to delaye & put of the matter, & staye the confirmation of this lawe. For c these causes, he was hated of the common people But the originall & apparant cause of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth parte of their spoyles: and it cause of the was not altogether without fome reason, and to saye truely the people dyd him much wrong to beare him such malice for that. For before he went to the cittle of VEIES, he made a folene vowe to offer the tenth parte vnto the goddes, of the spoyles of the cittie, if he wane the same, But when it was taken and facked, whether it was that he was lother o trouble the cittizens, or having a worlde of busines in his head, that he easely forgate his vowe: he suffered the souldiers to deutde the spoyle amongest them, & to take the benefit to them selues. Shortely after he was discharged of his charge, he dyd enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the footherayers made reporte at that very time, howe they knew by certaine figures and tokens of n their facrifices, that the goddes were offended for forwhat, and howe they must of necessitie be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an order, where it was vnpoffible euery man should bring in againe the selse same things he had gotten, to make a newe diuifion of enery mans thate: that enery one therefore vpon his othe thould prefent the tenthe parte of his gaynes he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were driuen to vie great extremitie to the poore fouldiers (which had traueled fore, and taken great paynes in the warres) to make them to restore backe such a coloppe out of their gaine, and the rather bicause many of them had already spent it every penney: and for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against Camillus. But he being fet vp, and not knowing otherwife howe to excule him felfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreasonable an ex-

A cuppe of golde fens to Delphes. The ladyes of Rome gase their inells towards the VVhas time womens trayfes beganne as funeralla

cuse as he could make, which was: for soothe he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people norwithstanding were eger still against him, saying: howe he had vowed then to offer the tenth parte of the enemies goodes to the goddes, and that nowe he would performe it with the tenthes of the cittizens goodes. Neuertheles, euery man having brought that he should for his parte: it was thought good they should cause a massie cuppe of golde to be made, to fend to the temple of Apollo at DELPHES. And small store of golde being in the cittie of Rome, as the officers of the cittie were ferching vp and downe to get it: the women of Rome of their owne voluntary willes without motion, agreed among them felues, that they would departe with all the inells they had, towardes the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall: the Senate ordeined that they should be prayfed openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they dyd vse at honorable and noble mens obsequies. For before that lawe, it was not

A the manner to prayle women openly at their funeralles. Nowe there were appointed three of the noblest men of the cittle to goe to carie this offering, & they sent them out in a galley well manned flored also with good mariners, & trimly set forth in all triumphing manner: how beit both in storme, & calme weather, they were in daunger of their liues. For after that they had scaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For harde by the Iles of Eorvs, the gallyes of the LIPARIANS fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the LIPA-BIANS fawe they made no refistance, & intreated them, holding up their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only fastened their gallye vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were pirates, & offered to make porte sale of the men & B goodes, as if they had bene a lawfull prife: & had folde them in deede, had not the wifedome

& authoritie of Timelitheus letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the citrie, and had great a docto persuade them to let them goe. And he dyd not so leaue them, but sent out certaine of his owne shippes to accompanie them in their iorney, who dyd helpe them to goe and performe their offering. For which curtefie of his, the ROMAINES afterwardes dyd him great honour at Rome, according to his well deferuing. The Tribunes of the people begame nowe to fet a foote against the laws for the deuiding of the inhabitans of Rome vnto the cittie of VEIES. But the warres of the FALISCES fell out happely at that time, wherby the noble men dyd choose such officers as they would. So they choic Camillus, Tribunus mili- camillus chothe noble men dyd choole fuch officers as they would so they choice of the foundation of the foundatio

that caried both authoritie & reputation among them, as an olde experienced fouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, Camillus immediatly entred the territo-

ries of the FALISCES with the ROMAINES armie, where he layed siege vnto the cittie of the FALERIANS, being very well fortified, vitteled and stored, with all other munition of warre, camillus be-Knowing therefore that it was no fmall attempt to winne this cittie, and that it would not be figurb the done in a shorte time: he pollitikely sought (what so euer came of it) to keepe his coutrime oc-

should have many occasions to rebell, & raise some civill dissention. For the ROMAINES dyd wifely vse this remedie: to disperse abroade like good phisicians, the humours which troubled the quiet state of their comon weale at home. But the FALERIANS trusting in the situation of D their cittie, which was very strong in all partes, made so litle accompt of the siege: that those which kept not watche vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the cittie. without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoolemaster alfo would commonly leade them abroade out of the cittie a walking, to playe and paffe the time by the towne walles. For the whole cittie had one common schoolemaster, as the GRE-CIANS also have, which doe bring up their children from litle ones in company together, bicause one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This schoolemaster spying his time to doe the FALERIANS a shrewd turne, dyd accustomably take all his scholers out of the cittie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, & afterwards brought them into the cittie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once E ortwife, he trayned them out euery daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, persuading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye having gotten all the cittizes children comillus wor.

cupied about some thing, & to staye them for going home, least by repayring to Rome, they

with him, he led them within the watche of the Romaines campe, & there deliuered all his this after to fcholers into their handes, & prayed them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they the fibooledid. And when he came before Camillus, he begane to tell him that he was schoolemaster vnto mesing the all these children, neuertheles that he dyd more esteemeto haue his grace and sauour, then re-Faterias children. garde his office he had by this name & title . Camillus hearing what he fayed, & beholding his threacherous parte, he sayed to those that were about him. Warre of it selfe surely is an euill ing of comitthing for in warres many injuries & mischieues are done: neuertheles among good men there hand myse is a law & discipline, which doth forbid the to seeke victorie by wicked & traiterous meanes, & prints

F that a noble & worthie generall should make warre, & procure victorie, by trusting to his own Vallanmes to valliantnes, & not by anothers vilenes & villanie. Therefore he commaunded his lergeants to be preferred teare the clothes of the backe of this vile schoolemaster, & to binde his hands behinde him: & nie.

Nij

backe againe into the cittie, that had thus betrayed them, & grieued their parents. Now when

the FALERIANS heard newes that the schoolemaster had thus betrayed them, all the cittie fell

a weeping (as enery man maye thinke for fo great a loffe) and men & women ranne together

one in anothers necke, to the town walles, & gates of the cittie, like people out of their wittes,

The Falifeia baffadours doe yelde the felues and goodes vnto Canillus. The message of the ambasfadosers of the Faliscias unto the Romai-

Camilles

they were fo troubled. When they came thither they faw their childre bringing their schoole, mafter backe againe, starcke naked and bownde, whipping of him, & calling Camillus their father, their god, and their fauiour: fo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens also in generall, dyd conceyue in them selues a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wifedome, goodnes, and inflice of Camillus. So that even prefendly they called a counfaill, and there it was concluded they should fend ambaffadours forthwith vnto B

The equitie of the Romaines who would not peruert the Live though they red to paye his fine.

him, to put their lines and goodes to his mercy and fauour. Camillus fent their ambaffadours vnto Rome, where audience being genen vnto them by the Senate, the ambaffadours fayed. Bicause the ROMAINES preferred inflice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to submit them selues vnto them, then to be their own men at libertie: consessing their vertue dyd more ouercome them, then any force or power could doe. The Senate dispatched letters vnto Camillus, giving him commission to doe and determine as he thought good. So he having taken a certen fumme of money of the FALERIANS, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the rest of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned backe againe to Rome. But the fouldiers grudged maruelously at it. For they stoode in hope to have had the sacking of the cittie. When there was no remedie, but they must needes returne home emptie handed, C of money of they beganne to accule Camillus to the rest of the cittizens, as sone as they came to Rome, saying: he loued not the common people, and howe for spite he disapointed their army of the peace with all spoyle. On the other side, the Tribunes of the people beganne to reuiue the lawe, for the dethereft of the uiding of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to passe it by the voyces of the people. Camilliu not fearing the ill will of the commons, dyd boldely speake, and doe in open presence, all he could against it. So that plainely he was the chiefest cause, that the people against their willes(intreate what they could) were driven to let it alone. But withall they were so spitefull against him, that notwithstanding his forowe and misfortune for the death of his sonne (dying of a fickenes) was great: they would not of malice once take pittle or compaffion of him. The losse whereos (albeit he was of a very good & curteous nature) was so grieuous, and made him D fo vnquiet: that being accused before the people, he sturred not once out of his house, but was locked up with the women, which lamented for his sonne departed. He that dyd accuse him, was one Lucius Apuleius, burdening him that he had stolen and taken awaye, parte of the time acceptat spoyle of the THV SCANS: and sayed, they had seene certen brasen gates at his house, which had bene brought out of Thus can. Nowe the people were for maliciously bent against him, that every man might fee, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any advantage whatfoeuer, they would douteles have condemned him . Wherefore calling together his friendes and fouldiers that had ferued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earnestly befought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and vniust accusations layed against him, nor to be so E fcorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends having layed their heades together, and confulted thereupon, made him aunswer: howe for his judgment they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to paye thrange mey dearety tourd hisfine. But he being of minde not to beare fuch an open shame and ignominie, determined Camillus: bus in choller to leave the cittie, and to exile him selfe from it. And after he had taken his leave of his wife & children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his house to the gates of the cittie, & fayed neuer a word. When he came thither, he stayed sodainely, & returning backe againe, he lift up his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers unto the godds: that if it were of very ipight and malice, and not of iust deseruing, that the common people compelled him emof Rome. thus shamefully to for sake the cittie, that the ROMAINES might quickely repente them, and F in the face of the worlde might withe for him, and have nede of him. After he had made these prayers against the cittizens (as Achilles dyd against the GRECIANS) he went his way, & was

A condemned for his contempte, in the fumme of fifteene thousand Affer of the R-O. M. A. I. N. E. covne, which make of Greekishe money, a thousand fine hundred Drachman of filter: for an Aswas a litle pece of money, wherof tenne of them made a Romains penney. Howbeit there was not a Romaine of any understading, but beleeved certenly that some great punishment would followe them incontinently, and that the wrong & iniurie they had done him would be quickely required, with some most sharpe and tetrible revenge, not only unpleasaunt to thinke vpon but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There tell out so fodainely VPON it, such mischief toward the cittie of Rome, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of daunger and destruction thereof to their shame & infamie: that it was rencertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worke of some godithat would not

B suffer vertue recompeced with ingratitude, to passe vnreuenged . Their first token that thedate. Tokens of the ned forme great milchief to light vpon them, was the death of Iulius, one of the Cenfors of Caules. the Romaines doe greately reuerece the office of a Cenfor, and esteeme it as a facred place. The seconde token that happened a litle before Camillus exile, was: that one Markin Caditine, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwise a fayanconditioned honest man, and of good conscience) tolde the Tribuni militares of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he sayed that the night before, as he was going on his waye in the newe

ftreete, he heard one call him alowde: and returning backe to fee what it was he fawe no liuing creature, but only heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which fayed vnto him. Marque Caditius, goe thy wave to morrowe morning to the Tribuni militares, and byd them looke C quickely for the GAVLES. The Tribunes were mery at the matter, and made but a least at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of Camillus. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they faye) of the CELTE, whose country not being able to main? The original teine the multitudes of them, they were driven to goe feeke other countryes to inhabite in; beginning of and there were amongest them many thousands of young men of service and good souldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towards the north sea, passing the mountaines RIPHEI, and dyd dwellin the extreme

test mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORIE. There they continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the ende to tafte of the wine, which was first D brought out of ITALIE vnto them. Which drinke they found so good, and were so delited with it, that fodginely they armed themselues: and taking their wives and children with them. they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe feeke out the country that brought forth fuch fruite, judging all other countries in respect of that, to be but wilde and barren It is sayed, that Ario a Thurthe first man which brought wine vnto them, and that dyd procure them to passe into I'T A- can the prothe first man which brought wife visit them, and that dyd procede them of party and the life, was a noble man of T HVSCAN called Arron, and otherwise of no ill disposed nature: howbeit he was subject to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan childe, the richest that was at that time in all the countrie of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonder- talie. full fayer: he was called Lucumo. This orphan was brought up in Arrons house of a childe, and

partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained between the mountaines PIRENEL and the grea-

though he was growen to mans state, yet he would not goe from him, fayning he was so well, E and to his liking. But in deede the cause was, that he loued his maistres (Arrons wife) whom fecretly he had enjoyed a long time, and the him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue having so possessed them both, that neither parte could withdrawe from other, much leffe culler that they had long enjoyed: the young man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. Arron put him in sute, but he preuayled not: for Lucumo ouer- Lacke of inweyed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he tooke it so greuously, that he left flice, the cause his country; and having heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide find to conto bring them into ITALIE. So they conquered at their first coming all that country which quest of Thuthe Thyseans helde in olde time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and stretched famely the out in length from one fea vnto the other which enuironneth ITALIE, as the names them The power of F selues doewitnesse. For they call yet that sea which looketh vnto the northe, the Adriatick the Thussands fea: by reason of a cittle built sometime by the THVSCANS, which was called Adria. The other, which lieth directly ouer against the South, is called the THV SCAN sea. All that countries

of the Fabians. The GAVLES received them very curteoufly bicause of the name of Romes

and leaving to affaulte the cittie, they gaue them audience. The Romaine ambaffadours dyd

aske them, what injurie the CLVSIANS had done vnto them, that they came to make warres

thus. The CLUSIANS doe vs wrong in this: they being but fewe people together, & not able

to occupie much lande, doe notwithstanding possesse much, and will let vs haue no parte with

them, that are straungers, and out of our country, and stande in neede of seate and habitation.

The like wrong was offered vnto you ROMAINES in old time, by those of ALBA, by the FIDE-

NATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long fithence by the VEIANS, & the CAPENATES: and

partly by the FALISCE sand the Volsces: against whom ye have taken, & doe take armes,

at all times. And as ofte as they will let ye have no parte of their goods, ye imprison their per-

. fones, robbe and spoyle their goodes, and distroye their citties. And in doing this, ye doe them C

no wrong at all, but followe the oldest lawe that is in the worlde, which euer leaueth vnto the

ftronger, that which the weaker can not keepe and enjoye. Beginning with the goddes, & en-

ding with beaftes: the which haue this propertie in nature, that the bigger and stronger haue

euer the vauntage of the weaker and leffer. Therefore leaue your pittle to fee the CLYSIANS

belieged, least you teache vs GAVLE's to take compassion also of those you have oppressed,

By this auniver the Romains knew every wel, there was no waye to make peace with king

Brennus. Wherefore they entred into the cittle of CLVSIVM, and incoraged the inhabitants

man last of well for the fodgine meeting and skirmifhing together, as for that his gliftering armour dim-

cluster a cit- s I V M. Thereupon the CLV SIANS feeking ayde of the ROMAINES, befought them there would fend letters and ambassadours vnto these barbarous people in their fauour. They fent vnto them three of the best and most honorable persones of the cittie, all three of the house

Brennus king with them. Brennus king of the GAV LES, hearing this question, smiled, and aunswered them

to falve out with them upon these barbarous people: either bicause they had a desire to proue the valliantnes of the GAVLES, or els to shewe their owne corage and manhoode. So the cittizens went out, and skirmished with them harde by the walles: in the which one of the Fa- D bians, called Quintus Fabius Ambustus, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurres to buffue a Ro- him, dyd set vpon a goodly bigge personage of the GAVLES, that had advanced him selfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the first encounter, as

all nations. med the eyes of the enemies. But after he had flaine the GAVLE, and came to strippe him: Brennus then knewe him, and protested against him, calling the goddes to witnesse, howe he had broken the lawe of armes, that coming as an ambaffadour, he had taken you him the forme of an enemie. Hereupon Brennus forthwith left skirmishing, and raising the seige from biux for brea- CLVSIVM, marched with his army vnto ROME gates. And to the ende the ROMAINES king the lare might knowe, that the GAV LES were not well pleased for the injurie they had receyued: to E haue an honest culler to beginne warres with the Romaines, he sent an Herauld before to Rome, to demaunde liverie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time, he him felfe came marching after, by small journeys to receyue their aunswer. The Senate hereupon affembled, & many of the Senatours blamed the rashnes of the Fabians: but most of all the priestes called Faciales. For they followed it very earnestly. as a matter that concerned religion, & the honour of the godds: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the cittie of the offence comitted should laye the whole waight and burden of it vpon him alone, that only had done the facte. Numa Pompilius, the justest and Numa Pom. most peaceable of all the kings of Rome that had bene, was he that first erected the colledge pilius creffed of these Feciales, and dyd ordeine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the judges to F heare and allowe all the causes, for the which they should justely beginne any warres. Nevertheles, the Senate in the ende turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and

is well planted with trees. & hath goodly pleafaunt pastures for beastes and cattell to feede in, A & is notably watered with goodly ronning rivers. There was also at that time eighteene faver great citties in that country, all of them very fitting and well feated, aswell for to enriche the inhabitants thereof by traffike, as to make them to live delicately for pleafure. All these citties the GAVLES had wonne, and had expulsed the THVS CANS, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entred into THVSCAN, dyd befiege the cittle of CLVA

A judgment of the people, before whom these priestes Faciales dyd also accuse Fabius Ambustus.

The people made so litle accopt of their propounded religion, & honour of the godds in that case: that in stede of deliuering of this Fabius vnto the enemy, they dyd choose him for one of the Tribunes of the fouldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so fu- The Gaules rious & angrie thereat, that they would no lenger linger their iourneis, but marched with all marche tonfrede vnto Rome. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were and Rome. maruelously affrayed to see the multitude of them, & their braue & vniuerfall furniture: & beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroye all the chapion country before them, & afterwardes would take all the strong citties. They cotrariwife dyd take nothing at all out of the fieldes, neither dyd any hurte or difpleasure vnto any B bodie: but passing by their citties, cried out they went to Rome, and would have no warres

to deliuer accopt of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had to vngratefully done to

but with the ROMAINES, and howe otherwise they desired to be friendes with all the worlde. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards Rome, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them . They were no leffe in number them the GAVLES, for they were fourty thousand footemen. Howbeit most part of them were rawe, The Romais fouldiers, that had neuer ferued in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, & nes amie diffolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their facrifices, neifortmen. ther to aske coufaill of their foothefayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to doe,

before they gaue any battaill. To make the matter worse: the number of the captaines having To many rupower and authoritie alike, dyd asmuche (or more then the rest) disorder and consounde their mie, doe con-C doings. For ofte times before, in farre leffer matters and daungers then thefe, they dyd vie to found all orchuse speciall officers that had sole & soueraine authoritie, which they called Dictators: knowteth the army ing very well of how great importance it is, in daungerous times to have but one head & ge- imperill. nerall, to comaund all, & to have supreme authoritie of instice in his hands, & not to be bound

Camillus, brought great mischief & incoueniece then vpon them . For the captaines after him, durst no more commaunde the people roughly, but euer after dyd flatter them much. When their army was nowe brought into the field, they encamped them selues by a litle river called Allia, about the eleueth stone from Rome, and not farre from the place where the same river Allia ft. falleth into Tyber. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell,

D by their diforder & lacke of gouernment. For the left pointe or winge of their battell was broken of at the first by the GAYLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them hedlog The banen into the river. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge geue, Allia where & having gotten certen hilles hard by them: they had litle hurte, & most of them saving them the Gaultes ex naturing gotten certen titles hard by the introduction that the enemies were weary of killing, field of the fled by night vnto the cittle of V BIES, thinking ROME had bene loft, & all the cittle put to the Romaines. fword. This ouerthrowe was on the logest daye in sommer, the moone being at the full: &the daye before fortuned the great flaughter of the Fabians, of the which were flaine by the T H v-

scans in one daye 300. all of a name. The very daye it felf was afterwards called Alliade, of the name flaint name of the litle river, by the which the 2. ouerthrow was geven. But for the differece of dayes, in one daye.

proue the poet Hesiodus, for making some days good, & some dayes ill, as though he understood they were not all of one nature: we have writte & declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, bicause the matter deliuereth present occasió to speake of the same, peraduéture it wil not beamisse to alleage a few exaples of it only. It fortuned the Boe of I and on a time to wine two honorable victories, on the first daye of the moneth they call Hippodromus (and which the A-THENIANS call Hecatombaon) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did Still restore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The first was the battell of LEVCTRES. The second was the battell of Geraste, which was two hudred yeres before, when they ouercame Lar-TAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battail F by the Grecians, the fixt daye of August, at the iorney of Marathon. The third day, at the battell of PLATEBS. And on the felfe same daye, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fine and twenty days, at the fight of Arbeles, the Athenians wanne the battell by fea , neere vnto Niii

E that some of the are naturally vnfortunate, or that Heraelitus the philosopher had reason to re-

I52 Ile of Naxos, vnder the charge and gouernment of Chabrias, about the full of the moone, in A the moneth of August. And on the twenty of the same moneth, they wanne the battell of SA-LAMINA: as we have written more amplie in our historie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For Alexander the great ouercame the generall of the king of PERSTA, at the fielde of GRANICA, in the faved moneth. The CARTHAGINIANS allo were vanquished in Sicile by Timoleon, on the seuen & twenty daye thereof. On which daye also it is thought the cittie of TROYE was taken: as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus, haue written in their histories. Nowe contrariwife. The moneth of Iulye, which the BOEOTIANS call Panemus hath not bene gratious to the GRECIANS. For on the feuen daye of the same, they were ouerthrowen by Antipater at the battell of CRANON, which was their vtter destruction. They had before also lost a battell B the fame moneth, neere vnto the cittle of CHABRONEA, by king Phillippe. On the fame days alfo, and in the very felf moneth and yere, those which came into I TALLE with king Archida. mus, were flaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the coutry. The CANTHAGI-NIANS also feare the seuen & twenty daye of the same moneth, as the daye which had before time brought them into many great and forowfull calamities. Contrarilie alfo, I knowe very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the cittie of THEBES was destroyed by Alexander, & that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receyue a garrifon of fouldiers into their cittie, about the twenty daye of August, at which time they made the holie procession of the mysteries of Iac-

chus. And on the felf day the ROMATNES loft their armie, & their generall Capio, who was flaine

granes, & the ARMENIANS. And that Attalus, & Pompey also, dyed both on the selfe same daye

they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after

like revolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to return eagaine

&deuided among them the spoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe . So gaue

they time & leyfure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of Rome, to feeke

them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue them selues,

& to make some prouision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified them selues within mout

The Romaines superiti-

vnto our historie. The daye of this ouerthrowe, is one of those which the ROMAINE Stake for one of the vnfortunatest dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare & superstimang of dayer. tion, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) upon such sinister missortunes. But for this matter, we have written it more largely & exquifitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & customes of the Romaines. Now after this battell lost, if the GAVLES had hottely pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could have saved Rome from being taken, & the in-D habitats therof from being put vnto the Iword. For the ROMAINES that fled from the battell, brought such a feare vpon those that received them, and filled the whole cittie of Rome with fuch greif & trébling: that they wist not what to doe. The barbarous people againe, beleeuing litle their victorie was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a joye received,

Capitoll, & storing it with all kind of vitaill, armor, & munition, they wholy dyd for sake the rest of the cittie. But the first worke they tooke in hande was this . They dyd bring into their fayed E forte, parte of their facred relickes: & the professed Vestalls brought thither also their holy fire & all other their holy monumets. Some writers fave, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the sempiternall fyer, & were so consecrated by king Numa, who dyd first institute, that the fyer should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motive & quickest substance that is of all naturall things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a mouing, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate, remainethidle, & without action, & flurreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which cra-

ueth the force and heate of fyre: as the foule it selfe recouring heate, beginneth somewhat to moue, and disposeth it selfe to doe, and suffer some thing. Wherefore Numa being (as they faye) a man of great learning and vnderstanding, who for his wisedome was reported to talke F many times with the Muses, dyd confecrate the same as a most facred thing, and commaunded that they neuer should suffer that fyre to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preserve

A the lively image of the eternall God, the only King & maker of the worlde. Other fave, that the fiver burned continually there before the holy & facred things, fignifying a kinde and manner of purification, which opinion the GRECIANS holde also: howbeit behinde the same fver. there were certen hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy Vest all Nunes. Many also holde an opinion, that the Palladium of TROYE (as much to fay, as Pallas image) is hidden also there, which was brought by Aneas into ITALIE. Other doe reporte also, that Dardanus, at that time when he first beganne to buylde the cittie of TROYE, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of SAMOTHRACIA, and he dyd offer them vp there; and howe Frees after the cittle was taken, dyd steale them awaye, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALIE. Some other also, that take vpon them to knowe more therein then the B common forte, doe holde opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is

emptie and standeth open, the other is full & fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy Nunnes. Other thincke also, that these imaginers invented that they spake of their owne heads, bicause the Vestall Nunnes dyd cast all that they could put in at that time.into two pipes, which they buried after in the grounde, within the temple of Quirinus: and herefore that very place carieth the furname at this daye of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, & fled alongest the river. Where one Lucius Albinus (one of the common people) flying also, & having brought away his wife & litle children, and other household stuffe he had in a carte, by chaunce he lighted vpon the Vestall Nunnes in the waye. But so sone as he perceyued these holy Nunnes (carying the blessed relickes and inells in C their armes, dedicated vnto the feruice of the goddes) all alone, & that they were wearie with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the carte, & tooke downe all

by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards under the leading of Lucullus, they ouercame king Ti- C his goodes also, & willed them to get them vp, and flye into some cittle or towne of GRECE. Thus, me thought I could not well passe ouer with silence, Albinus reuerence & deuotion he shewed vnto the goddes, in so daungerous a time & pinche of extremitie. Furthermore the priests of other goddes, & the most honorablest olde men of the cittie of Rome (that had bene Cofuls before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forfake Rome: but putting on all their most holy robes & vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selves vnto the fortune that should be all them for the safety of their countrie. And vfing certain words & prayers which their high bishoppe Fabius had taught them, they went Fabius chief

Collina, & tooke the fame, litle more the three hudred & three icore yeres after it was first buil-

ded if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times vnto this

present daye, considering the trouble & consustion of that time bath made many things more

vncerteine then that, dowtefull vnto vs. But fo it was, that the rumor ranne to GRECE inconti-

raclides Ponticus (who was about that time) sayeth in a certen booke he wrote of the soule, that

there was newes come from the West parte, that an armie which came from the HYPERBO-

RIANS, had taken a cittle of GRECE called ROME, lituated in that country neere the great fea.

But I wonder not that Heraclides (who hath written fo many other fables & lyes) dyd amplifie

the true newes of the taking of Rome, with adding to of his owne deuile, of the HYPERBO-

E nently howe Rome was taken, but yet withall form what doubtefully & vncertainely. For He-

D euen thus apparelled into the great market place, & dyd fit them downe there, in chayers of Reme. iuory, expecting the good will & pleafure of the godds what should become of them. But with in three dayes after, Brennus came to Rome with his army: who finding the gates of the cittle Rome taken

all open, & the walles without watche, he dowted some deuise in it, & feared some privile ambuth had bene layed, as one hardly beleeuing to have found the Romaines of so base a mind, as to for fake their cittle. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into Rome by the gate

RIANS, & by the great fea. It is a most true tale, that Aristotle the philosopher had certain know- Aristotle tee ledge it was taken by the GAVLES: howbeit he fayeth also it was recoursed againe afterwards Gimonie of by one called Lucius: where in deede it was by Marcus Camillus, & not by Lucius, But all this in the taking of manner is spoken by coiecture. Moreouer, Brennus being entred Rome, dyd appointe parte of The maiestie F his fouldiers to befrege those which were gotten into mout Capitoll. And he with the residue of the olde of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he faw the aunciet Senatours in the market let fo grauely in their chayers, & spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw place of Rome.

their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged coutenance, nor culler at all, but A leaned foftely on their staues they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing affrayed nor abashed, but looked one voon another, he maruelously wondred at it. This their so straunge manner at the first dyd so dampe the GAVLE s, that for a space they stoode still, and were in doubre to come neere to touche them, fearing least they had bene some goddes: vntill suche time as one of them went boldely vnto Marcus Papyrius, & layed his hand fayer & foftely vpon his log bearde. But Paprius gave him such a rappe on his pate with his staffe, that he made the bloud ronne about his eares. This barbarous beafte was in fuch a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his fworde, and flewe him. The other fouldiers also killed all the rest afterwardes: and so the GAVLES continued many dayes spoyling and sacking all thinges they founde in the houses, and in the ende dyd set them all a fyer, and destroyed them every one, for despite of B those that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld vpon their summons, but valliantly repulsed them when they scaled the walles. For this cause they rased the whole cittie. and put all to the fworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe. Nowe this fiege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very flowtely, vittells beganne to growe scante in the campe of the GAVLES, in so much as they were dri-

uen of force to feeke it abroade without the cittie. Hereupon they deuided them felues.

gest them, went by fortune towardes the cittle of ARDEA, where Camillus dwelt, living like a

private man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, vntill that present

time. But then he beganne not to bethinke him felf as a man that was in fafety, and might haue

escaped the handes of his enemies, but rather fought to deuise and finde out all the meanes

he could to subdewe them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the in-

habitants of ARDEA were enough in number to set vpon them, although faynte harted, and

cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had

whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging, and spoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereaboutes, scattered as it by this Ganter. were by bandes & companies, some here, some there, searing nothing, nor passing upon watch or warde, they lived in fuche fecur itie of their victorie. How beit the greatest company amon-

The citie of

no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to call out these words among the young men. That they should not thinke the ROMAINES misfortune fell vpon them, through the valwordes vn:0 liantnes of the GAVIES, nor that their calamitie (who had refused good counfaill) had hap- D the Ardeans in excuse of theRomaines.

pened vnto them by any worke or acte of the GAVLES, having done nothing for their parte to make them carie awaye the victorie: but that they should thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes shewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable

Canillus perfuadeth the Ardeans to

and honorable enterprise (although somewhat daungerous) to drive these straungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: confidering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to destroye and consume as fire all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lufty harte and corage vnto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, affure them the victorie, without any daunger. The young men were pleafed with these words of life & comforte. Whereupon Camillus went to breake the matter also vnto the magistrates & counsellours: and having drawen them by persuasion vnto this enterprise, he armed all that E were of age to carie armor, & would not suffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare least the enemies (which were not farre of) (hould have intelligede of the same. Now after the GAV LES had rone ouer all the chapion countrie, & were loden with all forts of spoyles, they did encape them selues negligetly in open fields, & neuer charged watch nor warde: but having their full cariage of wine layed them down to slepe, & made no noyse at all in their cape. Camillus being aduertised therof by his seuerall skowtes, caused the ARDEANS with as little noyse as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: & having marched formwhat roudly the diffance between the cittie, & the cape of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his foldiers make great showtes & cries, & the trupets to be souded on every side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyle they made, could hardly be made to wake, F they were so deadly droke. Yet there were some notwithstading, that for feare to be take tardy, dyd bustle vp at this sodaine noyse: & coming to them selues, sell to their weapons to refist CaA millus, which were flayne by and by. The rest, & the greatest number of them, laye here & there camillus slue scartered in the middest of the field, without any weapon, dead a sleepe, starcke droncke with the Gaules wine. & were put to the sworde, & neuer strake stroke. Those that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were ouerthrowen also the next daye, by the horse men which followed & killed them, as they tooke them straggling here & there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowen abroade incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come & joyne them selues to Camillus:

but specially the ROMAINES desired the same, that had saued the selves in the cittle of VELES. after the battell lost at ALLIA, who made their mones amongest them selues there, saying, O goddes, what a captaine hath fortune taken from the cittle of Rome? What honour liath the B cittle of Ardea by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of Camillus and in the meane season, his naturall cittle that brought him forth, is now lost, & vtterly destroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade vs, are thut vp here within others walles, & doe nothing but fuffer ITALLE in the meane space to goe to ruine, & vtter destruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not fend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why doe we not arme our felues, to goe vnto him? For he is nowe no more a banished man, nor we poore cittizens: fince our cittie is possessed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counfaill, & fent vnto Camillus to befeche him to be their captaine, and leade them. But he made aunswer, he would in no case consent vnto it, vnles they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voyces. For those (fayed he) so long as they remaine within the cittie, doe represent the state & bodie thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge vpon him, he would most willingly obey them: if otherwise they misliked of it, that the he would not medle against their good willes & comaundement. They having receased this aunswer, there was not a ROMAINE amongest them, but greatly honored & extolled the wisedome & justice of Camillus. But nowe they knewe not how to make them privile to it, that were befreged in the Capitoll: for they fawe no possibilitie to conuey a messenger to them: considering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, & layed feige to it. Howbeit there was one Pontius Cominius amogest Polius Comithe young men(a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honour & glory) that offered him mine gos ap

felf very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which into the Cepit. were belieged for feare leaft they might be intercepted & fo they should discouer Camillus in-D tetion: but putting on an ill fauoured gowne vpon him, he couved certen peces of corcke vn-

at the length he got ouer to the other fide where the cittie stoode. Then taking vp those lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, feeing fire, & hearing noyfe in other places. he wet to the gate Carmentale, where he found more silece then in other places on the which fide also, the hill of the Capitoll was more stepe and vpright, by reason of the great rocks that were harde to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp fo long amongest them, that he got vp E with great payn vnto the wall of the fortresse, on the which side also the enemie kept no watch: & faluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them. & brought him to the magistrates that ruled then. Who caused the Senate to affemble presently, vnto whom he told the newes of Camillus victorie, which they had not heard of before: & therewith also he dyd declare vnto the, the determination of the ROMAINE souldiers that were abroade, which was, to make Camillus their captaine & general, & did perfuade them also to graut him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad who the cittizes gaue their

der it, & traueling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, vntill he came to Rome, brin-

ging darke night with him. And bicause he could not passe ouer the bridge, for that the Bar-

barous people kept watche vpo it: he wrapped fuch clothes as he had about his necke (which

were not many, nor heavy) & tooke the river, & swimming with these corcks he had brought.

pon amogest them selves, & so did chuse Camillus Dietator, & returned the messenger Potius Co- Camillus cheminius backe againe, the felf fame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe, was fen Dictator like vnto his coming thither: for the enemies neuer fawe him. And so he brought reporte vnto the that were abroad, of the Senates decree & consent, whereof they all were maruelous glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of generall vpon him, & found there were twerty thou-

confents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, confulted thereu-

fand good fighting men abroade, and well armed. Then got he further ayde also of their allies A and confederates, and prepared daylie to goe and fet vpon the enemies. So was Camillus chofen nowe Diffator the seconde time, and went vnto the cittle of VEIES, where he spake with the ROMAINE fouldiers that were there, and leavied a great number of the allies befides, to goe fight with the enemies as sone as he could. But whilest Camillus was thus a preparing. certen of the Barbarous people in Rome, walking out by chaunce on that fide of the Capitol where Pontius Cominius had gotten vp the night before: fpied in divers places the printes of his feete and hands as he had griped & gotten holde, ftill digging to get vp & fawe the weedes and erbes also growing upon the rocks, & the earth in like manner, flat troden down. Whereupon they went presently vnto the King, to let him vnderståde the same: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And having confidered it well, he dyd nothing at that time: but when darke ! night was come, he called a companie of the lightest GAVLES together, and that vsed most to digge in mountaines, & fayed vnto them. Our enemies them felues doe shew vs the waye how to take them, which we could not have founde out but by them selves. For they having gone vp before vs. doe geue vs eafely to vnderstade, it is no impossible thing for vs to clime vp also. Where ore, we were vetterly shamed having already begone well, if we should fayle also to end well: & to leave this place as youincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much leffe is it harde for many to get vp one after another, fo that one doe helpe another. Therefore Syrs, I affure you, those that doe take paynes to get yo. shalbe honorably rewarded, according to their just deserte. When the King had spoken their wordes vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it luftely euery man to get vp: & about midnight, they C

the formest of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle.

& to set you the watche that slept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them. It

chauced then there were holy gele kept in the temple of June, which at other times were wont

to be fed till their croppes were full but vittells being very straite, & scante at that time euen to

finde the men, the poore gete were so hard handled, & so little regarded, that they were in ma.

clame up so the Capitoll beganne many of them to digge, & make stepps vp to the rocke one after another, as softly as in the night. could possibly with catching holde the best they could by the haging of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but neuertheles easier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that

ner starued for lacke of meate. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing, & fo is the also very fearefull by nature: & being in manner famished with their harde allowance, they I were so much the more waking, & easier to be afrayed. Vpo this occasion therfore, they heard The hale sele the coming of the GAVLES, & also beganne to ronne vp & downe & crie for feare: with which fand the Ca noyle they did wake those that were within the castell. The GAVLES being bewrayed by these foolishe gele, left their stealing vpon them, & came in with all the open noyle & terrour they could. The ROMAINES hearing this larum, every man tooke such weapon as came first to his

hand, & they ranne fodainely to refcue that place from whence they understoode the noyfe: Morem Mi- among those, the formest man of all was Marcus Manlius, a man that had bene Cosul, who had

a lufty bodye, & as flowte a harte. His happe being to mete with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preueted him, & strake of from the Cahis hand with his fword, and clapt his target on the others face fo fiercely, that he threwe him E pisell.

backward down the rocke: & coming afterwards vnto the walle with others that ranne thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the GAV LES that were gotten vp, who were not many in nuber, neither did any great acte. Thus the ROMAINES having escaped this dauger, the next morning they threw the captaine hedlong down the rocks from the castell, who had charge of the watche the night before: & gaue Manlius in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honorable then profitable rewarde, which was this. Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheate, which they call Far, and the fourth parte of the measure of wine, which the Grecian's call Cotile: and this might be about a quarte, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the daye. After this repulse, the GAVLES beganne to be discoraged, partely for that their vitailles fayled them, and durft no more forage abroade in the F fieldes for feare of Camillus: and partly also for that the plague came amongest them, being lodged amongest heapes of dead bodies, lying in enery place aboue ground without buriall,

A and amongest burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blowen very high by the winde & vehemecy of heate, dyd geue a drie perfing ayer, that dyd inaruelously poyson their bodies when they came to drawe in the breathe of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischief was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a freshe countrie, where there were excellent pleasaunt places to retire vnto, to auoyde the discommoditie of the parching heate of the former, were nowe in a naughty plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter feason of the yere. All these things together dyd heape diseases vpon them, besides the long continuaunce of the siege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grewe a maruelous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that dyed daylie, and laye vnburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the B GAVLES, the poore belieged ROMAINES were nothing holpen the more, the famine still dyd growe so fast vpo them. And bicause they could heare nothing of Camillia, they were growen almost vnto a despaire; and send vnto him they could not the GAVLES kept so straight watche vpon them in the cittie. Whereupon both parties finding them selues in harde state, first the watche of either fide beganne to cast out wordes of peace amongest them selves: and after-

wards by cosent of the heades, Sulpitius, Tribune of the souldiers, came to parle with Brennus. In which parle it was articled: that the ROMAINES should paye a thousand pounde weight of The Romaigolde, and that the GAVLES should incontinently after the receipt of the same, departe out of home to retheir cittie, and all their territories. This decree being passed by othe from both, the golde was deeme their brought. And whe't came to be weyed, the GAV LES at the first privally begane to deale falle-C ly with them; but afterwardes they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them waye golde. no more, whereat the ROMAINES beganne to be angrie with them. Then Brennus, in scorne & mockery, to despight them more, pluckt of his sworde, girdell and all, and put it into the bal-

lance where the gold was wayed. Sulpitius feeing that: asked him what he ment by it? Brennus aunswered him: what canne it signific els, but forrowe to the vanquished. This worde euer after ranne as a common proueibe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the Romai Nestooke this vile parte of theirs in fuch fcorne, that they would needes take the gold from them againe by force, and to returne into their holde, to abide the fiege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it belt with pacience to put vp this scorne of theirs, and not to thincke it was a shame to paye more then they had promised: but only to D paveit by copulfion as they dyd, by misfortune of time, was to thincke it rather necessary, then honorable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aswell amongest them selues, as with the GAVLES: Camillus came to Rome gates with his armie, and understanding all what had comillus passed betweene them, he commaunded the rest of the army to marche fayer and softely af-

hotte, and tolde him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accorde that had paffed

were to speake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had absolute authoritie to pardone

them if they repented, and would aske it: or els to punishe them, and make their bodies aun-

fwer the damages and loffe his cuntry had by them fufteyned. These wordes made Brennue

madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swordes of all sides, and

could fet no battell in order. But Brennus sodainely remembring him selfe that it was no even

marche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had loft many of

F layed lustely one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streetes, where they

ter him in good order, and he in the meane feafon with the best choyse men he had, went before with all speede. Assone as the other Romaines within the cittie had spied him, they

showted out for joye, and receased him every one with great reverence, without any more wordes, as their foueraine captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And Camillus taking the golde out of the skales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the GAVLES prefently to take vp their skales, and to get them going : for , fayeth he, it is not the Romaines E manner to keepe their countrie with golde, but with the fworde. Then Brennus beganne to be

betweene them before by othe. Whereunto Camillus stowtely aunswered him againe, that ac- camillus corde was of no validitie. For he being created Dictator before, all other officers and magi- freakith strates whatsoeuer, & their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and seeing there-Brennu king fore they had delte with men, that had no power of them selves to accorde to any matter, they of the Gaulet.

Camillue ouerthroweth the armie of she Gaules

the handes of

The buffe Capillin.

Camillus Di-Etato: Shippe proroged. Camillus ver funded the people what he could to

his people. The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army, and went to A encape him felf about a three score furlong from thence, in the highe way that goeth towards the cittie of the Gabians. Camillus with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, & showed at his campe by the breake of daye. The Romaines having taken harte againe vnto them, dyd lustely geue them battell: the same continued longe, very cruell and doubtefull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrowen, and their campe taken with great flaughter. As for those that dyd escape the furie of the battell, they were killed, some by the ROMAINES selues, who hottely followed the chase after the battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest parte, were slaine by those of the citties and villages neere abouts, that dyd fet vpon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the citie Rome was 7. of Rome ftraungely againe recovered, that was before straungely wonne and lost, after it had B continued feuen moneths in the handes of the barbarous people. For they entred Rome a bout the fiftenth daye of Iulye: and they were driven out againe, about the thirtenth daye of Camillus tri- Februarye following. So Camillus triumphed as befeemed him, and as one that had faued and deliuered his countrie out of the handes of their enemies, and fet Rome againe at libertie. Those that had bene abroade all the time of this siege, came into Rome againe, following his triumphing charrer: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue dyed by famin) went and presented them selves before him, and eche one embraced other, in weeping wife for ioye. The priestes and ministers of the temples also, prefented their holy juells, whole and videfaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the cittle felfe: and others fome had caried awaye with them, when they fled out of C ROME. All these the people dyd as gladly see, as if the goddes them selves had returned home againe into their cittie. After they had facrificed vnto the goddes, and rendred them most humble thankes, and had purged their cittle, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the goddes: Camillus beganne againe to buylde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he buylt another newe one also to the god Mius Locutius, in that very place where Marcus Ceditius heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the GAVLES. So by Camillus good diligence, and the prieftes great paynes and trauall, the situations of these temples were with muche a doe sounde out againe. But when they were to buylde againe all the rest of the cittie, that was wholy burnt, and destroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but ever shrinked backe, to put any hande to h the worcke, for that they lacked all thinges necessarie to beginne the same. Furthermore, waying their late and long susteined trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to beginne newe labour and toyle, to kill their hartes and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their mindes to dwell in the cittle of VEIES, Which remained whole, vntouched, and furnished of all thinges to recease them: they delivered to the pratling Orators (whose tongues dyd neuer cease to speake placentia to the people) trimme beaded Ora- occasion to set this matter abroache. So they gave good eare, and were willing to heare certen seditious wordes spoken against Camillus, which were these. That for his private ambition mulie against he would deprive them of a cittie well furnished already, and would against their willes com-Fi pell them to lodge in their owne houses, wholy burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to rayle vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the ende the people might call him, not only captaine and generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of Rome alfo, & fo drown Romulus honorable title thereof. The Senate confidering of this matter, & fearing some tumulte among the people: they would not suffer Cansillus to leave his Di-Elator (hippe before the ende of the yere, notwith flanding no man cuer enjoyed that office aboue fixe moneths. Then Camillus for his parte dyd much endeuour him felfe, to comforte & appeale the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graves of their auncesters, and put them in minde also of the holy places dedicated to the goddes, and fanctified by king Numa, or by Romalus, or by other Kings. But amongelt many other tokens drawen out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the heade of a man feature newe and freshe, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as

A if that place by fatall desteny had bene once chosen to be the heade and chief of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fyer of the goddesse Vesta (which sence the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy Vestall Nunnes) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did for sake their naturall cittie, besides the great shame and dishonour it would be vnto them. to see it inhabited in time to come by vnknowe straungers, or els to be left a common field and pasture, for beastes and cattell to graze in . Such sorowfull examples and griefes, the honeft naturall borne cittizens, dyd euer blowe into the peoples eares, aswell prinately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, dyd make their hartes to yerne for pittie, when they layed before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they fusteined: and befought them also not ro enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peces of a spoyled cittie (as B of a (hippewracke that had cast them naked into the sea, having only saued bare life and per-

fones) sence that they had another cittie neere at hande and ready to recease them. So Camillus counsell was, that the Senate should consulte vpon this matter, and deliuer their absolure opinion herein: which was done. And in this counsell, he him self brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leaue in any case, the place of their naturall birth and country: and so dyd many other Senatours in like case, fauoring that opinion. Last of all, after these persuasions, he commaunded Lucius Lucretius (whose manner was to speake first in such affemblies) that he (hould frand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the rest also in order as they fat should fave their mindes. So every man keeping filence, as Lucretius was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their confaill house, a captaine with his bade that warded

C that daye, who spake allowed to his ensigne bearer that went formest, to staye, and set downe his ensigne there: for, sayed he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in . These wordes being heard up into the Senate house, even as they stoode all in a doubte & maze what would be the resolution of this matter: Lucretius beganne to saye, that he most humbly thancked the goddes, and allowed of the captaines judgment, and so every one of the rest in their order, fayed as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull chaunge and alteration of minde sodainely among the common people: for enery man dyd perfuade & encorage his fellowe liuely to put his hand to this worke. Infomuch as tarying for no division or appointing out of streetes, nor fetting out every man his place he should builde in: they fell to worke of all handes, everie one Rome is built chofing that place he liked best, & was most comodious for their building, without any other against

D order or division amongest them. Whereupon, they ronning to this building on a head, the streetes were cofused on heapes together, & their houses all built out of order & vniformitie. For the reporte goeth, that the whole cittie (as well comon as private buildings) was built vp new againe in a yere. But the furueyours, to whom Camillus had geuen charge to finde out all news built as the holy places where the teples had bene ouerthrowen: as they went about mount Pallatine, gaine in a they came by chaunce to the place, where the chappell of Mars had stoode, which the GAV- yer. LES had wholy burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and furueying every corner, dyd finde by chaunce Romulus augures crooked staffe hid-Romulus auden under a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the endes, and they call it gover staffe Lituus, which foothefayers doe vie to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will found to provide the state of the factor of the element, when they will found to the factor of the element, when they will found to the factor of the element, when they will found to the factor of the element, when they will found to the element of the eleme

E beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come . Romulus that was very skillfull in this was burne. arte, dyd vse this staffe: and after he was taken awaye from all mens sights, the priests tooke it. and kept it as a holy relicke, suffering no creature to laye hands on it. Nowe they founde this ftaffe whole and vnbroken, where all things els were confumed and perished by fire, they were in a maruelous ioye thereat. For they interpreted this to be a figne, of the euerlasting continuaunce of the cittie of Rome. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grewe a newe warre againe vpon them. For at one very instante, all the Æ QVES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and mayne into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THYSCANS also went then and belieged SYTRIVM, that was in league & amitie with the ROMAINES. The Tribuni militares got them straight to the field with their

F armie, and encamped about mount Martian. The LATINES besieged them so straightely, that comillus chotheir army stoode in great daunger to be ouerthrowen, & they were driven to sende to Rome for Diffact to for a newe supplie. Thereupon the Romaines dyd choose Camillus Distator againe the third

first, which I doe conceyue to be but a tale. They saye the LATINES sent vnto the ROMAINES,

to demaunde some of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell

of warre, or els as desirous in deede, to iovne both the peoples againe by new emariages. The ROMAINES were amased very much at this, and fore troubled, as not knowing howe to aunfwer them, they were so affrayed of warres. For they were yet scante newe setled at home, and dreaded much lest this demaunde of their daughters, was but a summons made to geue them hostages, which they finely cloked vnder the name of alliace in mariage. Some saye that there was at that time a bonde may de called Tutola, or as some saye, Philotis, that went vnto the Senate, and counselled them they should fende her awaye with some other fayer maydes slaues, dressed vp like gentlewomen, & then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this denise, B and chose such a number of bonde maydes as she defired to haue, & trimming them vp in fine apparell, begawded with chaines of golde and itells, they fent them forth to the LATINES, who were encamped not farre from the cittie. When night was come, the other maydes hyd their enemies swords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you will) dyd clime vp to the toppe of a wilde figge tree, from which the shewed a burning torche vnto the Romaines, having

made shifte to hange somwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this fignall the Senate of Rome had fecretly appointed her to fet vp, which was the cause that the iffuing out of the fouldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble and tumulte. For being pressed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great Rome deline- a doe to put them into order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies fleeping, who C red for wares nothing miltrusting the same, were slaine the most parte of them within their cape. This was done on the fifte day of the moneth called then Quintilis, & now is named Iulye: at which time they doe yet celebrate a certaine feast in remembraunce of that acte. For first of all, going out of the citie, they call allowed many of their fellowes names which are most common: as Cains, Marcus, and Lucius, showing thereby howe one of them called another after that forte, as they went in great haste out of the cittie. Afterwardes all the mayde servauntes of the cittie being The maydens trimmely apparelled, goe playing up and downe the towne, pleasauntly leasting with those featte, called they mete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they dyd helpe the Romaines at that time to destroye the Latines. Then they are feasted, sitting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaste daye is called, None D Capratine, by reason of the wilde figge tree (as some thincke) from the toppe whereof, the bonde mayde shewed to the Romaines the burning torche. For the Romaines call the wilde figge tree, Caprificus. Other fave, that all these things are done and spoken, in remembrance of the mischauce that happened vnto Romulus, whe he was taken out of their fight, the fame day without the gats of the citty, at which time there rose a sodain miste & darke clowd. Or as some other saye, that then was the eclypse of the sunne and they holde opinion that the day was named None Capratine, bicause Capra in the Romain togue, signifieth a goate. Romalus vanished out of mens sightes, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the place which is called goate marthe, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The 2.0ccasion & beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that Camillus E being chosen Dictator the third time, & knowing that the Trib militares with their army were straightly besieged by the LATINES, and VOLSCES: he was inforced to arme all the old men, who for very age were priviledged from further service in warres. And having setched a great copasse about mout Martian, bicause he would not be seene of his enemies, he came to lodge his campe behind them, where he raifedfiers, to make the Romaines knowe that were besieged, how he was come: which as fone as they peciued, they tooke to the corage again, & determined to fight. But the LATINES & VOLSCES kept within their cape, & dyd entrenche & fortifie the felues with a wall of wodd, which they layed a croffe, bicause they saw they were beset both before & behind: & determined to tary the releefe of a new fupply, as well of their owne, as of some further ayde besides fro the THYSCANS, which thing Camillus pceauing, & fearing F least they should serue him, as he had already hadled the by copassing of him again behind: he thought it necessary to preuet this. So cosidering the inclosure & fortificatio of their cape was

A all of worde, and that every morning commonly, there came a great winde from the fide of camillus firms the mountaines, he made promition of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armic against the into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one parte of them to geue charge vpon the energy and the same against the same mies on the one fide, with great noyle and showting : and he with the other parte determined Volleton to rayle fier on the corrary fide, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie to doe the same. When he sawe the sunne vp, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the fide of the hilles, & that the skirmishe was begonne on the other side: then he gaue a fignall vnto the companie he led with him, to fet vpon the enemies, and made them throwe into the inclosure of their campe, divers potts & dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catche holde of, in this inclosure of worde, & trees layed ouerthwart, dud raise

B straight an exceding great same in the ayer, & still got waye inwards into the LATINES cape. Whereupon the LATINES being unprouided of present remedy to quenche the same, and feeing their campe a fyre all about their eares: they gathered them selues together at the first in a very small roome. Neuertheles, they were inforced in the ende to get them into the field, & there they founde their enemies ready armed, & in battell raye. So as fewe of those escaped Camillus flue that came into the field, & their fellowes that remained within their cape, were burnt to death the Landers with fyer, vntill the ROMAINES them selves came to quench it for greedines of their spoyle & goodes. When all this was done, Camillus left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners & poyles: & he him felf, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies contrie, where he

tooke the cittle of A QVES. Then after he had ouercome the Volsces, he led his army pre- tooke the ci-C fently from thence vnto the cittle of SVTRIVM. For he had not yet harde of their misfortune. sie of Aeques. Therefore he hasted him self to ayde them, bicause he thought they were yet besieged by the THYSCANS. But suche was their harde fortune, that they had already yelded vp their cittie by composition, & saued no parte of their goodes, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met Camillus by the waye as they were wandring abroad lamenting their miserie, with their wines & little young children: whose miserie went to the very harte of Camillus, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he sawe the ROMAINES weepe for pittle also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it greued them hartely to beholde their great mischaunce; he determined with him felf not to deferre reuenge, but presently to goe the selfe same daye before the cittie

D of SVTRIVM, imagining that he should finde the THVSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, & attending nothing but making good cheere, bicause they had newly taken a wealthy riche cittie, where they had left neuer an enemy in the same to hurte them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to affaulte them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he geffed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the cittie, without any intelligence genen to the enemies within the fame: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles, before they hard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were difperfed abroade in the cittie, in enery house, eating and drincking droncke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the cittie, they were so full fraight with meate & wine, that the most of their wittes serued them not so much as to slye, bursaried vn-E till they were flaine or taken, like beaftes in the houles. Thus was the cittle of Sythiy Mills was the cittle of Sythiy M taken in one dave. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: & those which had wed Sunt.

lost it, recoursed it agains by Camillus meanes. Who deserved both the honour and entrie of triumphe into Rome: the which wanne him no leffe good will and glorie, then the two first before had done prayle, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spighted and enuied his former noble actes, afcribing them rather to fortune that fauored him then to his valliantnes or worthines: were forced nowe by this deede of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valliantnes deserved prayse and commendation to the skyes. Camillo of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was Marcus Manlius, that was the first man that gaue the GAVLES the repulle that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, the capitolly

F and had thought to have taken it: whereupon they gave him the furname of Capitolinia: He mu man afpiring to be the chief of the cittle, & finding no direct waye to exceede the glory of Camillus, tooke the broade highe waye of them that practile tyrannic. For he beganne to flatter O iii

Q. Capitoli-

sen againe

Praneffines.

Flattery and the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke upon him to defende A their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke numein the multimate or the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them awaye by force, that for lacke of common per- abilitie to paye, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bonde flaues. But by this praetife, in shorte time he gotte him a maruelous number of suche needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest cittizens were affrayed of the insolent partes they played. and of the continual troubles and tumultes they daylie stirred up in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they dyd choose Quintus Capitolinus Dictator: who caufed the fayed Manlius immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to prison, Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some comotion would B ryse hereupon, they dyd set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wifer thereby, but dyd still stirre up the commons, more boldely and seditiously, then before. Then was Camillus chosen againe Tribunus militaris, and Manlius was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the fight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where Manlius had repulsed the GAYLES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was eafely feene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing; and he him felfe pointing with his hande, shewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he layed before them the remembraunce of the hazarde of his life, in fighting for their safety. This dyd moue the judges hartes to pittie, so as they knew not what to doe, but many times they dyd put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another daye, and (neither would they geue judgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifest proofes: neither could they vie the feueritie of the lawe you him, bicause the place of his so notable good feruice was ever still before their eyes. Wherefore Camillus finding the cause of delaye of iustice, dyd make the place of judgement to be remoued without the cittle, into a place called the wodde Petelian, from whence they could not fee the Capitoll. And there the accusers gaue apparent euidence against him: and the judges considering all his wicked practifes, conceaued a just cause to punishe him, as he had deserved. So they gave sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwen downe hedlonge the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the felfe place was a memory of his notable good seruice, and also a memoriall of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all this, D they rased his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call Moneta: and made a lawe also, that no Patrician from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitoll, Camillus after this, being called againe to take the office of Tribunus militaris the fixt time: he fought to excuse him selfe aswell for that he sawe he was well stepte in yeres, as also for that he feared fortunes spight, or some mishappe, after he had obteined such glorie for his noble actes and feruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickenes, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allowe no excuse by any meanes, but cried out, they dyd not defire he should fight a foote nor a horse backe, but that he should only geue counsaill, and commaunde: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named Lucius Furius, against E their enemies the PRENESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who ioyning together, dyd inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friendes. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and camped as neere the enemy as he could: being minded for his parte to drawe the warres out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if neede required) when he had recouered strength. But Furing contrarilie coueting glorie, was whottely bent to hazarde the battell, whatfoeuer perill came of it: and to this ende he sturred vp, and incoraged the captaines of euerie private bande. Wherfore Camillus fearing leaft they should thinke for ill will be bare the young men. that he went about to hinder and take awaye the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe fome noble acte: fuffered Furius against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane feafon by reason of his sicknes, remained with a fewe about him in the campe. So F and Vollets, went Lucius vpon a head to present battell to the enemie, & so was he as headilie also ouerthrowen, But Camillus hearing the Romains were overthrowen: ficke as he was upon his

A bedde got vp, and taking his householde feruantes with him, he went in halte to the gates of the campe, and passed through those that sed, vntill he came to mete with the enemies that had them in chase. The ROMAINES seeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they sawe him, they gathered together, and put them selues againe in arraye before him, and persuaded one another not to forfake their captaine. So their enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would purfue no further that daye. But the next morning, Camillus leading his armie into the fielde, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force : and following the victorie harde, he entred amongest them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hand ouerheade, and flue the most parte of them even there. After this victorie, he was advertised howe the camillas

B THYSCANS had taken the cittle of SVTRIVM, and had put to the fworde all the inhabitants wanne the of the same, which were the ROMAINES cittizens. Whereupon he sent to Rome the greatest fielde of the parte of his army, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gaue affaulte and Volsees. vnto the Thus cans, that nowe were harbored in the cittle of Sutrium. Which when he had wonne againe, he flue parte of them, and the other faued them felues by flight. After this, the Thussans he returned to Rome with an exceeding spoyle, confirming by experience, the wisedome of as Survivin. the ROMAINES, who dyd not feare the age nor ficknes of a good captaine that was experte and valliant: but had chosen him against his will, though he was both olde and sicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and lustier that made sute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THYSCYLANIANS were revolted, they fent Camillus Camillus Camillus Camillus C thither againe, willing him of fine other companions to take out one he liked best, enery of again, against

the which defired to be chosen, and made their sute vnto him for the same. But he refusing all other, dyd chose againe Lucius Furius beyounde all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will hazarde battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit Camillus, having a defire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and shame he had receased: dyd of curtesie preferre him before all other. Nowe the THYSCYLANIANS hearing of Camillus CO- The craste of ming against them, subtilly sought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Where the Thington fore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plowe, other to keepe the beaftes, as if they had bene in best peace : and dyd set the gates of the cittie wide open, sent

their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shoppes, D the men of haniour & honest cittizens walked in the market place in their long gownes. & the officers and gouernours of the cittie went vp and downe to euery house, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had stoode in no seare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make Camillus beleeve. but that they had an intent to rebell against the ROMAINES: yet they made Camillus pittie them, feeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to Ro wato the Senate, to craue pardone of their faulte: and he him felfe dvd helpe them, not only to purge their cittle of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priviledge and freedome of ROME. And these be the chiefest acts Camillas dyd in the fixt time of his tribuneshippe After this, one Licinius Stolo moued great sedition in the cittie; betwene Gree sedition

E the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which moved in were chosen yerely, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them should Rome by Libe of the auncient noble families, called Patricians. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Confuls, the people flayed fo that the common wealth went to decaye, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it dyd before, for lacke of gouernment, Butto suppresse this, the Senate created Camillus the fourth time Dictator: but this was fore against camillus his will bicause it milliked the people muche. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the stator the people for that they having ferued under him in many warres and battells, might boldely and fourth time.

truely faye vnto hims that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had

done by the Patricians in peace . Yet was he created Dictator in despight, to rule the people, F and of enuie in the noble men towards them. Thus necessitie dyd vrge him, either by force to suppresse the people, if he were the stronger in this diffention; or els that he him self should be suppressed, if he became the weaker climittue notwithstanding, preparing to preuent this

made a lave for entoying

of landes.

the same law.

The Gardes come againe so Rome.

Sen Dictator the sime.

Howe Camilhis fouldiers with armoter fight with ad-

Anies ft.

mischief, and knowing the daye the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the paffing of their A have by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations fet vpon postes, that the fame very daye he would muster the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of Mars, and dyd fer great penalties vpon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrarie parte, dyd withstande his threates, and sware they would condemne Camillus selfe in fiftie thousand Drachmas of filuer, if he dyd not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturbe them for geuing their voyces to such lawe, as they liked of. Camillus perceauing this, and fearing to be condemned, and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him. being nowe an olde man, and one that had done fo many great and notable actes, or els for that he thought him selfe not strong enough to withstande the force of the people: he kept B his house that daye, fayning him selfe to be sicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another Dictator, who named the fame Licinius Stolo general of the horse men, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides dyd suffer him to preferre another lawe, and to passe it by voyces of the people, that aboue all other lawes, dyd most trouble the Patricians, Which lawe dyd forbid any cittizen of Rome, to have, or occupie aboue fine hundred ingera, which amount to 330 acres and a halfe, 12 pole, and 121 partes of a pole . Then was this Stolo alofte. and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortely after it was found out, that him self had more number of acres then his Sield the first owne lawe permitted. By reason whereof, he receaued the juste punishment of his owne de-C uised forfaiture. Yet the most weightie matter of all this diffention that beganne first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Confuls, remained still undetermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the ROMAINE's had certen intelligence, howe the GAVIES were departed once againe from the Adriaticke sea, and were coming with a great power straight vnto R o M E: vpon reporte of which newes, the warres followed immediately. For the GAVLES destroyed the champion country as they went: and the poore country men that could not recouer Rome, were scattered here and there amongest the mountaines. The feare of this dyd somewhat appeale the diffention. The people then affembling with the Senate, and the baser sorte with the noble, dyd all with one voyce and affent chuse Camillus comillus cho- Dictator the fifte time. He was nowe a very olde man, lacking little of foure score veres; but ne- D uertheles, confidering the necessitie and present daunger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he vindertooke the charge. Nowe that he had taken it vpon him, he presently leused men, and prepared his army. And knowing very well howe the fiercenes of these barbarous GAVLES consisted, in downe right blowes with their swordes, with which they would strike of heades and shoulders of men at a blowe, mangling them like bouchers, without any cast or skyll of fight: he caused iron salletts, and morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothely wrought on the out side as could be, that their swordes lighting on weapon to them, should either slyde of, or breake. Moreouer, he caused their sheldes to haue barres made about them of copper, bicause the wodde selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he dyd teache his fouldiers to cary long iauelines or punchion staues, where E with they might wounde their enemies lifting vp their fwordes to strike them. Nowe when the GAVLES were come neere Rome, having pitched their campe vpon the river of Anian, and being full loden and stuffed with all kindes of spoyle and booties: then Camillus brought his armie also into the fielde, and went to lodge on a little hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many litles caues, so that the most of his army was all hidden and couered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those highe places for an aduantage, and of feare. Camillus to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder: dyd fuffer them to come and spoyle even to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept him selfe quiet in his campe and well fortified. Vntill fuch time as he spyed occasion of advantage, that the best parte of their F army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fieldes: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drincking, as they vied carelefly at all howres. Then Ca-

A millus sent very early before daye, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their campe, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of daye, came downe into the plaine, and dyd fet his other men being well armed, in good arraye, which were a great number, and luftie fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, fewe, and fearefull. This at the very first difcoraged the hartes of the GAVLES maruelously, bicause they thought them selves dishonored, that the ROMAINES should charge upon them first. Afterwardes also Camillus vantgarde dyd fet vpon the GAVLES, and that on a sodaine, before they had ley sure to put them felues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the ende also, Camillus came vpon the neckes of them, with R all his whole force, and army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding vp their naked fwordes alofte in their handes. But the Romaine's thrusting with their armed iauelinges, receased their enemies blowes upon them, and thereby fo rebated the edges of their fwordes (their blades being very sharpe and thinne grounde, and of so softe a temper) that they bowed againe, and stoode crooked vnreasonably; and furthermore, having persed their shieldes through with their punchingstaues, the GAVLES armes were so cloud and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw a vay their twordes and shieldes, and flying in closed with the Romaines, and caught holde of their fauelines, thincking by plaine force to have wrested them out of their handes. Howbeit they perceauing then the GAVLES were naked, fell straight to their swordes: and so was Camillus flat C the flaughter of their first ranckes very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all a- the Gaules bout the plaine: bicause Camillus had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and poffeffed. Neither dyd they retire towardes their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and also knewe well enough it would be easely taken. This battell (as they fave) was thirteene yeres after their taking of ROME before. But after that fielde, the ROMAINES COrages were good enough against these barbarous GAVLES, whom they stoode in feare of before: thincking the first time they came, that they had not ouercomed them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongest them, or through some other straunge chaunce. For they dyd so feare them at that time, that they made a lawe, howe their priestes should The Romaibe exempted from warres, so it were not against the GAVLES. This ouerthrowe was the last exempted marshall acte Camillus dyd in the warres. For, the taking of the cittle of VELITRES, was an prieffer from accident depending upon this iorney: bicause they yelded straight unto him, without striking the wares. any stroke. But the seditions of the people of Rome about government, and the choofing of the yere Confuls, was the hardest matter he euer had in hande. For they returning home to Rome ftronge, and of greate power, by their late obtained victorie: woulde in any case have one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their auncient custome. But the Senate stowtely withstoode it, and would not suffer Camillus to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was greate then, that they should mainteine and continue their auncient dignitie, and prerogative of their nobilitie. But as Camillus was fet in his chayer in the market place, where he hearde and dispatched causes: there came a sergeante to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to followe him, and there withall layed violent handes vpon him, as he woulde haue caried him awaye by force. This made fuche a terrible Sedition as tumulte and vprore, that the like was neuer seene before in the market place. For Ca- Rome about millus friendes draue the sergeaunte backe behinde the chayer. The common people cried choosing of out againe to the fergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chayer. This fo amazed Camillus, that he knew not well what to faye to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne vp his office, but taking those Senatours he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, & made his prayer vnto the goddes, that it would please them to F bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vowe and promise (if these tumultes and troubles might be pacified) that he woulde builde a temple of Concorde. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and di-

to necessiie. A commoner chofen Con-Sul with a noble man.

166 Policy to yeld uerfitie of opinions among them: yet in the ende, the easiest waye dydcarie it, and that was A to graunt the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consul with a noble man. The Dictator having openly published to the people the Senates decree, confirming their defire: the common people were so joyfull, that at that presente they let fall all their malice against the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought Camillus home to his house, with greate (howtes of ioye, and clapping of handes. The next morning all the people being affembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concorde should be built at the common wealthes charge (according to the vowe Camillus had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the market place selfe, where all the affemblies for matters of counfell were made. And further, it was ordered that one daye more should be added to the feastes of the LATINES: & that from thenceforth they should be folemnise foure festivall dayes, & should presently make generall facrifices vnto the goddes,

Camillus died of the plague.

Marcus AE- there were cholen two Confuls, Marcus Amilius of the noble Patricians, and Lucius Sextus milius, Lucius of the Plebeians or commoners. And this was the laste acte that ener Camillus dyd. For , the next yere after, the plague was in Roms, and tooke awaye an infinite number of people that dyed, besides many magistrates and officers of the cittle that departed : among whom, Camillus also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life: yet he was as ready to dye, and as paciently tooke his death, as any man liuing could have done. Moreover the Romaines made more mone and lamentation for his deathe alone, then for all the rest the plague had al-

in euerie temple of the cittie, to gene them thanckes: and in token of ioye, they should all weare garlands vpon their heades for this reconciliation. So Camillus proceeding to election,

> ready confumed. The ende of Furius Camillus life.

THE LIFE OF Pericles.





Addition.

ÆSAR feeing in Rome one daye certen riche & wealthy straugers, having litle dogges and munkeyes in their armes, and that they made maruelous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wifely reprouing them by his question, for that they bestowed their naturall loue & affection vpon brute beasts, which they should with all kindnes and loue bestowevpon creatures. Nature in like case also, having planted in our minds a naturall desire to learne and understand, we are in reason to reproue those that vainely abuse this good defire, fondly disposing it to learne things vaine and vnpro-

fitable: and to cast behinde them in the meane season things honest and necessarie to be lear-B ned For as touching our outward fence, which with passion receaueth impressio of the thing it feeth, peraduenture it wilbe necessarie to consider indifferently the thing feene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtefull vnto him: but fo fareth it not with our vnderstanding, for every man maye at his pleasure turne and dispose that to the thinge he taketh delight in, the reason whereof we must allwayes employe to the best parte, and that not only to con- VVI all fider and looke vpon the thing, but also to reape the benefit and commoditie of the thing we employed to

printe in our hartes an earnest loue aud desire to followe them. But this followeth not in all o-

fee. For like as the eye is most delited with the lightest and freshest cullers: even so we must good things. gene our mindes vnto those sightes, which by looking vpon them doe drawe profit and plea-fure vnto vs. For such effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they doe

C ther things we esteeme, neither are we allwayes disposed to defire to doe the things we see wel done:but cotrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we millike the worke man, as comonly in making these persumes and purple cullers. For both the one, & the other doe please vs well: but yet we take perfumers & diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therefore Antisthenes Antisthenes aunswered one very wilety, that told him Ismenias was an excellent player of the flute. But yet faring of a he is a naughtie man, fayed he: otherwife he could not be so conning at the flute as he is. Euen so dyd Philippe king of MACED ON saye to his sonne Alexander the great on a time: that at a certen feaft had fong paffing sweetely, and like a master of musicke. Art thou not

e Alia miliahka

th or referrible

ashamed, sonne, to singe so well? It is enough for a King to bestowe his leysure somtime to A heare musitians singe, and he doth much honour to the muses to heare the masters of the fcience otherwhile, when one of them fingeth to excell another. But he that perfonally shall bestowe his time, exercising any meane science: bringeth his paynes he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witnes against him selfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne things honest and profitable. And there was neuer any young gentleman nobly borne, that seeing the image of Iupiter (which is in the cittie of Pisa) defired to become Phidias: nor Polycletus, for feeing of Juno in the cittie of A R G o s: nor that defired to be Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, for that they tooke pleasure somtime to reade their workes. For it followeth not of necessitie, that though the worke delight, the workeman must needes be prayfed. And so in like case, such things doe not profit those which behold them bicause they doe not moue asfection in the hartes of the beholders to followe them, neither doe stirre vp affection to re-

The power of femble them, and much leffe to conforme our felues vnto them. But vertue hath this fingular propertie in all her actions: that the maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her fo, that ftraight he liketh all her doings, and defireth to followe those that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only defire to have them in possession: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deedes, Wherefore, we are contented to have goodes from other men: but good deedes we would other should have from vs . For vertue is of this power, that she allureth a mans minde prefently to vie her, that wifely confidereth of her, and maketh him very defirous in his harte to followe her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only understanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which sodainely bringeth unto C him a resolute desire to doe the like. And this is the reason, why me thought I should continew still to write on the liues of noble men, and why I made also this tenthe booke: in the which are conteined the lines of Pericles, and Fabius Maximus, who mainteined warres 2. gainst Hanniball. For they were both men very like together in many fundry vertues, and specially in curtesie and instice: & for that they could paciently beare the sollies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruelous profitable members for their countrie. But if we have forted them well together, comparing the

one with the other: you shall easely judge that reade our writings of their lives. Pericles was of the tribe of the Acamantides, of the towne of CHOLARGVS, and of one of the best & most auncient families of the cittle of Athens, both by his father and mother. For Xanthippus his D father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the iorney of Mysala) maried Meariste that came of Clisthenes, he who draue out of ATHENS Pifistratus of spring, and valliantly ouerthrewe their tyrannie. Afterwards he established lawes, and ordeined a very graue forme of gouernment, to mainteine his cittizens in peace and concorde to-

gether. This Agariste dreamed one night, that she was brought a bed of a lyon: and very thortely after the was delinered of Pericles, who was so well proportioned in all the partes of his bodie, that nothing could be mended, fauing that his head was formwhat to long and out of proportion to the rest of his bodie. And this is the only cause why all the statues & images of him almost, are made with a helmet of his head: bicause the workemen as it should seeme (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the bleamishe of his deformitie. But the ATTA E CAN poets dyd call him Schinocephalos, asmuch to saye, as headed like an onyon. For those of ATTICA doe somtime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue Seilla, that is to saye, an onyon of barbarie: Schinos . And Cratinus the Comicall poet in his comedie he intituled Chirones, fayed:

Olde Saturne he and dreadfull dyre debate begotten have bes ovene them Carnally, this tyranne here this heavy sollting pate, in courte of goddes so termed wvorthely. And againe also in that which he nameth Nemesis, speaking of him, he sayethe Come Inpiter, come Inpiter, Come iolithead and come inkeeper.

And Teleclides mocking him also, sayeth in a place:

Somtimes he standes amazed when he vercemes. u i ili ua bis voyce i u i that harde it were. Sufficiently to knowne. in wwhat estate his vouernment he leaves. And then will be be feldome feene by lovve. suche heavy heapes with in his braynes doe grouve. But yet fomtimes out of that monstruous pate he thundreth fast and threatneth every state.

And Eupolis in a comedie which he intituled Démi: being very inquifitiue, and asking parricularly of every one of the Orators (whom he fayned were returned out of hell) when they named Pericles the last man vnto him, he saved:

> Truely thou hast now brought, unto us here that devell, the chief of all the captaines that come from darkfomehell.

And as for mulicke, the most authors write, that Damon dyd teache him mulicke, of whose Pericles flui name (as men faye) they should pronounce the first syllable shorte. Howbeit Aristotle dies and reafaveth, that he was taught mulicke by Pythoclides. Howfoeuer it was, it is certaine that this Damon was a man of deepe vnderstanding, and subtill in matters of government: for, to hide from the people his fufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a musitian, and dyd reforte vnto Pericles, as a master wrestler, or fenser: but he raught him howe he should deale in marters of state. Notwithstanding, in the ende he could not so conningly conuey this matter, but the people fawe his harping and mulicke, was only a vifer to his other practife: wherefore C they dyd banish him A THENS for five yeres, as a man that busilie tooke you him to chaunge the state of things, and that fauored tyrannie. And this gaue the Comicall poets matter to playe vpon him finely: among which Plato in a comedie of his, bringeth in a man that afketh him:

> O Chiron tellme first : art thou in deede the man, which dyd instruct Pericles thus? make aunswer if thou can.

He was formtime also scholler to the philosopher Zenon, who was borne in the cittle of E- Zenon Elec-LEA, & taught natural philosophie, as Parmenides dyd: but his profession was to thwarte and team contrary all men, and to alledge a world of objections in his disputation, which were so intricate, that his aduerfarie replying against him, knewe not howe to aunswer him, nor to D conclude his argument. The which Timon Phliasius witnesseth in these wordes.

> Zenon vvas subtill sure and very eloquent. and craftilie could wrinde a man, by waye of argument, if so he wwere disposed, his cunning to descrie, or shouve the sharpenes of his writt to practife pollicie.

But Anaxagoras Clazomenian was he that was most familiar and conversaunt with him. and dyd put in him the maiestie and granity lie shewed in all his sayings, and doings, who dyd farre excell the common course of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be shorte, he it was that dyd facion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenaunce which he dyd. For they called Anaxagoras in his time, Nasias finish to laye, E as vindentanding. Either bicause they had his singular wit and capacitie in suche great allmiration, being growen to fearche out the cause of naturall things : or that he was the full man, who dyd afcribe the disposition and government of this world, northing fortune on fai tall necessitie, but voro a pure, simple, and voderstanding minde, which durh separate at the first moving cause, the substaunce of suche like partes as are medied and edmpounded of dis uers substaurices, in all other bodies through the world. Pericles made maruelous bucheof Anakagoras, who had fully infitructed him in the knowledge of naturalithings and of thois specially that worke about in the ayer and firmiament. For he greye not only to have a great mundo and an eloquenctongue, without any affectation por groffe countries ettites: bui to a mer addicerten modelt countenaunce that scantly smyled, very sober in his gates having so kynde of having in thote

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founde in his voyce that he never loft nor altered, and was of very honest behaulour, never A troubled in his talke for any thing that croffed him, and many other fuche like things, as all that fawe them in him, and confidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof the reporte goeth, there was a naughty bufy fellowe on a time, that a whole dave together dyd nothing but rayle ypon Pericles in the market place, and reuile him to his face. with all the villanous wordes he could vse . But Pericles put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, dispatching in the meane time matters of importaunce he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went foftly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblaunce of trouble at all, though this lewde varlet followed him at the heeles, with wordes of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to B his house. Yet the poet Ion fayeth, that Pericles was a very prowde man, and a stately, and that with his gravity and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine scorne and contempt of other; and contrarilie, he greatly prayleth the civillitie, humanitie, and curtefie of Cimon, bicause he could facion him selfe to all companies. But letting passe that which the poet Ion fayed: who would that vertue should be full of tragicall discipline, bringing in with it, a certaine faryricall discourse to moue laughture. Nowe Zennon contrariwise dyd counfell all those, that sayd Pericles gravity was a presumption, and arrogancie: that they should also followe him in his presumption. For, to counterfeate in that forte things honest and vertuous, doth secretly with time breede an affection and desire to loue them. and afterwardes with custome euen effectually to vse and followe them . So Pericles by C keeping Anaxagoras company, dyd not onely profit him felfe in these things, but he learned besides to put awaye all superstitious seare, of celestiall signes and impressions seene in the aver. For to those that are ignoraunte of the causes thereof, suche sights are terrible, and to the godly also feareful, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, bicause they have no certaine knowledge of the reason that naturall philosophy yeldeth, which in steade of a fearefull fuperstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with affured hope of goodnes. Some faye a man brought Pericles one daye from his farme out of the countrie, a rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognosticator Lampon considering this head, that had but one strong horne in the middest of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the signifihead that had cation thereof. That being two tribes and seuerall factions in the cittle of ATHENS tou-D ching gouernment, the one of Pericles, and the other of Thucydides: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his parte, in whose house this signe dyd happen. Further, it is fayed that Anaxagoras being present, dyd cause the rammes head to be clouen in two peces, and shewed vnto them that stoode by, that the brayne of this ramme dyd not fill the panne of his naturall place, but inclosed it felfe in all partes, being narrowe like the poynte of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his first roote of budding out. So Anaxagoras was maruelously esteemed at that present by all those that stoode by: but so was Lampon, fone after that Thucydides was driven awaye, and that the government of the whole common weale fell into the handes of Pericles alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall philosopher and the prognosticator dyd rightly mete ! together in trothe: the one directly telling the cause, and the other the ende of the euent as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to know howe it commeth : and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where some save, that to shewe the cause, is to take awaye the fignification of the figne: they do not consider that in feeking to abolishe by this reason the wonderfull tokens and signes in the ayer, they doe take awaye those also which are done by arte. As the noyse of basons, the lightes of fyre by the fea fide, and the shadowes of nedles or pointes of dyalles in the sunne: all which things are done by some cause and handyworke, to be a signe and token of some thing. But this argument peraduenture maye ferue better in another booke. And nowe against o Perioles, Whileft he was you but a young man, the people stoode in awe of him, bicause he somwhat re-F fembled Pilitram in his countenaunce : and the auncientest men of the cittle also were

muche afeard of his foste voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vitteraunce 4 bicause

but one horne, grounde.

VV hat was

fignified by

The benefit

of national

philosophie.

PERICLES.

A in those he was Pifistratus vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthy, and of one of the noblest families of the cittie, and those were his friendes also that caried the only fwave and authoritie in the state: whereupon, fearing least they would banishe him with the banishement of Ostracismon, he would not medle with government in any case, although otherwise he shewed him selfe in warres very valliant and forward, and feared not to venter his persone. But after that Aristides was dead, that Themistocles was driven awaye, and that Cimon being euer in service in the warres as generall in forreine countries, was a long time out of GRECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of Greece: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the minimum of the poore communaltie, about the small number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which was beginning to directly against his nature. For of him selfe he was not popular, nor meanely genen: but he deale in the

B dydit (as it should seeme) to auoyde suspition, that he should pretend to make him selfe como wealth. King. And bicause he sawe Cimon was inclined also to take parte with the Nobilitie, and that he was fingularly beloued and liked of all the honester forte; he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchasing by this meanes safety to him selfe, and authoritie against Gimon. So he prefently beganne a newe course of life, since he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of state: for they never fawe him afterwardes at any time goe into the cittie, but to the market place, or to the Senate house. He gaue vp going to all feastes where he was bid- To much faden, and left the entertainment of his friendes, their company and familiaritie. So that in all breedth conhis time wherein he gouerned the common weale, which was a long time, he neuer went out semps. to supper to any of his friendes, vales it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew Eury-

C ptolemus mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, when they offer wine to the goddes, and so he rose from the table. For these friendly meetings at fuche feastes, doe much abase any counterfeate maiestie or set countenaunce : and he shall have much a doe to keepe gravity and reputation, shewing familiaritie to every knowen friende in fuch open places. For in perfect vertue, those things truely are euer most excellent, which be most common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto straungers, then their dayely conversation is to their friendes. Pericles nowe to prevent that the people should not be glutted with seeing him to ofte, nor that they should come much to him: they dyd fee him but at fome times, and then he would not talke in every matter, neither came muche abroade among them, but referued him selfe (as Critolaus fayed

D they kept the SALAMINI AN galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importaunce. And in the meane feafon, in other matters of finall moment, he delt by meanes of certaine orators Ephialies and his familliar friendes, amongest whom Ephialtes (as they save) was one: he who tooke awaye order. the authoritie and power from the courte of Areopagus, and dyd geue to muche libertie to the people, as Plato fayed. Vpon which occasion, as the Comicall poets saye, he became so flowte and head strong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a younge vnbrideled colte: and tooke fuch a corage vpon him, that he would obaye no more, but inuaded the Ile of E V B O E A, and fet vpon the other Handes. Pericles also bicause he would facion a phrase of speache, with a kynde of style altogether agreable to the manner of life and grauit e he had taken upon him: he gaue him felfe to all matters which he had learned of Anaxagoras, F. shadowing his reasons of naturall philosophie, with artificiall rethoricke. For having obteined a deepe understanding by studying of philosophie, and a ready waye effectually to ende any matter, he vndertoke to proue (besides that nature had endued him with an excellent witte and capacitie, as the dinine Plato doth write, to bring any thing to ferue his purpose)

he dyd so artificially compasse it with eloquence, that he farre passed all the orators in his

time. And for this cause was he das they saye) surnamed Olympius, as muche to saye, as hea- VVhy Periuenly or diuine. But some are of opinion he had that surname, by reason of the common named observations. buildings and stately workes he raysed up in the cittie of ATHENS, that dyd muche set pine. forth the same. Other thinke it was geuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, aswell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maruaill that this glorie was F geuen him, confidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the Poetes caused to be played in those times (in which there were many wordes spoken of him, some in earnest, some in sporte and least) doe witnesse

Pericles aduerfarie.

that he had that furname genen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he A thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, & that his tongue was a terrible light. ning. And touching this matter, they tell of an aunswer Thucydides, Milesius sonne, should pleasauntly make concerning the force of Pericles eloquence. Thucydides was a noble man and had long time contended against Perioles in matters of the common weale. Archidamus, king of LACEDEMON, asked Thurydides on a time: whether he or Persoles wrestled best. Thu. cydides madehim aunswer. When I have geven him an open fall before the face of the world, he can so excellently deny it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all. and persuadeth them the contrarie of that they sawe. Notwithstanding he was ever very graue and wife in speaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to speake

to the people, he made his prayers vnto the goddes, that nothing might escape his mouthe, & but that he might confider before whether it would ferue the purpose of his matter he treas ted on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vales it be some sewe lawes he made, and but very fewe of his notable fayings are brought to light, faue only these. He sayed on a time that they must take awaye the cittle of ÆGINA, bicause it was a strawe lying in the

eye of the hauen Pir E A. And another time, he fayed that he faw the warres a farre of, comming from Peloponnesus. Another time, as he tooke shippe with Sophoeles (his companion in commission with him as generall of the armie) who commended a fayer young bove they met as they came to the hauen: Sophoeles, fayed he, a gouernour must not only haue his handes but also his eyes cleane. And Stelimbrotus writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the prayle of those that were flaine in the warre of Samos: he fayed they were immortall as the goddes. For we doe not fee the goddes (fayed he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happines they enjoye, we doe conjecture they are immortall: and the same things are in those that dye in seruice, and defence of their countrie. Nowe where Thueydides doth write the government of the common weale under Pericles to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparaunce of a popular state: it is true that

of the people, as we have fayed before, only to get like reputation that Cimon had wonne.

But comming farre shorte of his wealthe and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge that Cimon dyd, entertaining the poore, keeping open house to all commers, clothing poore

olde people, breaking open besides all inclosures and pales through all his landes, that euery one might with more libertie come in and take the fruites thereof at their pleafure; and

feeing him felfe by these great meanes out gone farre in good will with the common peo-

ple, by Demonides counfell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of I os) he brought E

in effect it was a Kingdome, bicause one alone dyd rule and gouerne the whole state. And men neather many other fave also, he was the first that brought in the custome to deutide the enemies

landes wonne by conquest among the people, and of the common money to make the people see playes and pastimes, and that appointed them rewarde for all things. But this custome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got D their living paynefully with fivet of their browes: became nowe to be very vaine sumptuous. and riotous, by reason of these things brought vp then. The cause of the alteration doth eafely appeare by those things. For Pericles at his first comming, sought to winne the fauour

The good deedes of

Large distribucien dimi-

in this distribution of the common money, as Aristotle writeth. And having wonne in a shorte time the fauour and good will of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caused to be deuided among them, aswell to have place to see these playes, as for that they had rewarde to be present at the judgementes, and by other suche like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, dyd inuey against the courte of the Areopagites, wherof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happe to be yerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the facrifices, nor mafter of the warres: all which were offices chosen in auncient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued them selues well in their office, they were called forwards, & raised to be of the bodie of this courte of the Areopagites. Pericles nowe by these meanes having obtained great cre- F dit and authoritie amongest the common people, he troubled the Senate of the Arenagites in fuche forte, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by Ephialtes helpe:

A and in time made Cimon to be banished ATHENS, as one that favored the DACED AM DE Periode canand in this characteristic common wealthe and authoritie of the people. Notwithstanding feth Cimon to he was the noblest and richest persone of all the cittie, and one that had wome so many glos. Athem. rious victories, and had so replenished A THEN s with the conquered spoyles of their enemies as we have declared in his life: fo great was the authoritie of Pericles amongeft the peo-

ple Nowe the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called Office from) was The Office limited by the lawe for tenne yeres. In which space the L ACED & MONIANS being come common. downe with a great armie into the countrie of TANAGHA, the ATHE NEANS fent one their power presently against them . There Cimon willing to shewe the ATHERIANS BY his deedes, that they had fallely accused him for favoring the LACED EMONT AND dydarme B him felf, and went on his country mens fide, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But Perioles friends gathered together, and forced Cimon to departe thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that Pericles fought that daye more valliantly then ever he dyd, and he wanter the honour and name to have done more in the persone of him selfe that days then any to ther of all the armie. At that battell alfo, all Cimons friends, whom Perioles had burdened likes wife to favour the LACE DEMONIANS doings, dyed every man of them that days. Then the

ATHENIAN'S repented them much that they had driven Cimon away, and wishiethle were re-

flored, after they had loft this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of AFF FCA: bicante

dominions, & that Pericles should remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within

the cittie. This Elpinice (Cimos fifter) had once before intreated Pericles for her brother at fuch

time as howas accused before the judge of treason. For Pericles was one of the committees;

deroully against Pericles, vales it were that his melancholy humour procured suche violent

minded and had a naturall defire of honour, in which kinde of men fuch furious cruell pale fions are feldome feene to breede. But this orator Ephialtes being cruell to those that tooke

parte with the Nobilitie, bicause he would spare nor pardone no man for any offence what

focuer committed against the peoples authoritie, but dyd followe and persecure them with

E speacher who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameles, yet he was ener noble

they feared sharpe warres would come upon them againe at the next spring? Which things when Pericles perceyued, he fought also to further that the common people defired where-C fore he straight caused a decree to be made, that Cimon should be called home againe, which Pericles cal-

was done accordingly. Now when Cimon was returned, he adulted that peace thould be made Leth Cimon between both citties: for the LACED EMONTANS dyd loue Comon very well, and contrarily they hated Pericles, and all other gouernours. Some norwithstanding doe write; that Periods

dyd neuer paffe his confent to call him home againe, before fuehe time as they had made a feo cret agreement amongest them selves (by meanes of Elpinice Cimons sister) that Cimon should be fent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of Pansin his

D to whom this acculation was referred by the people. Elpinice went vnto him; & befought him not to doe his worst vnto her brother. Pericles aunswered hermerilie. Thou are to old Elpinice, thouart to olde, to goe through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to midgement? & that his cause was pleaded; herose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it were) & went his waye when he had fayed, doing leffe hurte to Cimon, then any other of Perkle me

his accusers. How is Idomeness to be credited nowe, who accuseth Perioles that he had canted comens the orator Ephialtes to be flaine by treason (that was his friende, and dyd allwayes counsell him, and take his parte in all kinde of gouernment of the common weale) only for the fealous fie and enuie he dyd beare to his glorie? I can but muse why Idomeneus should speake so flauti-

all rigour to the vttermost: his enemies layed waite for him by meanes of one Wristodical TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treason, as Aristotle writeth. In the meant time Cinton The muchon dyed in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the armie of the ATHENIAMS by leas Where of Ephialies.

fore those that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, seeing Pericles was nowe growen very great; and that he went before all other cittizens of A THENS, thincking it good to have some one to

F sticke on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authoritie, that he might Thurydides not come to rule all as he would: they raised vp against him, one Thucydides, of the towne of Pricks ad-ALODECIA, a grave wife man, and father in lawe to Cimon. This Thueydides had leffe skill of come neath

warres then Cimon, but vnderstoode more in civill government then he, for that he remained A most parte of his time within the cittie: where continually invaying against Pericles in his pulpit for orations to the people, in shorte time he had stirred vp a like companie against the faction of Pericles. For he kept the gentlemen and richer forte (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people as they were before, when through the multitude of the commnons their estate and dignitie was abscured, and troden vndersoote. Moreouer he dvd separate them from the people, and dyd affemble them all as it were into one bodie, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and dyd put (as a man will faye) a counterpease into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge only between these two factions, as an artificiall flower set in the blade of a sworde, which made those shewe a litle, that dyd leane vnto the people: and the other also somwhat that fauored the Nobilitie, R But the contention between these two persones, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the cittle wholy in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communaltie. Therefore Pericles geuing yet more libertie vnto the people, dyd all things that might be to pleafe them, ordeining continuall playes and games in the cittie, many feaftes, banckers, and open pastimes to entertaine the commons with suche honest pleasures and deuifes: and belides all this, he fent yerely an armie of three score gallyes vnto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore cittizens that tooke paye of the state for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they dyd learne together, and practife to be good sea men. Furthermore he fent into the countrie of CHERRONESVS, a thousand free men of the cittie to dwell there, and to decide the landes amongest them: five hundred also into the Ile of Na. C. 20 s: into the Ile of AND ROS, two hundred & fiftie: into THRACIA, a thousand to dwell with the BISALTES: & other also into ITALIE, when the cittle of SYBARIS was built againe, which afterwardes was furnamed the cittle of the THVRIANS. All this he dyd to ryd the cittle of a

number of idle people, who through idlenes beganne to be curious, and to defire chaunge of things, as also to prouide for the necessitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For, placing the natural cittizens of ATHENS neere vnto their subjects and friendes, they served as a garrison to keepe them under, and dyd suppresse them also from attempting any alteration or chaunge. But that which deliteth most, and is the greatest ornament vnto the cittie of ATHENS, which maketh straungers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealthe p of GRECE, to be true and not false: are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which Pericles made to be built in the cittle of ATHENS. For it is the only acte of all other Pericles dyd. and which made his enemies most to spight him, and which they most accused him for, cryretted by ing out you him in all counsailles & assemblies: that the people of ATHENS were opely defamed, for carying awaye the readymoney of all GRECE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS to be fafely kept there. And although they could with good honestie have excused this facte, faying that Pericles had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to lave it vp in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safetie: yet was this to ouergreat an injurie offered vinto all the rest of G R & C B, and to manifest a token of tyrannie also, to beholde before their eyes, howe we doe employe the money, which they were inforced to E gather for the maintenaunce of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and fetting forth our cittie, like a glorious woman, all to be gawded with golde and precious stones, and howe we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge. Pericles replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS that they were not bounde to make any accompt of this money vnto their friendes and allies, confidering that they fought for their fafety, & that they kept the barbarous people farre from GRECE, without troubling them to let out any one man, horse, or shippe of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that payed it, then theirs that received it, so they bestowe it to that vie they receyued it for. And their cittie being already very well furnished, and prouided of all things necessary for the warres, it was good reason they should employe and bestowe the F furplus of the treasure in things which in time to come (and being throughly finished) would

make their fame eternall. Moreouer he fayed that whileft they continue building, they should

A be presently riche, by reason of the diversitie of workes of all sortes, and other things which they should have neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande. all manner of artificers and worke men(that would labour) should be fet a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the cittie, receive paye and wages of the common treasure: and the cittie by this meanes should be greatly beawtified, and muche more able to mainteine it felfe. For fuche as were stronge, and able men of bodie, and of yeres to carie weapon, had paye and entertainment of the common wealthe, which were fent abroade vnto the warres; and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers; he would also they should have parte of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing formwhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie R the common people with great buildings, and deuiles of works of divers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the ende that the cittizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and waye to take parte of the common treasure, and enriche them selves as well as those that went to the warres, and served on the sea, or els that laye in garrison to keepe any place or force. For fome gayned by bringing stuffe: as stones, braffe, yuory, gold, ebbany, & cypres. Other got, to worke and facion it: as carpinters, grauers, fownders, casters of images, Disers arisis masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmithes, joyners working in yuorie, painters, men that set core a diffe. in fundrie cullers of peces of stone or wodde, and turners. Other gayned to bring stuffe, & to furnishe them: as marchaunts, mariners, and shippemasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by lande other got also: as carte makers, carters, carters, corde makers, sadlers, coller-

C makers, & pyoners to make wayes plaine, & miners, & fuch like. Furthermore, euery science and crafte as a captaine having fouldiers, had also their armie of the worke men that served them labouring truely for their liuing, who serued as pretises & iorney men under the workemafters: fo the worke by this meanes dyd disperse abroade a common gayne to all fortes of people and ages, what occupation or trade foeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rife in greatnes & fumptuousnes, being of excellent workemanshippe, & for grace & beautie not comparable; bicaufe every workeman in his science dyd strive what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in fight, and to be most workemanly done in showe. But the greatest thing to be woundred at, was their speede and diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens lines and ages & D from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one only gouernour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they fave, that in the fame time, as one Agatarchus boafted him felf that he had quickly painted certen beaftes: Zeuxu another painter hearing him aunfwered And I contrarilie doe rejoyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For comonly flight and fodaine drawing of any thing cannot take deepe cullers, nor geue perfect beawty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the cullers to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes Perioles made, are more wonderfull: bicause they were perfectly made in so shorte a time, and have cotinued fo long a feason. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beawtie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance F of the same, it looketh at this daye as if it were but newly done and finished, there is suche a certaine kynde of florishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the injurie of time cannot impaire the fight thereof: As if every one of those foresaid workes, had some living spirite in it, to make it feeme young and freshe: and a soule that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief surveyour generall of all these workes, was Phidias, albeit that there were many other excellent worke mafters in euery science & occupation. For the temple of Pallas, which is called Parthénon (as a man would faye, the temple of the virgine, and is furnamed Hecatompedon, for that it is a hundred foote enery waye) was built by Ittinus, and Callicrates: and the chappell of Elewin (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by Corabus, who raised up the first pillers in order, standing beneath F on the ground, and dyd fet them vp vnto the master chaptrells. But after he was dead, Metagenes, borne in the towne of X YPETA, turned the arches ouer, and then dyd fet the pillers

in order also which are aboue: and Xenocles of the towne of Cholarda, was he that made

the lanterne or toppe of the steeple which conereth the fanctuarie: but the long wall which Socrates heard Pericles him felfe gene order for the building of it, was done by Callisrates, who vndertooke the worke. Cratinus the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to fee how flowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing faying:

> Pericles long a goe dyd ende this wworke begonne: and build it highe with glorious woordes if so it had bene done. But as for deedes (in dede) he built nothing at all,

but let it stande: as yet it stands much liker for to fall.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for mulicke, where they heare all mulicians playe, and is called Odeon: it is very well made within with divers feates & degrees, and many ranges of pillers, but the toppe of the roofe is altogether rounde, which is somwhat hanging h downeward round about of it selfe, comming together into one pointe. And it is sayed that this was made after the patterne and facion of king Xerxes royall panilion, and that Pericles was the first deuiser and maker of it. Wherefore Cratinus in another place of his comedie he maketh of the Thracians, doth playe very pretily vpon him, faying the first the form of the Pericles here doth come, Dan Inpiter furnamed,

(and onyons hed) which hath in his great noddell finely framed. The plot of Odeon, when he delinered was

from banishment, and daungers deepe, wherein he long dyd passe. I would Pericles was the first that made maruelous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the daye of the feast called Panathenaa, they would set up games for C musicke. And he him selfe being chosen ruler of these games, as judge to rewarde the best deferuer: ordained the manner the musitians should euer after keepe in their singing; playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other instruments of musicke. So the first games that euer were for musicke, were kept within the Odeon: and so were the other after them also .ener celebrated there. The gate and entring into the castell was made and finished within the space of five yeres, under the charge of Mnesicles, that was master of the workes. And whilest these gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddesse Minerua dyd not mislike the building, but that it pleased her maruelously. For one of the most painefullest workemen that wrought there, fell by mischaunce from the height of the castell to the grounde, which fall dyd so sore broose him, and he was so sicke D with all, that the phisitians and surgeons had no hope of his life . Pericles being very forie for his mischaunce, the goddesse appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and raught him a medicine, with the which he dyd eafely heale the poore broofed man, & that in shorte time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddesse Mineraa (otherwise called of healthe) to be cast in brasse, and set vp within the temple of the castell, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they faye. But the golden image of Minerua was made by Phidias, and grauen round about the base: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reason of the good will Pericles bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that Phidias receyued the gentlewomen of the cittie into his house, E vinder culler to goe fee his workes, and dyd conuey them to Pericles. Vpon this brute, the Comicall poets taking occasion, dyd cast out many slaunderous speaches against Pericles, accurails of list-fing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenante in the warrest der against and burdened him further, that Pyrilampes, one of his familiar friends also, brought up fowle, and specially peacoks, which he secretly sent vnto the women that Pericles kept. But we must not wonder at these Satyres, that make profession to speake slaunderously against all the worlde, as it were to facrifice the injuries and wronges they cast vpon honorable and good men, to the spight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked spirites: considering that Stefmbrotus THASIAN durft fallely accuse Pericles of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne fonnes wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the F perfect knowledge of the trothe of auncient things, by the monuments of historiographers:

considering long processe of time, doth vtterly obscure the trothe of matters, done in former

A times. For enery written historic speaking of men that are aline and of the time of things. whereof it maketh mention: fomtime for hate and enuie, fomtime for fauour or flatterie. doth disguise and corrupt the trothe. But Pericles perceyuing that the orators of Thurwdides faction, in their common orations dyd still crie out you him, that he dyd vainely waste and confume the common treasure, and that he bestowed vpon the workes, all the whole renenue of the cittie; one daye when the people were affembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the coste bestowed were to muche. The people auniwered him:a great deale to muche. Well, faid he then the charges shalbe mine (if you thinke good) and The mobile none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely, soing of Pe-When Pericles had fayed fo, the people cried out alowde, they would none of that (either bi-R cause that they wondred at the greatnes of his minde, or els for that they would not geue him

the only honour and prayle to have done to fumptuous and stately workes) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any colle. But in the end, falling out openly with Thucydides, & putting it to an aducture which of them should hanishe other, with the banishment of Ostracismon: Pericles got the vpper hand, and banished banished banished banished banished by Thursdides out of the cittie, & therewithall also overthrewe the contrarie faction against him. Priviles. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the cittle againe to vnitie & concorde, he founde then the whole power of ATHENS in his handes, and all the ATHENIANS matters Perides at his disposing. And having all the treasure, armour, gallyes, the Iles, and the sea, and a mar-

uelous seigniorie and Kingdome (that dyd enlarge it selfe partely ouer the GRECIANS, and C partely ouer the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subject vnto them, with the friendshippe of Kings, & with the alliance of divers other Princes & mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to chaunge his manners, and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not so easely to graunt to all the peo- Pericles some ples willes and defires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered what altereth his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernment which he vied vntill that time, as to de-

licate & to effeminate an harmonie of musike, and dyd conuert it vnto an imperious gouern-

ment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held still a direct course, and kept him self euer vpright without fault, as one that dyd, fayed, and counfelled that, which was most expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by persuasions and reasons, to D be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times also, he draue them to it by force, & made them against their willes doe that, which was best for them. Following therein the deuise of a wise phisitian: who in a long and chaungeable disease, doth graunt his pacient somtime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sorte : and another time also he doth geue him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioge fo great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of fundrie passions, the which Pericles alone could finely steere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with

ther comforting their grief and discoragement in advertitie. Wherein he manifestly proved, E that rethorike and eloquence (as Plato fayeth) is an arte which quickeneth mens spirites at her The force of pleasure, and her chiefest skill is, to knowe howe to moue passions and affections throughly, eliquence. which are as stoppes and soundes of the soule, that would be played vpon with a fine fingered hande of a conning mafter. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to paffe, as Thucydides witnesseth; but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had Pericles com-

the one, the fierce & insolent rashenes of the common people in prosperitie, and with the o-

of his great worthines, bicause he would not any waye be corrupted with gifts, neither had he mended for any couetousnes in him. For, when he had brought his cittie not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authoritie exceeded many Kings and tyrannes, yea even those which by their willes and testaments might have left great possessions to their children: he neuer for all that increased his fathers goodes and patrimonie left him, the value

F. of a grote in filuer. And yet the historiographer Thueydides doth fet forth plainely enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comicall poets also of that time doe reporte it maliciously vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the newe Pifistratides: faying, howe they must

éted games for musicke.

try of HELLESPONT, and of THRACIA, unto the cittle of BIZANTIVM. Other five were co-

make him sweare and protest he would never be King, getting vs thereby to vinderstand, this his authoritie was to exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And Telectides (amongeltes ther) sayeth that the ATHENTANS had put into his hands the revenue of the townes & citties vnder their obedience, and the townes them selues, to binde the one, and to lose the other. to pull downe their walles, or to build them againe at his pleasure. They gave him power, to make peace and alliance: they gane all their force, treasure, & authoritie, and all their goodes. wholy into his handes. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that should continue for a time : but this helde out fortie yeres together; he being allwayes the chief of his cittie amogest the Ephialtes, the Leocrates, the Mironides, the Cimons, the Tolmides, & the The cydides. For after he had prevailed against Thucydides, & had banished him: he yet remained chief about all other, the space of fifteene yeres. Thus having atteined a regall dignitie to co. maunde all, which continued as aforefaid, where no other captaines authoritie endured but Paides fee one yere: he euer kept him selfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no

was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receyued into the house, ranne vnder

accompt, & were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandrie of his, was kept vp-

right in this good order, by one Euangelus, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skill-

full in ordering his householde prouision: and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or

riches, as an inftrument not only necessarie, but also honeit. As, looke vpon the example of

Pericles: who dyd relieue many poore people. And Anaxagoras specially among other: of

ill husband, and could warely looke to his owne. As for his landes and goodes left him by his parents, that they miscaried not by negligece, nor that they should trouble him much in bu-Periales good lying him felf to reduce them to a value : he dyd so husband them, as he thought was his best husbandrie.

and easiest waye. For he solde in grosse euer the whole yeres profit and commoditie of his landes, and afterwardes fent to the market daylie to buye the cates, and other ordinarie prouifion of housholde. This dyd not like his fonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberall in his house, for they complained of his ouerhard and straight ordinarie, bicause in so noble and great a house as his, there c'

that he had it by nature, it was not knowen. But these things were farre contrarie to Maxa-Anaxagoras goras wisedome. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things: dvd a machemati- willingly forfake his house, and suffered all his lande to ronne to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuersitie between a contemplative life, and a civill life. For the one flie burest employeth all his time vpon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attaine to contemplating that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or instrument. The other applying h all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit & benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth

whom it is reported, that Pericles being occupied about matters of state at that time, having no leyfure to thinke vpon Anaxagoras, he feeing him felfe old & forfaken of the world, layed

Pericles appointesh a generall counden as Ashës.

to family him downe, and couered his head close, determining to starue himselfe to death with hunger. Pericles vnderstanding this, ranne presently to him as a man halfe cast awaye, and prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose him selfe to line, being not only forie for him. but for him selfe also, that he should lose so faithfull and wise a counseller, in matters of state Anaxagoras and gouernment. Then Anaxagoras shewed his face, and tolde him: O Pericles, those that E will see by the light of a lampe, must put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the LACED EMONIANS to growe lealous, of the greatnes of the ATHENIANS, wherefore Periles to make the Athenians hartes greater, and to drawe their mindes to great enterprises: set downe an order they should fend ambassadours, to persuade all the GRECIANS (in what part soeuer they dwelt in Evrops, or Asia, aswell the litle as the great citties) to send their deputies vnto Athens, to the generall affembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the facrifices cell to be hal- they had vowed for the preservation of GRECE, when they gave battell vpon them: and touching sea matters also, that every man might sayle in safetie where he would, & that all might liue together in good peace & loue, one with another. To performe this commission, twenty F persones were sent of this embasiate, euery one of them being fiftie yeres of age and vpward. Whereof fine of them went to the Dorians, dwelling in Asia, and to the inhabitants of the

maunded to goe into BOEOTIA, into Phocides, and through all Prioronnesvs, & from thence by the countrie of the LOCRIANS, into the vplande countrie adiovning to it, vntill they came into the country of A C A R N A N I A, & of AMBRACIA. And the other five went first into the Ile of E v B OR A, and from thence vnto the O B T B I A N S, and through all the gulfe of MALEA, vnto the PHTIOTES, vnto the ACHAIANS, and the THESSALIANS: declaring to all the people where they came, the ATHENIAN'S commission, persuading them to send vnto ATHEN S, and to be present at the councell which should be holden there, for the pacification & vnion of all GRECE. But when all came to all nothing was done, & the fayed citties of GRECE dyd not affemble, by practife of the LACED EMONIANS (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusal that was made of their summons, was at P B LO-PONNES YS. This haue I written to make Pericles noble corage to be knowen, and howe profounde a wife man he shewed him selfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen ge- Perille lo-

nerall in the warres, he was much esteemed, bicause he euer tooke great regarde to the safetie and the safetie of his fouldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he fawe might fall water. out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer prayled them for good generalls, neither would be followe them that had obteined great victories by hazard, howfocuer other dyd efteeme or comend them. For he was wont to fave that if none but him felf dvd leade them to the (hambles as much as laye in him, they should be immortall. And when Che fawe Tolmides, the fonne of Tolmaus (trusting to his former victories, and the praise & commendation of his good feruice) dyd prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the countrie of BOBOTIA, & had procured also a thousand of the lustiest & most valliant men of the cittie to be contented to goe with him in that iorney, ouer and about the rest of

the armie he had leavied; he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at

home, by many persuasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certen wordes

CHERRONES VS was best thought of and esteemed, bicause it fell out to the great benefit and

preservation of all the GRECIANS inhabiting in that courtie. For besides that he brought thi-

ther a thousand cittizens of ATHENS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the cit-

ties with fo many good men) he dyd fortifie the barre alfo, which dyd let it from being of an

Ile, with a fortification he drue from one fea to another: fo that he defended the countrie a-

gainst all the invasios and piracies of the Thilacians inhabiting thereabouts, & delivered it

of extreme warre, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neigh-

bours, or dwelling amongest them, who only lived vpon piracie, and robbing on the seas. So

was he likewise much honored & esteemed of straungers, when he dyd enuironne all Paro-

PONNESY S. departing out of the hanen of PEGES, on the coast of MEGERA, with a fleete of

a hudred gallyes. For he dyd not only spoyle the townes all alogest the sea side as Tolmides had

done before him: but going vp further into the mayne lande, farre from the fea, with his foul)

diers he had in the gallyes, he draue some of them to retire within their walles, he made them

fo affrayed of him: and in the countrie of NEMEA, he ouercame the SICYONIANS in battelli

that taried him in the field, and dyd erect a piller for a notable marke of his victorie. And im-

barking in his shippes a newe supply of souldiers which he tooke vp in Achara, being friends

of ACARNANIA, where he thut up the OBNEADES within their walles. And after he had

at that time, that were remembred long after, and these they were. That if he would not beleene Perioles counsell, yet that he would tarie time at the least, which is the wifest counseller Time, the bell of men. These wordes were pretilie liked at that present time. But with in sewe dayes after, confessor when newes was brought that Tolmides felfe was flaine in a battell he had loft , neere vnto the Tolmides

cittle of CORONEA, wherein perished also, many other honest & valliant men of ATHENS: flaine in the his wordes spoken before, dyd then greatly increase Revicles reputation & good will with the feed. common people, bicaufe he was taken for a wife man, and one that loued his cittizens. But of Pericles in

all his iorneis he made, being generall ouer the armie of the ATHENIANS: the iorney of sour

with the ATHENIANS at that time: he passed ouer to the firme lande that laye directly against in. And pointing beyond the mouth of the river of Achelow, he invaded the countrie Achelow ft.

layed waste and destroyed all the champion countrie, he returned home agains to ATRENS A having shewed him selfe in this forney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull for the fafety of his fouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iorney (by change or otherwise) ynto the fouldiers ynder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a great name marnelous well appointed vnto the realme of Pontvs, he dyd there gentily vie and intreate the citties of GRECE, and graunted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force & power of the ATHENIANS, who failed without feare all about where they thought good, keeping all the coastes of the sea under their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the SINOPIANS thirteene gallyes, with certen number of fouldiers under captaine

Lamachus, to defend them against the tyranne Timesileus: who being expulsed, and driven a. B waye, with those of his faction, Pericles caused proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that fixe hundred free men of the cittie, that had any defire to goe, without copulfion, might goe dwell at Sin Opa, where they should have devided among them, the goodes & landes of the tyranne & his followers. But he dyd not followe the foolishe vaine humours of his cittizens, nor would

fion of hope, confidering the large boundes of their Kingdome, & the fortunate estate of their

not yeld to their vnfatiable couctoufnes, who being fet on a iolitie to fee them felues fo strog. Pericles would not fol- and of fitche a power, and befides, to have good lucke, would needes once againe attempt to love the coneconquer E g ypr, and to revolte all the countries ypon the fea coastes, from the empire of the toufnes of the king of PERSIA: for there were many of them whose mindes were maruelously bent to attept the vnfortunate enterprise of entering Sicilia, which Alcibiades afterwardes dyd muche The enterpricke forward. And some of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of Thuscan, & the em- C prife of Sicipire of CARTHAGE. But this was not altogether without some likelyhood, nor without occa-

affayres, which fell out according to their owne defire. But Pericles dyd hinder this going out, and cut of altogether their curious defire, employing the most parte of their power and force,

to keepe that they had already gotten: judging it no fmall matter to keepe downe the LACE-DEMONIANS from growing greater. For he was allwayes an enemie to the LACEDEMO-NIANS, as he shewed him felte in many things, but specially in the warre he made, called the Lacedemoholy warre. For the LACED EMONIANS having put the PHOCIANS from the charge of the teple of Apollo in the cittle of DELTHES, which they had viurped & having restored the DELTHES, PHIANS againe vnto the fame: fo fone as they were gone thence, Pericles went also with ano. D ther armie, & restored the PHOCIAN s in again. And where as the LACED EMONIANS had caused to be graven in the forehead of a woulfe of brasse, the priviledge the DELPHIANS

had graunted them, to be the first that should make their demaundes of the oracle: he having atteined the like priviledge of the Phocian's, made his image also to be graven on the right fide of the fame image, of the brasen woulfe. Nowe howe wisely Pericles dyd gouerne GRECE

with a great armie, led by Plistonax, king of LACED EMON. This occasion drewe him home-E

corrupted by Pericles.

king of Lace. ward againe, and so he marched backe with speede into his countrie, to make preparation to encoulter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of A T T I CA. He durft not offer them battell being to great a number of valliant fouldiers; but hearing that king Pliftomax was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by Cleandrides counsell and direction (whom the Ephores had placed about him to counfell & direct him) he fought privile to corrupt Cleandrides. When he had wonne him fone with his money, he perfuaded him to drawe backe the PELOPONNESTANS out of their countrie of ATTICA: and so he dyd. But when the LACEDENIONIANS fawe their armie caffed, & that the people were gone their wave, every man to his owne cittle or towne: they were so mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great fome. The King being vnable to aunswer his fine, which was so extreme great; he was b driven to ablent him felf from LACED EMON, Cleandrides on the other fide, if he had not fled in time, even for spight had bene condemned to death. This Cleandrides was Gylippus father,

by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deedes doe plainely shewe. For first of all, the countrie

of E v B OR A dydrebell, against who he brought the armie of the ATHENIANS. And sodaine-

ly in the necke of that, came newes from another coaste, that the MEGARIANS also were in

armes against them: and howe that they were already entered into the countrie of Arrica

A that afterwards overcame the ATHENFAMSIN STEVERA, in whom it seemed nature bred co- Gylippus .

fully considered also, for certen vile parses he had played, was likewise banished from Sp. A. T. A. Strategia in as we have more amply declared in the life of Lylander. And Perioles delivering up the accopt siele. of his charge, and fetting downe an article of the expense of tenne talentes he had employed, Grippur robor should employe in needefull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking question the treasure of how nor which waye, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certen Lyfander fens writers (amog whom the philosopher Theophratius is one) who write that Pericles sent verely him with all to vnto Sparra tenne talets, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, bicause they should make no warres with them : not to buye peace of them but time, that Pericles wife

TLELANS, whom he chafed deane out of all the countrie, and placed in their cittie, only the

citizens of ATHENS! And the cause why he delt so rigorously with them was , bicause they

having taken a galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in

her. And peace being concluded afterwards betwene the ATHENIANS and LACEDEMO-

uelous gifte and power the had, that the could entangle with her loue the chiefest rulers and

ly grace with her, having a sharpe wit and pleasaunt tongue: she had the acquaintaunce and

friendshippe of the greatest persones of all GRECE, and wanne all those that dyd haunte her

company to be at the king of Persiaes commaundement. So that she fowed through all the

citties of GRECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the greatest

men of power & authoritie of euerie cittie that were acquainted with her. But as for Alpafia,

fome fave that Pericles reforted vnto her, bicause she was a wise woman, and had great vnder-

standing in matters of state and government. For Socrates him selfe went to see her somtimes

with his friends: and those that vied her company also, brought their wives many times with

them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine fuch as would warme

them by their fire. A fehines writeth, that Lyfieles a grafier, being before but a meane man, and

of a clubbithe nature, came to be the chief man of ATHENS, by frequenting the companie of Apssis, after the death of Pericles . And in Platoes booke intituled Menexenus, although the

beginning of it be but pleafauntly written, yet in that, this storie is written truely: that this

Apafia was repaired vnto by divers of the ATHENIANS, to learne the arte of retho-

rike of her . Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection Pericles dyd beare

Deianira, and fomtimes Iuno. But Cratinus plainely calleth her whore in these verses:

nerousnessas a disease inheritable by succession from father to the sonne. For he being shame- nerousne the

he might in the meane feafon, with better commoditie, and that leyfure, prouide to mainteine policy in forthe warries. After that as the armie of the Peloponnesians were out of the countrie of Ar-TIC A horeturned again against the rebels, & passed into the Ile of Evbor with fiftie sayle. &c

five thousand footemen well armed & there he overcame all the citties that had taken armes Pericles affa against him and draue away the Hyppobates, who were the most famous men of all the CHAL-CIDIANS calivell for their riches, as for their valliantnes. He draue awaye also all the HES-

C NIAN S for thirtie yeres : he proclaimed open warres against those of the Ile of S A M O s , bur- Periode madening them, that they being commanded by the ATHENIANS, to pacific the quarrells which with the Sa they had against the Milles I ANS, they would not obaye. But bicause some hold opinion, that mians, he tooke voon him this warre against Samos, for the love of Apasia: it shall be no great dia Apasia apasgreffion of our storie, to tell you by the waye, what manner of woman she was, & what a mar - fing mife was

gouernours at that time of the common weale, and that the philosophers them selues dyd so largely speake & write of her. First of all, it is certaine that she was borne in the cittie of MILE- The defairy w, and was the daughter of one Axiochus: she following the steppes and example of an policy of Afolde curtifan of I o N I A, called Thargelia, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest per-

D fones & chiefest rulers in her time. For this Thargelia being passing fayer, and carving a come- Thargelia.

her, grewe rather of love, then of any other cause. For he was maried vnto a kinsewoman of his owne, and that before was Hipponicus wife, by whom the had Callias, furnamed the riche: callias the & hadafterwards by Pericles, Xantippus and Paralus. But not liking her companie, he gaue her riche.

with her owne good will and confent vnto another, and maried Apafia whom he dearely lo- Pericles ma-F ued. For euer when he went abroad, & came home againe, he faluted her with a kiffe. Where- ried Affafa upon in the auncient comedies, the is called in many places, the newe Omphale, and fomtimes the famous

His Inno she bim brought Apafia by name. A that afterwards out: cuttor the gone it graded and no wwhich we as in deede an open wwhere, and past all kentle of shame an oran And it femmeth that he had a bastard for Eupoto in a comedie of his called Demosis bring geth him in asking Pyronidenthast n.A. which the real of the mount haby light a women and sweet man best of kpraye three withy bastaya Conneyet alive? on sub pob. bos engrado sidlo And then Provides aunifwerell him: harding a solar easier a lind book are solding blanding

1.1 y 210 mails a A perfect man long fince, be furely had bene foundering a self and a conquest Asked if that this leverde, and naughty withore his werthe had not drownede. 15 1. To conclude, this Apalia was to famous, that Cyrus (he that fought against king Artaxers xes his brother, for the empire of P. E. R. SIA) called Albaffa his best beloved of all his gonor. bines, which before was called Milto, and was borne in Procines, being Hermotimus daugh ter, And Cymus being flayne in the field, Apalia was carried to the King his brother with whom afterwardes the was in great fauour. As I was writing this life this ftorie came in my minder and me thought I thould have delt hardly, if I thould have left it vnwritten. But to our mark ter againe! Péricles was charged that he made warres against the Samtans on the beliefe of the MILESIANS, at the request of Apalia: for these two citties were at warres together, for the cittle of PRIENA but the SAMIANS were the stronger. Now the ATHENIANS COMMAND ded them to laye a fide their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided; but they refused it viterly. Wherefore Revieles went thirther & tooke awaye the government of the final number of Nobilitie, taking for oftages, fiftie of the chiefest men of the cittie, and so many children besides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of & LEMNOS. Some fave every one of these oftages offered to geve him a talent : and besides those, many other offered him the like, such as would not have the sourcine authoritie put into the handes of the people. Moreouer Piffuthnes the PERSIAN, lieutenant to the king of PERSIA, for the good will he bare those of SAM os, dyd fend Pericles tenne thousand crownes to release the oftages. But Pericles neuer tooke pennie: and having done that he determined that Pericles at Samos, and established a popular government, he returned against to Athens, Notwithwas not come franding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, having recovered their oftages againe by meanes of this Piffuthnes that stale them awaye, and dyd furnishe them also with all their mu-

nition of warre. Whereupon Pericles returning against them once more, he founde them not

idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receyue him, and to fight for the D

MIANS) as farre from SAMOS as he could: or as Stefimbrotus fayeth, to goe into CYPRVS, E which me thinketh is not true. But what soeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For

feigniorie by fea. So there was a great battell fought betwene them, neere the Ile of TRA-

CIA. And Pericles wanne the battell: having with foure and fortie fayle only nobly overcome Horie againe his enemies, which were three score & tenne in number, wherof twenty of them were shippes of the Samia. of warre: And so following his victorie forthwith, he wanne also the porte of Samos, and kept

the Same and befreged within their owne cittie: where they were yet to bolde, as they would make falies out many times, and fight before the walles of the cittle. But when there arrived a newe supplie of shippes bringing a greater ayde vnto Pericles: then were they shut vp of all fides. Pericles then taking three fcore gallyes with him, lanched out into the fea, with intent(as some saye) to goe mete certen shippes of the Phoenician's (that came to ayde the Sa-

Melissus (the sonne of Ithagenes, a great philosopher) being at that time generall of the SA-M I ANS: perceyuing that fewe shippes were left behinde at the siege of the cittle and that the generall of captaines also that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, persuaded his cittizens to make a falve vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS o-

uercame: the ATHENIANS were taken prisoners, and they funcke many of their shippes. Nowe they being lordes againe of the fea, dyd furnishe their cittie with all manner of muni-

tion for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet Aristotle writeth that Pericles selfe was once ouercome in a battell by fea by Melistus. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be even The orde, the with the ATHENIANS for the injurie they had receyued of them before: dyd brande them in F stampe of the the forehead with the stampe of an owle, the owle being then the stampe of their coyne at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN prisoners before with the stape

A of Samena. This Samena is a kynde of a shippe amongest the Samians, lowe afore, and well samena a layed out in the midde shippe, so that it is excellent good to rise with the waves of the seat kinde of a and is very swifte vnder sayle: and it was so called, bicause the first shippe that was made of shippe. this facion, was made in the Ile of Samos, by the tyranne Polycrates. It is faved that the poet Aristophanes, couertly conveying the stampe of the Samians, speaking merylic in a place. of his comedies fayeth:

The Samians are great learned men. Pericles being aduertifed of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned presently to the rescue, saying of A-Melissus went to mete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowen, and driven backe the Semians,

into his cittie, where Pericles walled them in round about the cittie, defiring victorie rather by time and charge, then by daunger, and loffe of his fouldiers. But when he fawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they should be quiet & make good cheere, while the other feuen fought. And they saye that from thence it came; that when any haue made good cheere, & taken pleasure abroade, they doe yet call it awhite daye, bicause of the white beane. Ephorus the historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they beganne to vse engines of warre to plucke down great walles, and that Pericles vsed first this wonderfull invention : & that Artemon an enginer was the first deviser of them, He was caried up and downe in a chayer, to fet forward thefe workes, bicaufe he had a lame

C legge: and for this cause he was called Periphoretos. But Heraclides Ponticus confuteth Ephorus therein, by the verses of Anacreon, in the which Artemon is called Periphoretos, many yeres before this warre of Samos beganne: & faveth that this Periphoretos was a maruelous tender Artemon Peman, and so foolishly afeard of his owne shadowe, that the most parte of his time he sturred viphoretos a not out of his house, & dyd sit allwayes having two of his men by him, that held a copper tatget ouer his head, for feare least any thing should fall vpon him. And if vpon any occasion, he were driven to goe abroade out of his house: he would be carried in a little bed hanging neere

the grounde, & for this cause he was surnamed Periphoretos. At the last, at nine moneths ende the Samians were compelled to yeld. So Pericles tooke the cittie, & rafed their walles to the The Samians grounde: he brought their shippes awaye, and made them paye a maruelous great tribute, doe yeld to D whereof parte he receyued in hande, & the rest payable at a certen time, taking oftages with him for affurance of payment. But Duris the Samian dilateth these matters maruelous pittiefully, burdening the ATHENIAN s, and Pericles felf with vnnatural crueltie! whereof neither

Thueydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle him selfe maketh mention. And suer I cannot beleeue it is true that is writte. That he brought the captaines of the gallyes, & the fouldiers them schoes of Samia, into the market place of the cittle of MILETVM: where he made them to be bound falt vnto bordes for the space of tenne dayes, & at the ende of the same, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads passhed in peces; and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, & would not burie them. So Duris being accustomed to ouerreach, & to lye many times in things nothing touching him: seemeth in this place out of all reason to aggravate the calamities of his countrie, only to accuse the ATHENIAMS, and to make them odious to the world. Pericles having wone the cittle of Samos he teturned againg to ATHENS, where he dyd honorably burie the bones of his flaine cittizens in this warre; and him felf(according to their manner & custome) made the funerall oration of for the which he

was maruelously esteemed. In suche sorte, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the cittie came to falute him & brought him garlads to put vpon his head, as they doe to noble coquerers when they returne from games, where they have wonne the price. But Elpinie's coming to him, fayed. Surely Perieles, thy good Elpinicis. feruice done, deserueth garlands of triumphe; for thou hast lost vs many a good and valliant cittizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOBNICIANS, and with the barbarous people as F my brother Cimon dyd, but for destroying a cittle of our owne nation and kynted Perislesto

thele wordes, foftely auniwered Elpinice, with Archilocus verfe; fmyling: ATRADAM AND IN VV ben thou art olde painte not thy felfe. Alene for forthe sole olde woman.

But Ion writeth, that he greatly gloried, and stoode muche in his owne conceipt, after he a had subdued the Samians, saying: Agamemnon was tenne yeres taking of a cittle of the barbarous people: and he in nine moneths only had wonne the strongest cittie of the whole nation of Ionia. In deede he had good cause to glorie in his victorie: for truely (if Thucydides reporte be true) his conquest was no lesse doubtfull, then he founde it daungerous. For the Samians had almost bene lordes of the sea, and taken the seigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESUS being whotte againe, the Co-RINTHIANS invading thilanders of CORPHY: Pericles dyd persuade the ATHENIANS to fend ayde vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by fea, faying that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would have warre with them. The ATHENIANS confented to his motion, to avde those of CORPHY. Whereupon R they fent thither Lacedemonius (Cimons sonne) with tenne gallyes only for a mockery: for all Cimons familie and friendes, were wholy at the LACED & MONIANS denotion. Therefore dyd Pericles cause Lacedamonius to have so sewe shippes delivered him, and further, sent him thither against his will, to the ende that if he dyd no notable exploite in this seruice, that they might then the more justly suspect his good will to the LACED & MONIAN S. Moreouer whilest he lived, he dyd ener what he could, to keepe Cimons children backe from ryfing: bicause that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but straungers, cimis somes. For the one was called Lacedamonius, the other Thessalus, and the third Elius: and the mother to all them three was an Arcadian woman borne. But Pericles being blamed for that he fent but tenne gallyes only, which was but a sleder ayde for those that had requested them, o and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwardes a great number of other gallyes, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were martielous angrie, and went & complained to the counsell of the LACED EMONIANS, where

they layed open many grieuous complaints and accufations against the ATHENIANS, and so dyd the MEGARIAN'S allo: alledging that the ATHENIAN'S had forbidden them their hauens, their staples and all trafficke of marchaundise in the territories under their obedience, which was directly against the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed upon by othe among all the GRECTANS. Moreover the ÆGINETES finding them selves very ill and cruelly handled dyd fend fecretly to make their mone & complaintes to the LACED & MONIAN s, being afeard openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While these things were a doing, the cittle of Po-D TID # A fubicct at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in olde time by the CORIN-THIANS) dyd rebell, and was befieged by the ATHENIANS, which dyd haften on the warres. Notwithstanding this, ambassadours were first sent vnto ATHENS vpon these complaints, & Wirehidamus, king of the LAGED EMONIANS, dyd all that he could to pacific the most parte of these quarrells and complaints, intreating their friendes and allies. So as the ATHENIANS Had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would have graunted to have revoked the decree they had made against the Megarians. Where upon, Peristes, that aboue all other flood most against the reuocation of that decree, & thandyl Sturre vp the people, & made the to stand to that they had once decreed, & ordered, again the Pericles, at MEGARIANSIWas thought the only original cause & author of the PELOPONNESIAN WARTES, E

For it is fayed that the LACED & HONIANS fent ambaffadours vnto ATHENS for that matter wares against only. And when Pericles alledged a lawe, that dyd forbid them to take away the table, wherest

she Mega-

pon before time had bene written any comon law or edict: Polyarees, one of the LACED E MON ambaffadonts; faved vnto him. Well, faid he, take it not awaye then, but turne the table onely. your lawe I am fuer forbiddeth not that. This was pleasauntly spoken of the ambassadour, but Perioles could never be brought to it for all that. And therefore it feemeth he had forme feeta occasion of grudge against the Magarians yet as one that would finely conucy it ynder the como cause & cloke, he tooke fro them the holy lads they were breaking vp. For to bring this to paffe, he made an order, that they should fend an herauld to luminone the M & G W R & A N S TO let the land alone, & that the same herauld should goe also vinto the LACED & MONTANS TO BE-F cuse the MEGARIANS vnto the Leis true that this ordinance was made by Pericles meanes, as also it was most just & reasonable: but it fortuned so, that the messenger they sent thither dyed

A and not without suspition that the MEGARIANS made him awaye. Wherefore Charinus made a lawe presently against the MEGARIANS: that they should be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also if any MEGARIAN should once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he should suffer the paynes of death. And moreouer, that their captaines taking yerely their ordinary othe, should sweare among other articles, that twife in the yere they should goe with their power. and destroy some parte of the MEGARIANS lande. And lastly, that the heraulde Anthemocritis should be buried by the place called then the gates Thrialienes, and nowe called, Diorlon. But the MEGARIAN's stowtely denying, that they were any cause of the death of this Anthemocritus: dyd altogether burden Albasia and Pericles with the same, alledging for B proofe thereof, Aristophanes verses the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the Acharnes, which

are fo common, as every boye hath them at his tongues ende.

The young men of our lande(to dronken bybbing bent) ranne out one dave unrulily and touvards Megara vuent. From vuhence in their outrage, by force they tooke avvaye, Simatha noble curtifan, as she dyd sporte and playe. Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the no[e) the provude Megarians came to us, as to their mortall foes, And tooke by stelthe avvaye, of harlots eke a payer, attending on Apalia, which were both young and fayer.

But in very deede, to tell the originall cause of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof it is very harde. But all the historiographers together agree, that Pericles was the chiefest author of the warre: bicause the decree made against the M B G A R I A N s, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet some holde opinion, that Pericles dyd it of a noble minde and judgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he judged that this commaundement of the LACED EMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would graunte them: and if they yelded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarilie faye, that it was done of a felfe will and arrogancie, to shewe his authoritie and power, and howe he dyd despise the LACEDEMONIANS. But the shrowdest profe of all, that bringeth best authoritie with it, is reported after this sorte . Phidias the image Phidias the

D maker (as we have tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of Pallas: and being image maker.

Pericles friende, was in great estimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being defirous to heare by him what the people would judge of Pericles: they intifed Menon, one of the worke menthat wrought vnder Phidias, and made him come into the market place to praye assurance of the people that he might openly accuse Phidias, for a faulte he had committed about Pallas image. The people receyued his obedience, and his accusation was heard opely in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: bicause that Phidias (through Pericles counsell & deuise) had from the beginning so layed on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken of, & wayed euery whitte. Whereupo Perislesopenly fayed vnto his accusers, take of the golde & way it. The glorie of his works dyd pur E chase him this enuie. For he having grave vpon the scutchio of the goddesse, the battel of the AMAZONES, had cut out the portraiture of him felf maruelous lively, vnder the persone of an oldebalde man, lifting vp a great stone with both his handes. Further he had cut out Pericles image, excelletly wrought & artificially, seeming in maner to be Pericles self, fighting with an A-MAZON in this forte. The AMAZONES had being lifte up highe, holdeth a darte before Perisles face, so passing cunning syrrought, as it seemed to shadowe the likenes & resemblaunce of Pericles: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainely to be Pericles self on either side of the portraiture. So Phidias was clapt vp in prisone, & there dyed of a sicknes, or els of poyson (as some faye) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring Pericles into further fulpition, & to geue them the more cause to accuse him. But howsoeuer it was, the people gaue Menon his

F freedome, & fet him free for paymet of all fublidies, following the order Glycon made, and gaue the captaines charge they should see him safely kept, and that he tooke no hurte. And about

Appliances the fame time also Apassa was accused, that she dyd not believe in the goddes and her ac. A cufer was Hermippus, maker of the comedies. He burdened her further, that the was a bawde to Pericles, and recevued cittizens wives into her house, which Pericles kept . And Diopithes at

the fame time made a decree, that they should make searche and enquire for heretickes that dyd not beleeue in the goddes, and that taught certaine newe doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the fuspition vpon Pericles, bicause of Anaxagoras. The people dyd receyue and confirme this inquifition: and it was moved also then by Dracontides, that Pericles should deliuer an accompt of the money he had spent, vnto Prytamisrea- the handes of the Prytames, who were treasorers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the judges deputed to getre judgement, should gette sentence within the cittle vpon the altar. But Agnon but that worde out of the decree, and placed in flead thereof, that the cause B should be judged by the fifteene hundred judges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for thefte, for batterie, or for iniustice. As for Apasia, he saued her, even for the verie pittie and compassion the judges tooke of him, for the teares he shed in making his humble fute for her, all the time he pleaded her case: as Æschines writeth. But for Anaxagoras, fearing that he could not doe fo muche for him: he fent him out of the cittie, and him felfe dyd accompany him. And furthermore, feeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for Phidias facte, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgement : he set the warres a fyre againe, that allwayes went backeward, and dyd but fmoke a litle, hoping by this meanes to weare out the accusations against him, and to roote out the malice some dyd beare him. For the people having waightie matters in hande, and very daungerous also: he knewe they C would put all into his handes alone, he having wonne already fuche great authoritie and reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (as it is sayed) suffer the A-THENIANS to yeld vnto the LACED & MONTANS in any thing: howbeit the trothe cannot certenly be known. But the LACED & MONIANS knowing well, that if they could wede out Pericles, and ouerthrowe him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS. they commaunded them they should purge their cittie of cylons rebellion, bicause they knew well enough that Pericles kynne by the mothers fide were to be touched withall, as Thucydides declareth. But this practife fell out contrarie to their hope, and expectation, that were fent to ATHENS for this purpose. For, wening to have brought Pericles into further suspition and displeasure, the cittizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then be-D fore, bicause they sawe his enemies dvd so much seare and hate him. Wherefore, before king Archidamus entred with the armie of the PELOPONNESIANS into the countrie of ATTICA, he tolde the ATHENIANS, that if king Archidamus fortuned to waste and destroye all the countrie about, and should spare his landes and goodes for the olde loue and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to geue his enemies occasion falsely to accuse him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrie, vnto the common wealthe. So it fortuned, that the LACED EMONIANS with all their friends and confederates, The Laceda- brought a maruelous armie into the countrie of Attica, vnder the leading of king Archidamu: who burning & spoyling all the countries he came alogest, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, were they incamped, supposing the ATHENIANS would neuer suffer them to E approche so neere, but that they would give them battell for the honour and defence of their countrie, and to show that they were no cowardes. But Pericles wisely considered how the daunger was to great to hazard battell, where the losse of the cittle of Athens stoode in perill, seing they were three score thousand sooteme of the Peloponnes ians, & of the Bobo-TIANS together: for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the A-

THEN I ANS, And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put them selues to any hazard, being mad to fee their countrie thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, Pericles dyd comforte and pacific them with these wordes. That trees being cut and hewen downe dyd comparison 12 spring againe in shorte time: but men being once dead, by no possibilitie could be broughtagaine. Therefore he neuer durst affemble the people in counfell, fearing least he should be in- F diers desser so forced by the multitude, to doe some thing against his will. But as a wife man of a shippe, fight. when he feeth a storme coming on the fea, doth straight geue order to make all things safe in

the (hippe, preparing every thing readie to defend the storme, according to his arte and skill. not harkening to the passengers fearefull cries and pittiefull teares, who thinke them selues cast away: euen so dyd Pericles rule all things according to his wisedome, having walled the cittle substancially about, and set good watche in every corner; and passed not for those that were angrie & offended with him, neither would be perfuaded by his friends earnest requests gintreaties, neither cared for his enemies threates nor accufatios against him, nor yet reckoged of all their foolishe scoffing songes they songe of him in the cittie, to his shame and reproche of gouernment, faying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for daftardlines he let the enemies take all, and spoyle what they would. Of which number Cleon was one that Cleon accus most defamed him, and beganne to enter into some prety credit and fauour with the com-B mon people, for that they were angrie, and milliked with Pericles: as appeareth by these slaun-

derous verses of Hermippus, which were then abroade:

O King of Satyres thou, who with fuch manly speache of bloudy wwarres and doughty dedes, dost daylie to ws preache: Why art thou novve afraved, to take thy launce in hande. or with thy pike against thy foes corageously to stande? Synce Cleon stow te and fierce, doth daylie thee prouoke. With biting vvordes, with trenchaunt blades, & deadly dawwnting froke.

All these notwithstanding, Pericles was never moved any thing, but with silence dyd pa-

ciently beare all injuries and fcoffings of his enemies, and dyd fend for all that a nauie of a

C hundred fayle vnto PELOPONNESVS, whether he would not goe in persone, but kept him self

D fides many finall citties and townes, Pericles felfe also entring into the MEGARIAN'S Countrie

by lande, did waste the whole countrie all afore him. So the Peloponnesians receyuing by

at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill fuch time as the enemies had raifed their campe, and were gone awaye. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie Note Proje at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with caufing a certen distribution to else politice to be made amongest them of the common treasure, and division also of the landes that were pasifie the got by conquest. For after he had driven all the ÆGINETES out of their countrie, he caused peoples anger. the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongest the cittizens of ATHENS. And then

it was a great comforte to them in this advertitie, to heare of their enemies hurte and loffe in by the Athe-

fuche manner as it dyd fall out. For their armie that was fent by fea vnto Peloponnesvs, niant. had wasted and destroyed a great parte of the champion countrie there, and had sacked be-

fea afmuche hurte and loffe at the ATHENIAN'S hands, as they before had done by lande vnto the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres fo long with the ATHENIANS, but would fone haue geuen ouer (as Pericles had tolde them before) had not the goddes aboue fecretly hindered mans reason and pollicie. For first of all there came such a sore plague among the ATHENIANS, that it tooke awaye the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force Plague as of the whole cittie besides, Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected Athen. with this disease, their hartes also were so sharpely bent against Perioles, that the sicknes hauing troubled their braynes, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the pacient against his E phylitian, or children against their father, even to the hurting of him, at the provocation of

his enemies. Who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cause els, but of the great multitude of the courty men that came into the cittie on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the harte of the fommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, fmothred vp in little against Peritentes and cabines, remaining there all daye long, cowring downewardes, and doing nothing; die where before they lived in the countrie in a freshe open ayer, and at libertie. And of all this, faye they, Pericles is the only cause, who procuring this warre, hathe pent and shrowded the country men together within the walles of a cittie, employing them to no manner of vie nor feruice, but keeping them like sheepe in a pinnefolde, maketh one to poylon another with

the infection of their plague fores ronning vpon them, and geuing them no leaue to chaunge F aver that they might fo muche as take breathe abroade. Pericles to remedy this, and to doe their enemies a litle mischief: armed a hundred and fiftie shippes, and shipped into them a

PERICLES. great number of armed footemen and horsemen also. Hereby he put the cittizens in good A hope, and the enemies in great feare, seeing so great a power. But when he had shipped all his men, and was him felfe also in the admirall ready to hoyse sayle: sodainely there was a great eclypse of the sunne, and the daye was very darke, that all the armie was striken with a maruelous feare, as of fome daungerous and very ill token towardes them. Pericles feeing the mafter of his gallye in a maze withall, not knowing what to doe: cast his cloke ouer the masters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any hurte or no. The mafter aunswered him, he thought it none. Then fayed Perceles against to him. There is

no difference betwene this and that, fauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the schooles of the philosophers. But Pericles hoving sayle notwithstanding, dyd no notable nor specials B feruice, aunswerable to so great an armie and preparation. For he laying seigevnto the holy Periode hard cittle of EPIDAVRVM, when every man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to rayle his feige for the plague that was fo vehement: that it dyd not only kill the ATHENI ANS them selues, but all other also (were they neuer so sewe) that came to them, or neere their campe. Wherefore perceyuing the ATHENIANS were maruelously offended with him, he

dyd what he could to comforte them, and put them in harte againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them. For by the most parte of voyces, they deprined him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruelous great fine & fumme of money, the which those prined of his charge. that tell the least doe write, that it was the summe of fifteene talentes: and those that say

more, speake of fiftie talentes. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was Cleon, as C Idomeneus, or Simmias faye, or as Theophrastus writeth: yet Heraclides Ponticus fayeth, one Lacratidas. Nowe his common grieues were sone blowen ouer: for the people dyd easely let fall their displeasures towardes him, as the waspe leaneth her stinge behinde her with them she

Pericles

hath stong. But his owne private affavers and household causes were in very ill case: both for that the plague had taken awaye many of his friendes and kinsemen from him, as also for

that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace. For Xanthippus (Pericles sonne & heire) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and having maried a young woman very prodigall and lauishe of expence, the daughter of Isander, sonne of Epilyeus: he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who feantly gaue him money, and but litle at a time. Whereupon he fent on a time to one of his fathers friendes in Pericles name, to praye him to lend D him some money, who sent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaunde it againe, Pericles dyd not only refuse to paye it him, but further, he put him in fute. But this made the young man Xanthippus so angrie with his father, that he spake very ill of him in euery place where he came; and in mockery reported howe his father spent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophisters, and the master rethoritians. For a mifchaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of throwing the darte, who should throwe best, that he that threwe, dyd vnfortunately kill one Epitimius a THESSALIAN: Xanthippus went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father Pericles was a whole daye disputing with Protagoras the Rethoritian, to know which of the three by lawe and reason should be condemned for this murther. The darte: he that threwe the darte: or the deuiser of that game. Moreouer E Stefimbrotus writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, howe Pericles dyd keepe his wife, was fowen abroade by Xanthippus him felfe. But fo it is, this quarrell & hate betwext the father and the fonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death. For Xanthippus dyed in the great plague, and Pericles ownefifter also: moreouer he lost at that time by the plague, the more parte of all his friends and kinfefolkes, and those specially that dyd him greatest pleasure in gouerning of the state. But all this dyd neuer pull down his contenaunce, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his minde, what misfortunes soeuer he had susteined. Neither fawe they him weepe at any time, nor mourne at the funeralles of any of his kinfemen or friendes, but at the death of Paralus, his younger and lawfull begotten fonne: for, the losse of him alone dyd only melt his harte. Yet he dyd striue to showe his naturall constancie, F and to keepe his accustomed modestie. But as he would have put a garland of flowers vpon his head, forowe dyd fo pierce his harte when he fawe his face, that then he burst out in teares,

A and cryed a mayne: which they neuer fawe him doe before, all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people having proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of judgement and authoritie sufficient, for so great a charge: In the ende, of them selues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counfells, and to the state of a captaine also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept him felfe close in his house, as one bewayling his late grieuous losse and sorowe. Howbeit Alcibiades, and other his familliar friendes, persuaded him to shewe him selfe vnto the people; who dyd excuse them selues vnto him, for their ingratitude towardes him. Pericles then raking the government againe vpon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the statute he had made for base borne children, fearing least his lawfull

heires would fayle, and so his house and name should fall to the grounde. But as for that lawe, Alare as A-

thus it stoode. Pericles when he was in his best authoritie, caused a lawe to be made, that they shear for base only (hould be compted cittizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENIANS borne by borne children. father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of Egypt having fent a gifte vnto the people of ATHENS, of forty thousand bulhells of corne, to be distributed among the cittizens there: many by occasion of this lawe were accused to be base borne, and specially men of the baser sorte of people, which were not known before, or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon so it fell out that there were no lesse then fine thousand of them conuicted and folde for flaues: and they that remained as free men, and were judged to be naturall cittizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thousand and fortie persones. Now

this was much milliked of the people, that a lawe enacted, and that had bene of fuche force; should by the selfemaker and deniler of the same be againe renoked and called in . Howbeit Pericles late calamitie that fortuned to his house, dyd breake the peoples hardened hartes against him. Who thincking these sorowes smarte, to be punishment enough vnto him for his former plyde, and judging that by goddes divine inflice and permission, this plague and losse fell vpon him, and that his request also was tollerable: they suffered him to enrolle his base borne sonne in the register of the lawfull cittizens of his familie, geuing him his owne name, Pericles. It is the selfsame Pericles, who after he had ouercome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battell by sea, neere vnto the Iles Arginvs es, was put to death by sentence of the Periods the D people, with the other captaines his companios. Now was Pericles at that time infected with post to death. the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, rather more temperatly: & by long space of Peride fick-

time, with many alterations and chaunges, that dyd by litle and litle decaye, and confume the "". strength of his bodie, and ouercame his sences and noble minde. Therefore Theophrastus in

his moralles declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe so alter men, that Aphilosophia they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that Pericles in this sickness shewed a friende of his sall question

that came to fee him, I cannot tell what a preferring charme the women had tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderstand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply mens maners fuche a foolishe bable to him. In the ende, Pericles drawing fast vnto his death, the Nobilitie by misfor-F. of the cittie, and fuch his friendes as were left aliue, standing about his bed, beganne to speake Pericles of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, confidering the greatnes of his noble death. actes, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battells being generall of the ATHENIANS, and had fet vp fo many tokens and trium-

many other captaines, and wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie a like, and all this while they had forgotten to speake of the best & most notable thing that was in him, which Anotable

F was: that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occasion. And suer so riche as his was he a noble and worthie persone. For he dyd not only shewe him selfe mercifull and cur- death. teous, euen in most weightie matters of gouernment, among so enuious people and hatefull

phes in honour of his countrie) they reckoned vp among them selues all these matters, as if

he had not vnderstoode them, imagining his sences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being

yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had fayed, and thus he beganne to speake vnto

them. That he marueled why they had so highly prayled that in him, which was common to

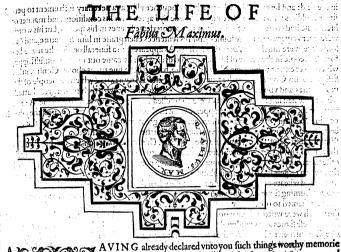
led Olympius.

enemies: but he had this iudgement also to thincke, that the most noble actes he dyd were a these, that he neuer gaue him selfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his most mortall enemie, without mercy shewed towardes him, though he had committed vnto him fuche absolute power and sole gouernment among them. And this made his surname to be Olympius (as to fave, diuine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene to prowde and arrogant a name, bicause he was of so good and gentle a nature, and sor that in so great libertie he had kept cleane handes & vndefiled: euen as weesteeme the goddes authors of all good, and causers of no ill, and so worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets faye, which doe confounde our wittes by their follies, and fonde faynings, and are also contrarie to them selues, considering that they call heaven (which conteineth the goddes) the euerlasting seate, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moued with R windes, neither is darkened with clowdes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all times shyning equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, only happy and immortall. And afterwardes they describe it them selves, full of diffentions, of enmitties, of anger and paffions, which doe nothing become wife and

The Athenians lamensed the loffe of Pericles being dead.

learned men. But this discourse peraduenture would be better spoken of in some other booke. Nowe, the troubles the ATHENIANS felt immediatly after Pericles death, made them then lament the losse of so noble a member. For those who vnpaciently dyd brooke his great authoritie while he liued, bicause it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other speakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confesse, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And C that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, dyd then most plainely appeare vnto them, to have bene the manifest ramper and bullwarke of the safetie of their whole state and common weale: suche corruption and vice in gouernment of the state, dyd then fpring vp immediatly after his death, which when he was aliue, he dyd euer suppresse and keepe vnder in suche sorte, that either it dyd not appeare at all, or at the least it came not to that hed and libertie, that fuche faultes were committed, as were vnpossible to be remedied.

The ende of Pericles life.





a martiful the

Abdulling g

That was 1

as we could collect, and gather of the life of Pericles: it is nowe good time we should proceede to write also of the life of Fabius Maximus. It is fayed the first Fabius, from whom the house and familie of the Fabians dyd descend (being the greatest & noblest houseof all other in ROME) was begotten by Hercules, whom he gatte of a Nymphe (or as other saye, a woman of the coutrie) by the river of Tyber. And some saye, that the first of this house, were called at the beginning Fodians, bicause they dyd hunte wilde beastes, with pittefalles and ditches For vnto this present the ROMAINE'S call ditches, Fossa: and to digge Fodere. Since that time;

B the two second letters have bene changed, and they have called them Fabians . But how soeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that house: and among other, there was one of that house called Fabius Rullus, whom the ROMAINES for his noble actes dyd furname Maximus, very great. After him Fabius Maximus, whose life we have now Fabius Rulling in hande, was the fourth lineally descended of the same line, and he was surnamed Verrucosus, Fabius Mabicause of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle warte. And he was all ximus called fo furnamed Ouicula, a little lamme, for his foftnes, flownes, and granity of his doings whileft he Vermeofin

was a childe. But bicause of nature he was dull, still, and very filent, and that he was seldome feene to playe at any pastime among the boyes, and for that they sawe he was but of slowe capacitie, and hard to learne and conceyue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what C they would, he was fo lowly to his fellowes, this made men judge that looked not into him, that he would proue a very foole and nigeot. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of him: who confidering more deepely the man, perceyued in his nature a certen fecret constancie & the maiestie of a lyon. But Fabius selfe when he was called to serue the common weale, dyd quickely shewe to the world, that which they tooke for dullnes in him, was his grauitie, which neuer altered for no cause or respect: and that which other judged fearefullnes in him, was very wifedome. And where he shewed him selfe not hastie; nor sodaine in any thing: it was found in him an affured and fetled constancie. Wherefore when he came to consider the great foueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he dyd vie his bodie to all hardnes, and brought vp him selfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to serve

fuade fouldiers ynto reason. His tongue likewile that agree with his conditions and manner of

life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeate finenes in his speach, but his words

were euer very graue and profounde and his fentences euen grafte in him by nature and (as

Hounnibal destroyeth the Thuscan,

Wonders.

rashenes,

Fabius wife

fome fave) were much like Thucydides favings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praise of his sonne, who dyed when he came out of his Consulthippe. which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, having bene fine times chosen Conful, in his sines Conful. first yere of his Consulthippe, he triumphed over the Ligurians (which be people of the mountaines, and upon the coast of Genva) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell. where they had loft many men, they were compelled to goe their waye, & to take the A LPBS for their fuccour, & durst no more appeare vpon the borders of I TA LIE, whereupon they dyd B confine. Hannibal entring I TALY afterwards with a great armie, and having wonne the first battell neere vnto the river of TREBIA: he passed further, and went through THY SCAN, Wafting and diffroying all the countrie as he paffed by. This made Rome quake for feare. Befides they fawe many fignes and tokens, fome common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, & fuch other like: but other also more straunge, neuer seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudie of them felues, & that about the cittle of ANTIVE they found wheate eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heaven, burning stones all in a stame of fire: and in the countrie of the PHALERIANS how the element seemed to open, and many litle written scrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written these wordes, worde for worde: Mars doth novu handle his vweapons, C But all these signes and wonders dyd nothing appawle nor daunte the boldnes of Caius Flaminius, Conful then: who befides the naturall great corage, & aspiring minde he had to honour. pet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Conful stoode against his intent: he for all that dyd gene battell to the GAV LBS, in despight of them all, and wanne the victorie. Likewise, though all these signes & wonders in the aver, dyd greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble Fabine, for he fawe no apparant cause to be troubled withall. But he understanding the small number of his enemies, and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counfell, and was of opinion they should paciently forbeare a litle, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose armie hadde bene long D trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was growen valliant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they should fend ayde to their subjects, and other their allies and confederates. as neede required, to keepe their citties still under their obedience: and in the meane season by tract of time, to weare out Hanniballs force and power, which was like strawe fet a fire, that straight geueth forth a blase, and yet hath no substaunce to holde fire long. When Fabius had thus fayed enough to persuade Flaminius, yet it would not sincke into Flaminius heade: for, fayeth he, I will not tarie untill the warres come to Rome gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as Camillus dyd, that fought within the cittie selfe in olde time. Whereup on he commaunded his captaines to set out their bandes to the field, and he him felfe tooke his horse backe: which vpon the sodaine, without any cause E was so aleard, and tooke so on with him selfe, that he cast the Consul to the grounde with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not chaunge his minde, but helde on his iorney toward Hannibal, and presented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called Thrasimena, which is the lake of Pervsia. This battell was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding Thrasmena, there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile that some citties were ouerthrowen and turned topsi turuey, some rivers had their streames turned against their course, and the soote of the mountaines were torne in fonder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were figh-Flaminius the ting, heard any fuch thing at all . Flaminius the Conful felfe was flaine at that battell, after he had in his owne persone done many a valliant acte, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valliantest souldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter F was great, for the bodies flaine were fifteene thousand, and so many prisoners left aliue. After this ouerthrowe, Hannibal made all the fearche he could possible to finde the bodie of FlamiA nius, to burie him honorably, bicause of his valliantnes: but he could neuer be founde amongest the dead bodies, neither was it euer hearde what became of it. Now as touching the first ouerthrowe at TREBIA, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the post that brought the first newes to R OME, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but fayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battell, so sone as the pretor Pomponius had received the newes, he called all the people to counfell, where without difguifing or diffembling at all, he playnely faved thus vnto them. My Lordes, we have lost the battell, our army is ouerthrowen, and the Consul him selfe is slaine in the field: wherefore consider what you have to doe, & prouide for your safety. These wordes spoken to the people, as it had bene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from R the sea, to put them in daunger, dyd so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole cittie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knewe not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed, that it stoode them you to have a chief magistrate, called in Latin Dietatura, that (hould be a man of corage, and could flowtely vie it without foaring or fearing any persone. And for this, Fabius Maximus was thought the only man mete to be chosen, as he, whose noble corage and graue behauiour was aunswerable, to the dignitie and soueraintie of the office; and moreouer, that to his grauity and wisedome there was joyned by reasonable age) strength of bodie, and valliantnes with experience. This countell being confirmed by them all, Fabius was chosen Diffator, who named Lucius Minutius general Fabius Diof the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would graunte him he might effator.

C have his horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the Dictator, but expressely for- The Dictator bidden by an auncient order. Either bicause they thought the chiefest force of their armie might norvide

dyd coulift in their footemen, which caused the making of this lawe: whereby the generall in the warei. should be amongest them in the daye of the battell, and in no wife should for sake them. Or els bicause the authoritie of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto. and that the Dictator should have absolute power over the people. Fabius at his first comming, bicause he would shewe the maiestie and dignitie of his office, and that every man should be the more obedient and readie at his commaundement: when he went abroade, The maiestie

he had four and twentie fergeants before him, carying the bundells of roddes, and axes, of Fabius the And when one of the Confulls came to him, he fent a fergeant to commaund his bundell of Dittaor. roddes that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed a fide: and that he should come and speake with him, as a private man. And first to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the feruice of the goddes; he declared vnto Fabius reli-

the people, that the losse they had receyued, came through the rathenes and willfull negli- gion. gence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any defaulte and cowardlines of the fouldiers. And for this cause he dyd persuade them not to be afrayed of their enemies, but to appeale the wrath of the goddes, and to ferue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but dyd confirme their valiancy with true religion and godlines: and befides dyd vtterly take awaye and aswage their feare of their enemies, by geining them certaine hope and affuraunce of the ayde of the goddes.

Then were the holy bookes of the Sibylles prophefies perused, which are kept very secret: and The Sibylles therein they founde certaine auncient prophecies and oracles, which spake of the present booker of promisfortunes of the time. But what were conteined therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered to phecia. any persone. Afterwards the Dictator, before the open assembly of the people, made a solemne vowevnto the goddes, that he would facrifice all the profits and fruites that should fall the rabin your next yere, of theepe, of fowes, of milche kyne, and of goates in all the mountaines, champion

countrie, rivers, or meadowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of musike, & shewe other fightes in the honour of the goddes, and would bestowe vpon the same the summe of three hundred three & thirtie Sestercians, & three hundred three & thirtie Romaine pence, & Fathird parte ouer. All which fumme reduced into Gracian money, amounteth to foure score

three thousand, fine hundred, and source score, and three silver drachmas, & two obolos. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why

FABIVS. 194 he dyd deuide it by three, vales it were to extolle the power of the number of three; bicarle A it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the begin. ning of divers numbers, and conteineth in it felf the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and joyned together. So Fabius having brought the people to hope, and trust to have the ayde and favour of the goddes: made them in the ende the better disposed to live well afterwardes. Then Fabius hoping after victorie, and that the goddes would fend good lucke and prosperitie vnto men, through their valliantnes and wif. dome: dyd straight let forwards ynto Hannibal, not as minded to fight with him, but fully refolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increase his pouertie by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his Fabing doings people, with the great number of his fouldiers. Fabing camped allwayes in the strong and B against Han- highe places of the mountaines, out of all daunger of his enemies horsemen, and coasted still after the enemie: so that when Hannibal stayed in any place, Fabius also stayed: if Hannibal removed, he followed him straight, and would be allwayes neere him, but neuer forfooke the hilles, neither would be come fo neere him, as that he should be inforced to

fight against his will. Yet allwayes he followed the enemie at his tayle, and made him eyer ateard of him, thincking still that he sought to get the vantage, to geue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this forte; he became difliked of every bodye. For every man both in his owne campe, and abroade, fpake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a rancke coward, Hannibal only excepted. But he perceyning his great reache and policie, and foreseeing the manner of C fight, fawe there was no remedy, but by playne force or flight to bring him to the fight for otherwise his delaye would ouerthrowe the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein only consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his fouldiers should fall away, and dye, and his money was scante, and him felfe should growe the weaker. Thereupon Hannibal beganne to bethinke him, and deuise all

the stratageames and policies of warre he could imagine; and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to geue his adversarie the falle. For sodainely, he would goe and geue alarom to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remoue his campe, from one place to another, and geue him some aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuise out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for Fa-] bius, he continued still resolute in his first determination: that delaye of fight was the best waye fo to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit Minutius, generall of his horsemen, dyd trouble him muche. For he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and brauing of a lustie conerall of the rage, crept into opinion with the fouldiers, by his whotte furie and defire to fight. Which dispised Fawrought muche in them, and so sturred vp their corages, that they mocked Fabius altogether: and called him Hanniballs schoolemaster: and contrariwise they commended Minutius, for a valliant captaine, and worthie ROMAINE. This made Minutius looke highe, and have a prowde opinion of him felfe, mocking Fabius bicause he ever lodged on the hilles, with faying, the Dictator would make them goodly sportes, to see their enemies waste and burne I T A LY before their face. Moreouer , he asked Fabius friendes , who E ther he would in the ende lodge his campe in the skye, that he dyd clyme vp fo highe vpon mountaines, miltrusting the earthe; or els that he was so affrayed, his enemies would finde him out, that he went to hyde him felfe in the clowdes . Fabius friendes made reporte of these leastes, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare

fuche reproachefull wordes as were spoken of him . But Fabius aunswered them . If I should yeld to that you counsell me, I should showe my selfe a greater coward then I

am taken for now: by leaving my determination, for feare of their mockes and spightfull

wordes. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull, and lealous, of the welfare and

fafetie of his countrie: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery strawe, or

rather of a base minded persone to seeke to please those whom he ought to com-

maunde and gouerne, bicause they are but fooles. After this Hannibal chaunced to

to regard every common practing, it is not the parte of a worthic man of charge, but I

A fall into a great errour. For intending to leave Fabius to bring his armie into the playnes. Hamnibal fall where there was plentic of vittells, and store of pasture to feede his horse and cattell: he into great ercommaunded his guydes to bring him straight after supper, into the playne of CASINVM. They mistaking his wordes, and not understanding well what he sayed, bicause his ITALIAN tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his armie to the ende of a feild neere the cittle of CASILINVM, through the middest of the which ron- Casilinum a neth a river, the ROMAINES call Vulturnus. Nowe the countrie lying by it, was a valley compaffed in with mountaines round about, fauing that the river went to the fea: where leaving his owne banckes, it fpreadeth abroade into the marifles, and banckes of fande very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the sea which is most daungerous, and there was

enemies battell: which put all Hannibals armie by and by out of order, and so there were him.

flaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon Hannibal would have removed his campe

thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guydes had made, taking one place

B neither fuccour nor couert. Hannibal being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a facke, Fabius that knewe the countrie, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereaboutes, followed him steppe by steppe, and stopped his passage, where he should have come out of the valley, with foure thousand footenen, which he planted there to keepe the straight, and disposed the rest of his armie vpon the hanginges of the hilles, in the most apt and fit places all about . Then with his light horse men he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his Hannibal set

for another, and the daunger wherein they had brought him: he roundely truffed them vp, and honge them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the toppes of the hilles, and to winne them from their strength, he sawe it was vnpossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceyuing his fouldiers both afrayed and discouraged, for that they fawe them selues hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape: Hannibal determined to deceyue Fabius by a deuise. He caused straight two thousand oxen to be chosen out Hamibals of the heard, which they had taken before in their spoyles, and tyed to their hornes light fratageane, bundells of reedes, and fallowe faggottes, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they fawe any fignall or token lift vp in the ayer in the night, they should then straight fet fire on those bundels and bunches, and drive vp the beaftes to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye.

Whilest these things were a preparing, he on the other side ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, caused them to marche fayer and softely. Now these beastes,

whileft the fyre was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but faver and foftly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driven. In fo muche as the heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondred marueloufly to fee fuche flames and fires about the hornes of fo many beaftes, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with lightes and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the flumpes, and that the force of the fyre dyd five their very fleshe: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to shake their heades, wherby they dyd fet one another a fyre. Then left they their foste pace, & went no more in order as they dyd before, but for the extreme payne E they felt, beganne to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fyre still about their hornes, and in their tayles, and fet fyre of all the boughes and coppelies they passed by. This was a strainge fight to looke you, and dyd muche amase the Romaines that kept the passages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with torches in their handes. Whereupon they were in a maruelous feare and trouble, fuppoling they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuironne them of all fides: fo as they durft no more keepe the paffages which they were commaunded but forfaking the straightes, beganne to flye towards their mayne and great campe. Thereupon Hannibals light horse men immediatly possessed the straights that were kept: by reason whereof, all the rest of his armie matched out at their case and levsure, without seare or daunger, not-F withfranding that they were loden and troubled with maruelous great spoyles, and of all kynde of fortes. Fabius then perceyued very well the same night, that it was but a slight of Hannibal: for some of the oxen that fled here and there fell ypon his armie. Whereupon

ly bicause he was Minutius kinteman (generall of the horsemen) and thought that the ill opi-

Senate also were muche offended with Fabius, for the composition he made with Hannibal,

nion they bare to Fabius, would turne to the prayle and aduauncement of Minutius. The

196 FABIVS. fearing to fall vpon some ambushe by reason of the darke night, he kept his men in battell a raye, without sturring or making any noise. The next morning by breake of daye, he beganne to followe his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the tayle of the rereward, with whom he skirmished within the straites of the mountaines: and so dyd distresse somewhat Hannibale armie. Hannibal thereupon fent out of his vauntgarde a certaine number of Spaniards (very lusty and nymble fellowes, that were yied to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and fetting vpon the ROMAINES that were heavy atmed, flue a great number of them, and made Fabius to retire. Thereupon they despised Fabius the more, and thought worse of him then they dyd before: bicause his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with Hannibal, but by wisedome and policie to ouerthrowe him, where as he him felfe by Hannibal was first finely handled and deceyued, R

Hannibal then to bring Fabius further in difliking and suspition with the Romaines, commaunded his fouldiers when they came neere any of Fabius landes, that they should burne crastines aand destroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wife to medle with Fagamft Fabius. bius landes, nor any thing of his, and dyd purposely appointe a garrison to see that nothing

of Fabius thould inifcarie, nor yet take hurte. This was straight caried to Rome, which dyd thereby the more incense the people against him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceased crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by Metellus speciall procurement and persuation: who of him selfe had no cause to mislike with Fabine, but on-

touching the prisoners taken of either side. For it was articled betweene them, that they Fabius chain- should chaunge prisoners, deliuering man for man, or els two hundred and fiftie filuer geth prisoners drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to have moe prisoners then the other. When exchaunge was made betweene them, it appeared that Hannibal had left in his handes of Ro-MAINE prisoners, two hundred and fortie moe, then Fabius had to exchange of his. The Senate comaunded there should be no money sent to redeeme them, and greatly founde faulte

with Fabius for making this accorde: bicause it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale to redeeme men that cowardly suffered them selues to be taken prisoners of their enemies. Fabius vnderstanding it, dyd paciently beare this displeasure conceyued a-D gainst him by the Senate. Howbeit having no money, and meaning to keepe his worde, and not to leaue the poore cittizens prisoners behinde him: he sent his sonne to Rome, with commission to sell his landes, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to ROME, and fold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the

Coners with

his money. Fabius leanesh Minutius his lief

daye amongest the rest, Minutius perceyuing Hannibal had sent a great parte of his armie abroade to forrage and get vittells: came and fet vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great flaughter, and dyd put them in a maruelous feare that were faued, as men that looked for no leffe, but to have bene befieged in their campe. Afterwardes also, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in spight of them all, and lost not a man. This exploite set Minutius in a pryde, and brought the fouldiers to be more rashe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrowe went F

Fabrus rede- campe: Fabrus therewith redeemed the prisoners, and sent their ransome vnto Hannibal.

Many of the prisoners whom he had redeemed, offred to repaye him their ransome: but he

with Minutius, to gouerne the fame in his absence, with condition not to set vpon the enemie, nor to fight with him at all: the which not only by his authoritie he dyd expressely for E bid him, but also as his very friende, he dyd warne and intreate him in no wise to attempt. Howbeit Minutius litle regarding his commaundementes or requestes, so some as Fabius backe was turned, beganne to be somewhat lustie, and doing with his enemies. So one with speede to Rome, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. Fabius

would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ransome freely. Afterwards being called to Rome by the priestes to doe certaine solemne sacrifices, he left the armie in charge

F in gening Minutius authoritie to followe his rashe humour, and fonde ambition in hearing of it, fayed he was more afeard of Minutius prosperitie, then of his owne aduerfitie.

A perfitie. But the common people reloyced maruelofly, and made great shewe of love we and downe the market place. Whereupon Metellus one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highely magnified Minus by Merelline tim, and commended his corage: and contrarily charged Fabius no more of cowardlines. the Tribune. but with flat treason. Furthermore, he dyd accuse the Nobilitie and greatest men of Rome, faving: that from the first beginning they had layed a platte to drawe these warres out at length, only to destroye the peoples power and authoritie, having brought the whole common weale, to the state of a monarchy, and into the handes of a prinate persone.

Who by his remissenes and delayes, would geue Hannibal leysure to plante him selse in ITALIE, and by time geue open passage to the CARTHAGINIANS, at their pleasure to send R Hannibal a second avde and armie, to make a full conquest of all ITALIE. Fabius hearing these wordes, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried not about the aunswering of the acculations the Tribune had burdened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatche these facrifices and ceremonies of the goddes, that he might spedilie returne againe to the campe to punishe Minutius, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no foner spoken these wordes, but there rose a maruelous tumulte and hurly burley presently among the people, for the daunger Minutius stoode in then : bicause the Dictator had absolute power and authoritie to imprisone and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinary course of lawe or araynement. Moreouer, they dyd judge, since Fabius had alate left his accustomed mildnes and affabilitie, that he would growe to such severitie in his C anger that it would be a hard thing to appeale him. Wherefore every man held their peace for feare, fauing only Metellus the Tribune. He having authoritie by vertue of his office, to

fave what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authoritie, when any Dictator was chosen: then all the officers that were put down, instantly belought the people not to forfake Minutius, nor to fuffer the like to be done to him, as Manlius Torquatus dyd alate to his sonne, who strake of his head, after he had valliantly fought with his enemies and of Mentius ourcomed them, for breaking his commaundement. And beganne to persuade them further, Torquesus 10 to take this tyranicall power of the Dictatorshippe from Fabius: and to put their affayers in his some afto the handes of him, that would and could tell howe to bring them fafely to passe. The people were tickled marueloufly with these seditious wordes, but yet they durit not force Fabius D to refigne his Dictator(hippe, though they bare him great grudge, and were angrie with him in their hartes. Howbeit they ordeined that Minutius thenceforth should have equall power The Diffusor and authoritie with the Dictator in the warres, a thing that was never seene nor heard of before, and yet the very fame done in that forte againe, after the battell of Cannes . For Marcus men made e-Iunius being at that time Dictator in the campe, they dyd choose another Dictator at Rome, quall in au-

which was Fabius Buteo, to name and create newe Senators in the place of those that were flaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number agains of the counfell of the Senate : he discharged the selfe same daye the sergeants that carried the axes before him, and fent awaye the traine that waited upon him, and dyd fo put him felfein prease of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar busines as a private per-E sone. Nowethe ROMARNES imagined, that when Fabius should see howethey had made

Minutius equal in authoritie with him, it would greue him to the harte for very anger: but they came shorte to judge of his nature, for he dyd not thincke that their folly should hurte or diffeonour him at all. But as wife Diogenes aunswered one that fayed vnto him, looke, Diogenes

they macke thee: tushe (fayd he) they macke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke worder, them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus Fabius tooke every thing guietly, that the people offered him, and dyd comfort him selfe with the philosophers rules

., Minutisa rafhenes.

tuous opinion of him felfe, should rashely (and vpon a head) hasten to doe some great

and examples: who doe mainteine, that an honest and wise man, can no wave be in-

jured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he receyued by the peoples follie, was in

respect of the common wealth: bicause they had put a sworde into a mad mans hande,

the warres. Wherefore, fearing least he being blinded with vaine glorie, and presump-

hurte before he came to the campe: he departed fodainely out of Rome without any mans a knowledge, to returne agains to the cape, where he found Minutine fo prowde & flower, that he was not to be delt with. For he would nedes have the authoritie to commaund the whole armie when it came to his turne . But Fabius would not confent to that , but deuided the one

halfe of the armie betweene them : thincking it better he should alone commaunde the one halfe, then the whole army by turnes. So he chose for him selfe, the first and third legion; and gaue vnto him, the seconde and fourth, & deuided also between them the ayde of their friends. And when Minutius made his boafte, that the maiestie of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his fake: Fabius tolde him that he might thincke, if he were wife, he had not to fight with him, but with Hannibal: and if he would nedes contend against his companion, yet he

should have a speciall regard and consideration, that having wonne nowe the cittizens good R willes, by whom he was so much honoured, he should have no lesse care of their healthe and fafety, then he had, who was nowe troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them . Minutus tooke his leffon, for a counterfeate mocke, after olde mens manners & facion: & fo taking the one half of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by him felf. Hannibal hearing of their iarre and squaring together, sought straight oportunitie to make their discord finely to serue his turne. Nowe there was a hill between both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and

it was an excellent place to lodge a campe fafely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, dyd feeme a farre of to be very playne & euen ground. bicause they had no couert of wodde to shadowe them, yet were there many ditches and litle vallies in them: wherefore Hannibal though he might eafely have taken it at his pleasure if he C had lifted dyd let it alone in the middeft betwene them, for a bayte to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Nowe when Hannibal fawe Fabius and Minutius lodged a fonder, he placed cerlayed ambulh taine bandes in the night, among those ditches and valleyes. Afterwardes the next morning pollicie to traine Minutius out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For first Minutius sent this

for Minutiue. by breake of daye, he fent a small number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this ther his light horsemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes; and lastely perceyning that Hannibal him selfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he him self marched forward also with all the rest of his armie in order of battell, & gaue a whotte charge vponthem that defended the hill, to drive them thence. The fight continued equall a good space betwene them both vntill fuch time as Hannibal faw his enemie come directly within his daun- D ger, and shewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had laved in ambushe: he straight raised the signall he had geuen them. They ypon that discouered all together, and with great cries dyd fet vpon the rereward of the Romaines, & flue a great number of them at the first charge: and dyd put the reste in suche a feare and disorder, as it is vnpossible to expresse it. Then was Minutius rashe brauerie and fonde boastes muche cooled. when he looked first vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and sawe in none of their any co-

rage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to ronne away. Which if they had done they had bene cast awaye every man: for the Numidians finding they were the stronger dyd disperse themselves all about the plaine, killing all stragglers that fled . Mimie justouldiers being brought to this daunger and diffresse, which Fabius foresawe they would fall into, and E Fabius forefight in the having vpon this occasion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to see what would be come of Minutius, not by reporte of mellengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to 2 litle hill before his campe, where when he fawe Minutius and all his men compaffed about on euery fide, & euen staggering & ready to flye, & heard besides their cries not like menthat had hartes to fight, but as men scared, and ready to flye for feare to saue them selves he claps ped his hande on his thighe, and fetched a great fighe, faying to those that were about him. O goddes, howe Minutius is gone to cast him selfe awaye, soner then I looked for, and later then he defired? But in speaking these wordes, he made his ensignes marche on in haste, crying out alowde. O my friends, we must dispatche with speede to succour Minutius; for he is a valliat man of persone, & one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouer F much hardines he hath ventted to farre, & made a faulte, thinking to haue put the enemies to

flight: time serueth not now to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presently brake

A the NUMIDES, and disparsed them, that laye waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which Fabin resthey thought would have fled. Afterwardes he went further, and dvd fet voon them that had cuesh Minus they thought would have ned. Afterwardes he went lattitles, and dyd not voors them that had sing, generall general charge vpon the rereward of Minutius battell, where he flue them that made head a of the horsegainst him. The residue, searing least they should fall into the daunger they had brought the men. ROMAINES vnto: before they were enuironned in of all fides, dyd turne taile ftraight to Fahius Now Hannibal feeing this chaunge, and confidering howe Fabius in perfore, with more corage then his age required, dyd make a lane in the middest of those that fought against the fide of the hill, to come to the place where Minutius was the made the battell to cease, and commaunded to founde the retreate, and fo drue backe his men againe into his campe, the ROMAINES being very glad also they might retire with fafetie. They fave Hannibal in his reti-R ring, fayed merylie to his friends: have not I tolde you(Sirs) many a time and ofte, of the han-

he shall commaund me. These wordes being spoken, he commaunded his ensigne bearers to

followe him, & he him felfe marched formest towards Fabius campe. When he came this her.

he went directly to the Dictators tente: whereat every man wondered, not knowing his intent. Fabius came out to mete him. Minutius after he had fet downe his enfignes arhiis feete layed

vanquished. By the one, you have faued our lives : and by the other, you have wifely taught ve

So have we also bene overcome in two fortes: the one by Hannibal to our stance and the

ther by your felfe, to our honour and preferuation . And therefore doe I nowe call you my fac-

ther, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour your

acknowledging my felfe more bounde vnto you for the present grace and fattour I have re-

ging clowde we fawe on the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the ende with a tempelt that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, Fabius having itript those that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & spake not an ill word of Minuteus his The great companion, Minutius then being come to his cape, affembled his fouldiers, & fpake thus to them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterprifing great matters, it is a thing passing mans na Minutes ture: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are paste and done, it is the parte of a wife ration to his and valliant man. For my felfe, I acknowledge I haue no leffe occasion to prayle fortune, then fouldiers. I have also cause to complaine of her. For that which long time could never teach me, I have learned by experience in one litle pece of a daye: and that is this. That I am not able to cottle The will dom maunde, but am my felfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another and that I am of Minutes but a foole to stande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome those, of whom it is more acknowled-

honour for me to confesse my selse to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the Dictator Fall bius henceforth shalbe he, who alone shall commaund you in all things. And to let him knowe that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we have presently receyued at his hands I will leade you to geue him thankes, & will my felfe be the first man to offer to obey him in all that

D with a lowde voyce, O father: and his fouldiers vnto Fabius fouldiers, O mafters, which name the bondemen that are infranchesed, doe vie to them that have manumised them! Afterwards enery man being filent, Minutius beganne alowde to fave vnto him My lorde Destator, this Minutius daye you have wonne two victories. The one of Hannibal, whom valliantly you have onether bing. come: the fecond, of my felfe your companion, whom also your wifedome and goodnes like

E ceyued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begatte me. For by him only I was begot ten: but by you, mine, and all these honest citizens lives have bene faved? And haning looken these wordes, he embraced Fabius: and so dyd the souldiers also, hartely embrace tobether, and kiffe one another. Thus the love was great through the whole campe, and one were fo glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their chekes for great love Nowe when the bius was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictator hippe, there were new Confuls chofen againe: the two first followed directly Fabins former order he had begone. For they kept their felues from geuing Hannibal any battell, and dyd allwayes fend ayde to their libiects and friends, to keepe them from rebellion : vntill that Terentius Varro (a man of meane birth; and Theraffines knowen to be very bold and rashe) by flattering of the people, wanne credit among them to F be made Conful. Then they thought that he by his rashnes and lacke of experience, would rathing incontinently hazard battell: bicause he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that this warre would be euerlasting so long as the people dyd chuse any of the Fabians to be their ge- confidence

Vere,88000 fell to Panius

neralles, and vawnted him selfe openly, that the first daye he came to see his enemies, he would a ouerthrowe them. In geuing out these braue wordes, he assembled such a power, that the Ro-MAINES neuer fawe fo great a number together, against any enemie that euer they had : for he put into one campe foure score and eight thousand fighting men. This made Fabius and the nes cape un- other Romaines, men of great wifedome and judgement, greatly affrayed : bicause they sawe no hope for Rome to rife againe, if it fortuned that they should lose so great a number of goodly youth . Therefore Fabius talked with the other Conful, called Paulus Amilius, a man very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloued of the common people, whose furie he yet feared for that they had condemned him a litle before to paye a greatfine to the treasurie; and after he had formwhat comforted him, he beganne to perfuade and encorage him to reful the fonde rashnes of his companion, telling him, that he should have asmuch to doe with Teren.

FABIVS.

tius Varro for the preservation and safety of his countrie, as to fight with Hannibal for defence of the same. For they were both Marshall men, and had a like desire to fight: the one bicause he knewe not wherein the vantage of his strength consisted, and the other bicause he knewe very well his weaknes. You shall have reason to beleeue me better, for matters touching Hannibal, then Terentius Varro. For I dare warrant you, if you keepe Hannibal from battell but this yere: he shall of necessitie, if he tarie, consume him self, or els for shame be driven to five with his armie. And the rather bicause hetherto (though he seeme to be lorde of the field) never one yet of his enemies came to take his parte: and moreouer bicause there remaines at this daye in his campe not the third parte of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie. Vnto these persuasions, the Consul (as it is reported) aunswered thus. When I looke into my felfe, my lorde Fabius, me thinkes my best waye were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands & voyces of our cittizens. Therefore, fith the estate of the common wealth so requireth it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you have sayed: I will doe my best indeuour to shewe my selfe a wise captaine, for your sake only, rather then for all other that should aduise me to the cotrarie. And so Paulus departed from Rome with this minde. But Terentius his companion would in any case, they should comaund the whole armie by turnes, eche his daye by him felfe: and went to encampe harde by Hannibal, by the river of Aufide, neere vnto the village called CANNES. Nowe when it came to his daye to comaund by turnes, early in the mourning he caused the signall of battell to be set out, which was a coate armour of skarlet in graine, that they dyd laye out vpon the paulion of the ge- I nerall: fo that the enemies at the first fight, begane to be afeard, to see the lustines of this newe come generall, and the great number of fouldiers he had also in his hoste, in comparison of them that were not halfe so many. Yet Hannibal of a good corage, commaunded euery man go arme, and to put them selves in order of battell : and him selse in the meane time taking his horse backe, followed with a fewe, gallopped vp to the toppe of a litle hill not very steepe. from whence he might plainely discerne all the ROMAINES campe, and sawe howe they dyd range their men in order of battell. Nowe one Gifcon (a man of like state and nobilitie as him felfe) being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies feemed a farre of to be a mat-

What? mary fayeth he this; that of all the great number of fouldiers you fee yonder, there is not a man of them called Gifcon as you are. This mery aunswer deliuered contrarie to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great waightie matter, made them all laughe a good. So downe the hill they came laughing alowde, and tolde this prety leaste to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in to much as Hannibal him felfe could not holde from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN fouldiers perceyuing this, beganne to be of a good corage, imagining that their generall would not be to merylie disposed as to fall a laughing, being so neere daunger, if he had not perceyued him selfe a great deale to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore he shewed two policies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The r first was, the situation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raifed a sharpe dust our of

uelous number. But Hannibal rubbing his forehead, aunswered him. Yea, sayed he, but there

is another thing more to be wondered at then you thinke of Gifcon Gifcon straight asked him:

A the open fandy valley, and paffing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS fquadron, blewe full in the Ro-

MAINES faces, with fuch a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes. The seconde policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he pla-

ced on either fide of his winges, the best and valliantest souldiers he had in all his armie: and Hamnibations dyd fill vp the middest of his battell with the worste of his men, which he made like a pointe, at Cannes.

and was farder out by a great deale, then the two winges of the fronte of his battell. So he commaunded those of the winges, that when the ROMAINES had broken his first fronte, and

followed those that gaue backe, whereby the middest of his battell should leave an hollowe place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compasse of the two winges:

that then they should fet vpon them on both sides, and charge their flanks immediatly, and so B inclose them in behind. And this was cause of a greater slaughter. For when the midle battell beganne to geue backe, and to receyue the Romaines within it, who pursued the other very whotly, Hannibals battell chaunged her forme: & where at the beginning it was like a pointe. ir became nowe in the middest like a cressant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the chosen bandes that laye out in both the winges, made their men to turne, some on the left hand, and some on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behinde, where they The flaughand folice on the right, and charged the Rould not faue them selues by flying, before they ter of the Re-

were enuironned. They faye also, that there fell out another mischief by misfortune, vnto the battell of

horsemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occasion. The horse of Paulus Amilius the Consul Cannes. being hurte, dyd throwe his master on the grounde: whereupon those that were next him, dyd light from their horse backs to helpe him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great wave behinde him, seeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forfooke their horfe, and fought it out a foote. Hannibal when he fawe that, faved : yea marie, I had rather have them fo, then delivered me bounde hande and foote . But for those matters, the historiographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Cofuls, Varro faued him felfe by his horse, with a fewe following him, within the cittie of V E-NVS.A. Paulus being in the middest of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes Paulus AEthat stucke fast in his woundes, and his harte sore loden with grieuous sorowe and anguishe at the bastell

to fee the ouerthrowe of his men: was fet downe by a rocke, looking for fome of his enemies, of cannes. to come and ryd him out of his payne. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was of) fuch a gore bloude: infomuch as his friends and feruants also passed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble house of the Patricians, called Cornelius Lentulus, that knewe him, who dyd his best endeuour to saue him . For he lighted a foote presently, & brought him his horse, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could saue him selfe for the necessitie of his countrie, which nowe more then euer had neede of a good and wife captaine. But he refused the gentlemans offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horse backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his chekes for pittie: and raifing him felfe vp to take him by the hande, he fayed vnto him. I pray you tell Fabius Maximus from me, and witnesse with me, that Paulus Æmilius even to his last hower hath followed his counfaill, and dyd neuer swarue from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced E to it by Varro, and afterwardes by Hannibal. When he had deliuered these wordes, he bad Lentulus farewell: and ronning againe into the furie of the flaughter, there he dyed among his flaine companions. It is thought there were flaine at this battell, fiftie thousand ROMAINES, & 50000. Ro-

foure thousand taken prisoners: and other tenne thousand that were taken prisoners in two maines slaims campes after the battell. When this noble victorie was gotten, Hannibals friendes gaue him of Cannes. counsaill to followe his good fortune: and to enter Rome after the scattered number that fled thither: fo as within fewe dayes following homight suppe in their capitoll. A man cannot

him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they faye, that one Barca a CARTHAGINIAN, in All Italy re-F his anger fayed to Hannibal: Syr, you have the waye to ouercome, but you cannot vie victo- with and rie. Notwithstanding, this victorie made a maruelous chaunge for him. For hereupon, all submitted the ITALY in manner came in to submit them selves to him: where before he had no towne at midal.

easely gesse what was the cause that stayed him, that he went not, vnles it was (as I thinke)

fome good fortune, or fauorable God toward the Romaines that withftoode him, and made

202 FABIVS. comaundemet, nor any storehouse or porte through all I TALIE, yea he did maruelous hardly, i & with much a doe vittell his armie with that he could daylie robbe & spoyle, having no cent place to retire vnto nor grouded hope to entertain these warres, but kept the field with his armie, remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great number of murderers & theenes together. For the most parte of the coutrie, dyd yeld immediatly vnto him: as the cittle of Ca-PVA, being the chiefest and greatest cittie of all ITALIE but Rome, and dyd receyue Hannibal. and were at his denotion. Thus we maye plainely fee, that as the poet Euripides fayeth: it is a great mischief not onely to be driven to make triall of friendes, but proofe also of captaines wisdom. For that which before they accompted cowardlines and fainte harte in Fabius, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reason, and rather a heauenly wisdome and influence, that so long foresawe the things to come, which the parties selues that h afterwards felt them, gaue litle credit vnto before. Vpon this occasion, Rome reposed incontinently all their hope and truste in Fabius, and they repaired to him for consell, as they would haue ronne vnto some temple or altar for sanctuarie. So as the first & chiefest cause of staying the people together from difperfing them felues abroade, as they dyd when Rome was taken by the GAVLES: was the only opinion & confidence they had in Fabrus wisedome. For where before he seemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no daunger nor misfortune

happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for forowe, which could not helpe, and

that were magistrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the cittie: for there was

not a man that bare any office, but dyd cast his eye vpon Fabius, to knowe what he should doe,

He it was that caused the gates of the cittie straight to be warded, and to keepe those in for

that all the world was fo troubled that there was no order taken for anything, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the cittie very modeftly, with a bold constant countenaunce, speaking curteoufly to enery one, and dyd appeale their womanithe cries and lamentations, and C dyd forbid the common affemblies & fonde ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corfe at their burialls. Then he perfuaded the Senate to affemble in counfell, and dyd comforte vp those

going their wave, that would have for faken the cittie. He moreouer dyd appointe the time Fabius order and place of mourning, & dyd commaund who foeuer was difposed to mourne, that he should for mounting. doe it privately in his owne house, and to continue only but thirtie dayes. Then he willed all

mourning to be left of, and that the cittie might be cleane from such vncleane things. So the feast of Ceres falling about that time, he thought it better to leave of the facrifices & pro-D ceffion they were wont to keepe on Ceres daye: then by their fmall number that were left, and

nimitie of the Romaines after the ouerthrowe at Cannes,

Fabius Maximus,and Claudius Marcellus generalles.

forowe of those that remained, to let their enemies vnderstand their exceeding great losse. For the goddes delite to be served with glad and rejoycing hartes, and with those that are in prosperitie. But all this notwithstanding, whatsoeuer the priestes would have done, either to pacifie the wrath of the goddes, or to turne awaye the threatnings of these sinister signes, it was forthwith done. For they dyd fendeto the oracle of Apollo, in the cittle of DELPHES, one of Fabius kinsemen surnamed Pictor. And two of the Vestall Nunnes being deflowred: the one was buried aliue according to the lawe and custome, and the other made her self awaye. But here-The magna- in the great corage and noble elemency of the ROMAINES, is maruelously to be noted and regarded. For the Conful Terentius Varro returning backe to Rome, with the shame of his ex- E treme misfortune & ouerthrowe, that he durste not looke vpon anyman: the Senate not withstanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the cittie to meete him, and dyd honorably receyue him. Nay furthermore, those that were the chief magistrates and Senators, among whom Fabius was one, when filence was made, they commended Varro much: bicause he did not despaire of the prescruation of the common weale after so great a calamitie, but dyd returne againe to the cittie, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vfing the authoritie of the lawe, and the service of the cittizens, as not being altogether under foote, but standing yet in reasonable termes of good recouery. But when they understoode that Hannibal after the battell was gone into other partes of ITALTE: then they beganne to be of good chere againe, and fent a newe armie and generalles to the field, among which, the two chief generals F were, Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wanne a like glorie and reputation. For Marcellus (as we have declared in his life) was a man

A of freedy execution, of a quicke hande, of a valliant nature, and a right martiall man, as Homes calleth them, that valliantly put them felues in any daunger: by reason whereof, having to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valliant as him felfe, in all feruice and execution, he shewed the selfe boldnes and corage that Hannibal dyd. Bur Fabius persisting still voon his first determination, dyd hope that though he dyd not fight with Hannibal, nor sturre him at all, yet continuall warres would confume him and his armie in the end, and bring them both to nought: as a commo wrestler that forceth his bodie aboue his naturall strength doth in the ende become a lame and broofed man. Hereupon Posidonius writeth, that the one was Posidonius called the Romaines fworde, and the other their target. And that Fabius constancie and re-

folutnes in warres to fight with securitie, and to commit nothing to hazard & daunger, being cellus. mingled with Marcellus heate and furie: was that only, which preserved the Romaines empire. For Hannibal meting allwayes in his waye the one that was furious, as a strong ronning ftreame, founde that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried: & the other that was flowe as a little prety river, he founde that his army ranne foftely vnder him without any novse, but yet continually by litle and litle it dyd still consume & diminishe him, vntill he sawe him selfe at the last brought to that passe, that he was weary with fighting with Marcellus, and affrayed of Fabius bicause he fought not. For during all the time of these warres he had euer these two captaines almost against him, which were made either Prætors, Consuls, or Proconfuls: for either of them both had bene fine times before chosen Conful. Yet as for Marcellus: Hannibal had layed an ambushe for him in the fifte and last vere of his Conful-C (hippe, where he fet ypon him on a fodaine; and flue him. But as for Fabius, he layed many flaine by an

mie, & to have gone to them. But bicause the signes of the birdes dyd promise him no good

made by Hannibals fine deuise to have drawen him out, & to have intrapped him, for whom

valliant man of his persone, & also of as noble a house, as any that were of all the allies of the

E ROMAINES: who had practifed with other his fellowes of the bande he ferued in to goe ferue

D successe, he lest of his purpose. Sone after he vnderstoode they were counterfeate letters,

baytes for him, and dyd what he could by all the skill and reache he had, by ambushes, and other warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer drawe him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to have made

him falle yoon his ambushe he had layed for him; and by this policie. He had counterfeated letters written and sent vnto him from the cittle of METAPONT, to praye him to come to Hamibals them, and they would deliuer their cittie into his handes: and withall, that fuch as were privile ambuff layer

to the contentes of the same, desired no other thing but his repaire thither. These letters pretily quickned Fabius, infomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken parte of his ar-

him felfe laye in persone in ambushe neere the cittie, looking and waiting for his comming: but the goddes who would have him faued, were only to be thaked for his happy feape. Furthermore, concerning the revolte of the citties that were fubicct vnto them, and the rifing of their allies & friends against them: Fabius thought it farre better to intreate them curreously. Fabius lenitie

making them ashamed without occasion to rebell against them, rather then openly to suspect in corresing them, and to deale straightly with those that were so to be suspected. Now for this matter, it of faulter. is reported that Fabius had a fouldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, a

the enemie. Fabius hearing of this practife he went about, gaue him no ill countenaunce for Note how Feit, but calling him to him, he fayed. I must confesse there is no reckoning made of your as your bim reclai-

good feruice doth deferue: wherefore for this time (fayeth he) I blame the pety captaines on a med an enill ly, which in such forte doe bestowe their good will and fauour at adventure, and not by de fouldier. ferte. But henceforth it shalbe your owne faulte if you doe not declare your minde vnto me. and betweene you and me make me privie of your lacke & necessitie. When he halt spoken these wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horse for service, and dyd rewarde him with other honorable giftes, as men of good feruice & defert have commonly bestowed on them: and this dyd so encorage the souldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ser-F uiceable fouldier to the ROMAINES. For Fabius thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of

horses, & such like as take your them to tame brute beastes, should somer make them leave their fauage & churlishe nature, by gentle vsage and manning of them: then by beating, and

shackling of them. And so a governour of men, should rather correct his souldier by paciece. gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or feueritie. Otherwise he should handle them more rudely, and sharpely, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pome garnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their harde and wilde nature, & cause them in the end to bring forth good figges, oliues & pomegarnets. Another time certaine captaines of his brought him worde, that there was one of their fouldiers which would euer goe out of the cape, & leave his enligne. He asked them, what manner of man he was . They aunswered him all together , that he was a very good souldier, and that they could hardly finde out fuche another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they tolde him, of fome notable service they had seene him doe in persone. Whereupon Fabius made a diligent enquierie to know what the cause was that made him goe so oft out of the campe in the end. R he founde he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe fee her, was the cause he dyd fo ofte leave his enfigne, and dyd put his life in fo great daunger, for that the was fo farre of. When Fabius vnderstoode this, he sent certaine souldiers (vnknowing to the souldier) to bring the woman awaye he loued, and willed them to hyde her in his tente: and then called he the fouldier to him, that was a Lycanian borne, and taking him a fide, fayed vnto him thus. My friend, it hath bene tolde me, how thou hast lyen many nightes out of the campe, against the lawe of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I understande also that otherwife thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardone thy faultes paste, in consideration of thy good feruice: but from henceforth I will geue thee in custodie to such a one, as shall make me accompt of thee. The fouldier was blancke, when he heard these wordes. Fabius with that, C caused the woman he was in loue with, to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands, faying vnto him. This woman hereafter shall aunswer me thy bodie to be forth comming in the campe amongest vs: and from henceforth thy deedes shall witnesse for the reste, that thy loue vnto this woman, maye be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practife or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreouer, Fabius after suche a sorte, recouered againe the cittie of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had loft by treason. It fortuned there was a young man in his campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a fifter within TARENTYM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him maruelous dearely: now there was a captaine, a Brytian borne, that fell in loue with her, and was one of those to whom Hannibal had committed the charge of the D cittie of TARENTYM. This gaue the young fouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and waye, to bring his enterprise to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to Fabius, and with his privite fled from his campe, and got into the cittle of TARENTVM, geuing it out in the cittie, that he would altogether dwell with his fifter. Now for a fewe dayes at his first comming the BRYTIAN captaine laye alone by him felfe, at the request of the mayde his fifter. who thought her brother had not knowen of her loue; and shortely after the young fellowe tooke his fifter aside, and sayed vnto her. My good sister, there was a great speache in the Ro-MAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefest captaines of the garrison: I prave thee if it be so, let me knowe what he is. For so he be a good fellowe, and an honest man (as they faye he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all things topfi turney, regardeth not of E what place or calling he is of, and still maketh vertue of necessitie, without respect of shame. And it is a speciall good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the handes of a good and gratious lorde. His fifter hearing him speake these wordes, sent for the BRYTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loues, and indeuoured him felf to frame his fifters loue in better forte towards him, then it was before: by reason whereof, the captaine also beganne to trust him very muche. So this young TARENTINE sawe it was very easie, to winne and turne the minde of this amarous and mercenarie man, with hope of great giftes that were promifed him, and Fabius should performe. Thus doe the most parte of writers set downe this storie. Howbeit some writers saye, that this woman who wanne the BRYTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRYTIAN F borne, whom Fabius it is fayed, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that the vnderstanding the captaine of the BRYTIANS (who laye in garrison within the cittle of TARENTYM) was

A 2162 BRYTIAN borne, and of her owne native countrie: made Fabite privile to her intent. and with his confent, the comming to the walles of the cittie, spake with this BRATIAN CAPraine, whom the handled in fuch forte, that the wanne him. But whileft this geare was a hiew-wonne br a ing, Fabius, bicause he would traine Hannibal out of those quarters, wrote vnto the fouldiers, womans of RHEGIO: which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they should enter the borders of the means. BRYTIANS, and laye seige to the cittle of CAYRONIA, and rase it to the grounde. These RHEGIAN fouldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them traitours, and ronneagates, from one campe to another; and the worlt forte of them; and most defamed of life, were those that Marcellus brought thither out of Siciis, so that in losing them all, the loffe were nothing to the common weale, and the forrowe muche leffe. So Fa-B bigg thought, that putting these fellowes out for a praye to Hannibal (as a stale to drawe him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from TARENTYM: and so it came. to passe. For Hannibal incontinently went thence with his armie to intrappe them: and in the meane time Fabius wet to laye feige to TARBNTVM, where he had not lien fix dayes before it. but the young man (who together with his fifter had drawen the BRVTIAN captaine to this treason)stale out one night to Fabius, to enforme him of all, having taken very good markes of that fide of the walle the BRYTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promifed him to keepe it secret, & to suffer them to enter, that came to assaulte that side. Yet Fabius would not grounde his hope altogether ypon the BRVTIANS executing this treason, but went him self in persone to vewe the place appointed howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: C and in the meane feason, he gave a generall assault to all partes of the cittie (aswell by sea as by lande) with great showtes & cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine seeing all the cittizens and garrison ronne to that parte, where they perceyued the noyse to be greatest: made a signall vnto Fabius, that now was the time . Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace, Fabius toke whereupon him selfe with his companie scaled the walles, and so wanne the cittie. But it ap- the cittie of peareth here, that ambition ouercame him. For first he commaunded they should kill all the BRYTIANS, bicause it should not be known he had wonne the cittle by treason. But this sion cause of bloudie policie failed him: for he miffed not only of the glorie he looked for , but most defer- fonte murders uedly he had the reproche of crueltie and fallehood. At the taking of this cittie, a maruelous number of the TARENTINES were flaine, besides there were solde thirtie thousand of the D chiefest of them, & all the cittle was facked: and of the spoyle thereof was caried to the commonstore treasure at Rome, three thousand talents. It is reported also, that when they dyd spoyle and carie awaye all other spoyles lefte behinde, the recorder of the cittle asked Fabius, what his pleasure was to doe with the goddes, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that Fabius aunswered him. Let vs leave the TARBNT INES their goddes that be angrie with them, This notwithstanding, he caried from thence Hercules statue, that was of a monstruous bignes, and caused it to be set up in the Capitoll, and withall dyd set up his owne image in braffe a horse backe by him. But in that act he shewed him self farre harder harted, then Marcellus had done, or to faye more truely, thereby he made the world knowe how muche Marcellus curtesie, clemencie, and bowntie was to be wondred at : as we have written in his life. Newes being brought to Hannibal, that TARENTVM was belieged, he marched prefently with all speede possible to raise the seige: and they saye he had almost come in time, for he was with in 40, furlonges of the cittie when he vnderftoode the trothe of the taking of it. Then fayed he out alowd, fure the Romaines have their Hannibal to: for as we wanne TARENTVM, so have we lost it. But after that, to his friends he fayed privately (and that was the first time they ever heard him speake it) that he sawe long before, and now appeared plainely, that they could not possibly with this small power keepe ITALIB. Fabius made his triumphe and entrie into ROME the seconde time, by reason of taking of this cittie and his seconde triumphe was Fabius Section muche more honorable then the first, as of a valliant captaine that held out still with Hanni- winnesses. bal, and easely met with all his fine policies, muche like the slight trickes of a cumning F wrestler, which caried not now the former roughenes and strength any more, bicause that

great riches they had gotten, and partely also for that it was fore wasted and diminished,

his armie was genen to take their ease, and growen to delicacie, partely through the

through the fundrie foughten battells and blowes they had bene at . Now there was one a Martis Livius a Romaine, that was governour of TARENTY Mat that time, when Hannibal tooke it, and neuertheles kept the castell still out of Hannibals handes, and to held it vneil the cittle came againe into the handes of the ROMAINES. This Livius ipighted to fee fuche honour done to Fabius, so that one daye in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and ambition, he burst out and sayed: that it was him selfe, not Fabins, that was cause of taking of the cittle of TARENTYM againe. Fabius fmiling to heare him, auniwered him openly:in Fabius winie deede thou fayest true, for if thou haddest not lost it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the

ROMAINES in all other respects dyd greatly honour Fabrus, and specially for that they choice

his some Consul. He having alreadie taken possession of his office, as he was dispatchine

certen causes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, orto h

proue his sonne) tooke his horse to come to him, and rode through the prease of people

that thronged about him, having busines with him. But his sonne seeing him comming a

farre of, would not fuffer it, but fent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light of his horse, and to come a soote if he had any thing to doe with the Consul. This com-Afternoone of his horfe, and to come a roote it ne mad any times to see all looked vpon Fabius, but to maundement milliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon Fabius, but come made and they all looked vpon Fabius, but the see and they are the very wronge to his faof the father, fayed not a worde: thinking with them selues, that the Consul dyd great wronge to his fa-

thers greames. So he lighted straight, and went a good rounde pace to embrace his sonne. beyeth lis

The fabre - and fayed vnto him . You have reason sonne, and doe well to shewe over whom you commaund, vnderstanding the authoritie of a Consul, which place you have received. For it is ritie of com- the direct course, by the which we and our auncesters have increased the Romaine empire C

preferring euer the honour and state of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And truely they fave, that Fabius great grandfather being the greatest and most noble persone of ROME in his time, having five times bene Conful, and had obteined many triumphes, for diuers honorable and fundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all these, to be his sonnes lieutenaunt, and to goe to the warres with him, he being chosen Consul. And last of all the Consul his sonne returning home to Rome a conquerour, in his triumphing charret drawen with foure horses, he followed him a horse backe also, in troupe with the rest thinking it honour to him, that having authoritie over his sonne in the right of a father, and being also the noblest man of all the cittizens, so taken and reputed, neuertheles he willingly fubmitted him selfe to the lawe and magistrate, who had authoritie of him. Yet besides all I this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this sonne of Fabius died before him, whose death he tooke pacietly, like a wife man, and a good father. Now the custome being at that time, that at the death of

obsequies: he him selfe made the same oration in honour of his sonne, and dyd openly speake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroade. About this time, Cornelius Scipio was fent into SPAYNE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had ouerthrowen them in many battells, and had conquered many great citties, and greately aduaunced the honour and estimation of the state of Rome: for the which at his returne, he was asmuche, or rather more honoured, beloued and esteemed, E Scipio Conful, then any other that was in the cittie of Rome. Hereupon Scipio being made Conful, confidered that the people of Rome looked for some great matter at his handes, about all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight against Hannibal in ITALIE, he should but followe the olde manner, and treade to muche in the steppes of the olde man: whereupon he refolued immediately to make warres in A F R I C K E, and to burne and destroye the countrie euen vnto C ARTHAGE gates, and so to transferre the warres out of I T A L I E into L I B Y A, procuring by all possible deuise he could, to put it into the peoples heades, and to make them like of it. But Fabius contrarilie, persuading him selse that the enterprise this young rashe youthe tooke in hande, was vtterly to ouerthrowe the common weale, or to put the state of Rome in great daunger: deuised to put Rome F in the greatest feare he could possible, without sparing speache or dede he thought might serue for his purpose, to make the people chaunge from that minde. Now

a noble man, their neerest kinseman should make a funerall oration in their prayse at their

FABIVS. A he could so cunningly worke his purpose, what with speaking and doing, that he had drawen all the Senate to his opinion. But the people judged, it was the fecret enuiche bare to Scipioes glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuise, only to bleamish Scipioes noble fortune, fearing, least if he should happen to doe some honorable service (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwise to draw Hannibal out of IT ALTE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene to fofte, or to negligent, to drawe this warre out to fuche a length. For my parte, me thinkes the only matter that moued Fabius from the beginning to be against Scipio, was the great care he had of the fafetie of the comon weale, by reason of the great danger depending youn fuch a resolution. And yet I doe thinke also, that afterwards he went further then he should, contending to fore against him (whether it was through ambition or obstinacie) R feeking to hinder and suppresse the greatnes of Scipio: considering also he dyd his best to perfuade Crassing, Scipioes companion in the Consultationer, that he should not graunte vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to goe into A FRICKE, to make warres vpon

the CARTHAGINIANS, that he should rather goe him self. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenaunce of these warres. Scipio hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furnish him felfe as he could: he leavied great fummes of money in the citties of Thyscan, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towardes his iorney. And Crassius remained at home, both bicause he was a softe, and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature : as also, bicause he was the chiefest Prelate and highe bishoppe, craffunhighe

who by the lawe of their religion, was constrained to kepe Rome. Fabius seeing his labour lost killoppe of Rome.

C that wave, tooke againe another course to crosse Scipio, deuising to staye the young men at home, that had great defire to goe this iorney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all affemblies of the Senate & people, that Scipio was not contented only to flye Hannibal, but that he would carie with him besides the whole force of I TALY that remained: alluring the youthe with sweete baytes of vaine hope, and persuading them to leaue their wives, their fathers, mothers, and their countrie, euen now when their enemie knocked at Rome gates, who dyd euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. These wordes of Fabius dyd so dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed Scipio should furnishe his iorney only with the armie that was in Sicilia, fauing that he might supply to them if he would, three hundred of the best souldiers that had served him faithfully in SPAYNE. And so it doth appeare even to this

D present, that Fabius both dyd and sayed all things, according to his wonted manner, and natu-

rall disposition. Now Scipio was no sooner arrived in A FRICKE, but newes were brought to Rome incontinently, of wonderfull exploytes, and noble feruice done beyond measure: and of great spoyles taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the Nv-MIDIANS taken prisoner, two campes of the enemies burnt & destroyed at a time, with losse The famous of a great number of people, armour, and horses, that were consumed in the same: letters and Africke by postes for life ronning in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call Hannibal home, Scipio Afriand to praye him to hunte no longer after vayne hope that would neuer haue ende, hasting canue. him felfe with all speede possible to come to the rescue of his countrie. These wonderfull great fortunes of Scipio, made him of fuche renowine and fame within Rome, that there was

E no talke but of Scipio. Fabius notwithstanding desisted not to make a newe request, being of opinion they should fend him a successour, alledging no other cause nor reason, but a common speache of every bodie: that it was a daungerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, so great exceeding prosperitie and good successe, bicause it is a rare matter to see one man happie in all things. These wordes dyd so muche mislike the people, that they thought him an enuious troublesome man, or els they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his corage failed with his strength, fearing Hannibal more doubtfully then he needed. For now though Hannibal was forced to leave ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet Fabius would not graunte, that the peoples ioye and fecuritie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and mistruste; but gaue it out that then

F they were in greatest daunger, and that the common weale was breeding more mischief now, then before. For when Hannibal (fayed he) shall returne home into Africke, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES shall be lesse able to abide him there,

dedes of armes of Tolmides, gaue good cause to Peritles, to entertaine his cittie in feastes, and

then they have bene before: and Scipio moreover, shall meete with an armie yet warme, and A embrued with the bloude of so many Prætors, Dictators, and Consuls of Rome, which they haue ouercome, and put to the fword in ITALIE. With these vncomfortable speaches, he still troubled & disquieted the whole cittie, persuading them that notwithstanding the warre was transferred out of ITALIE into AFRICKE, yet that the occasion of seare was no lesse neere Vnto Rome, then it was ever before. But within shorte space after, Scipio having overcome Hannibal in plaine battell in the field, and troden under foote the glory and pryde of CAR THAGE, he brought a greater love to ROME, then they ever looked for : and by this noble victorie of his, he shored vp again the declining state of the empire of Rome, which a litle before was falling downe right. Howbeit Fabius lived not to the ende of this warre, nor ever heard while he lived the joyfull newes of Hannibals happy overthrowe, neither were his yeres pro- R longed to fee the happy affured prosperitie of his countrie: for about that time that Hannibal The death of departed out of IT ALLE, a ficknes tooke him, whereof he dyed. The stories declare, that the

Fabius Max. Thebans buried Epaminondas, at the common charges of the people: bicause he dyed in so The fineralli great pouertie, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the house but a little iron spit, of Epaminon- Now the Romaines buried not Fabius fo, at the common charge of the cittie, but enery man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a pece of coyne that caried the least value of their currant money: not for that he lacked abillitie to bring him to the grounde, but only to honour his memorie: in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honorable ende and buriall.

THE COMPARISON OF

Pericles with Fabius.



CANAGO ERE haue you heard what is written, of thesetwo great persones. C And forafmuche as they have both left behinde them, many noble examples of vertue, as well in martiall matters, as in civill governmet, let vs beginne to compare them together. First of all, Pericles begane to gouerne the common weale at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chiefest prosperitie, and of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or fince. The which might feeme to be a cause of the continuall maintenance of the same in securitie without daunger of falling, not so muche for their worthines, as for

their common power and felicitie: where contrariwise Fabius acts fell out in the most dishonorable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he dyd not only keepe the cittie in good state from declining, but raised it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, Cimons great good fortune and fucceffe, the victories and triumphes of Myronides, and of Leocrates, and many notable valliant

playes, whileft he dyd gouerne the fame: and he dyd not finde it in fuch ill case and distresse, that he was driven to defend it by force of armes or to coquer that againe which he had loft. But Fabius in contrary manner, when he fawe before him many overthrowes, great flying awaye, muche murder, great flaughters of the generalles of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the playnes, the woddes filled with scattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and rivers ronning all a gore bloude (by reason of the great slaughter) and the streame carving downe the dead bodies to the mayne sea: dyd take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a course farre contrarie to all other: so as he dyd vnderproppe and shore vp the same, that he kept it from flat falling to the grounde, amongest those ruines and ouerthrowes other had B brought it to, before him. Yet a man maye faye also, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a cittie already brought lowe by aduerfitie, and which compelled by necessitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wife man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the infolencie of a people, pufte vp with pryde, and prefumption of long prosperitie, as Pericles founde it amongest the ATHENIANS. The great multitude also of so many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, dyd playnely shewe Fabius to be a graue and a constant man, which would never geue waye vnto the importunate cries of the common people nor could euer be removed from that he had at the first determined. The winning & recovering againe of TARENT VM, maye well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which Pericles wanne by force: and the citties of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOBA: excepting the cittie of CAPVA, C which the Confuls Fuluim and Appin recovered againe. But it feemeth that Fabins never wanne battell, faue that only for which he triumphed the first time: where Pericles fet vp nine

triumphes of battels and victories he had wonne, aswell by sea as by lande. And so also they cannot alledge fuch an acte done by Pericles, as Fabius dyd, when he rescued Minutius out of the handes of Hannibal, and faued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtles was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wisdome, and an honorable harte. But Pericles, againe dyd neuer commit fo groffe an errour as Fabius dyd when he, was outreached, & deceyued by Hannibals fine stratageame of his oxen: who having founde his enemie by chaunce to have thut him felfe vp in the straight of a vallye, dyd suffer him to escape in the

night by a subtiltie, & in the daye by playne force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye, D and fought withall by him he kept inclosed. Now if it be requisite, a good captaine doe not only viewell that he hath in his handes, but that he wifely judge also what will followe after, The effect of a then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in fuche forte, as Pericles fayed they would come good generall: to passe: for with ambition to imbrace to muche, they ouerthrewe their estate. But the Ro-MAINES CONTrariwife, having fent Scipio into A FRICKE to make warres with the CARTHAGI-NIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hande: where their generall dyd not ouercome the enemie by fortune, but by valliantnes. So that the wifedome of the one is witneffed, by the ruine of his countrie; and the errour of the other testified by the happy event of that he would have let. Now the faulte is a like in a generall, to fall into daunger, for lacke of forecaste: as for cowardlines to let flippe a fit oportunitie offred to doe any notable pece of feruice. For like The faulte of

E defaulte and lacke of experience, maketh the one to hardie, and the other to fearefull. And generalles. thus muche touching the warres. Now for civil government: it was a fowle blotte to Pe- The companies ricles, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for sou bemest

that he would not have them yeld to the LACEDEMONIANS in any respect. And yet me Pericles and thinkes Fabius Maximus also would no more geue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but will governflood firme & bold in all dauger, to mainteine thempire of his countrie against them. But the men. goodnes & clemency Fabius Thewed vnto Minutius, doth much condene Perioles accufations & practifes, against Cimon and Thucydides: bothe of them being noble & good men, & taking parte with the Nobilitie, who he expulsed out of ATHENS, & banished for a time. So was Pericles power & authoritie in the comon weale greater; by reason whereof he dyd euer foresee. F that no generall in all his time dyd rashely attempt any thing hurteful vnto the comon weale,

except Tolmides onely: who fled from him, & in despight of him went to fight with the Box o-TIANS where he was flaine. As for all other generals, they wholy put the felues into his hads, &

that dyd counterfeat a lisping grace with his tongue.

dyd obey him for the greatnes of his authoritie. But Fabius, although for his parte he neuer committed any faulte, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet bicause he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was desectine. For if Fabius had caried like authoritie in Rome, as Pericles dyd in Athens: the Romaines had not fallen into fo great miserie as they dyd. And for liberalitie: the one shewed it, in refufing the money offred him: and the other, in geuing vnto those that needed, and redeeming

dings of Rome parable so ricles dyd beawtifie & adorne the cittie of ATHENS. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was Pericles there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnes of the one. workes. and of the other.

Fabius rene- his poore captive contry men. And yet Fabius might dispend no great revenue: for his whole receiptes came only to fixe talents. But for Perieles, it is hard to faye howe riche he was, who had comming in to him, great prefents by his authoritie, aswel of the subjects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and straunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any persone living. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, a the stately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the Cefars, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith Pe-

The ende of Fabius Maximus life.

THE LIFE O · Alcibiades.



Alcibiades flocke.



faces, that was the sonne of Aiax, and by his mothers side, of Alemaon. for his mother Dinomacha, was the daughter of Megacles. His father Clinias hauing armed, and fet forth a gallye, at his owne proper coftes and charges, dyd winne great honour in the battell by sea, that was fought alongest the coaste of ARTEMISIVM, and he was slaine afterwardes in another battell fought at CORONEA, against the BORO-TIANS. His fonne Alcibiades tutours, were Pericles, and Ariphron

truely: that Socrates good will and friendshippe dyd greatly further Alcibiades honour. For

Xanthippus sonnes: who were also his neere kinsemen. They saye, and

A frampeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of Nicias, The mother of Demosthenes, of Lamachus, of Phormion, of Thrasibulus, & of Theramenes: all which were no- of sumous me table famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we finde the nource of Alcibiades, that neur know en the was a LACED EMONIAN borne, and was called Amicla, and that his schoolemaster was called Zopyrus: of the which, Antisthenes mentioneth the one, and Plato the other. Now for Alcibiades beawtie, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a litle touche it by the wave: for he was wonderfull fayer, being a child, a boye, and a man, and that at all times, which Meibiades made him maruelous amiable, and beloued of enery man. For where Euripides fayeth, that of beautie.

all the fayer times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the fayrest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in Alcibiades, though in fewe other: for he was paf-

B fing fayer even to his latter time, & of good temperature of bodie. They write of him also, Akibiades that his tongue was somewhat fatte, and it dyd not become him ill, but gaue him a certen na- listed by na-

turall pleasaunt grace in his talke: which Aristophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theorus

*The equi

swo Greeke

wordes Koos

and Koha, is harde to be

expressed in

I have ses

flatling blowes, for

flattering

into mine eares, this trusty tale, and songe full often songe. Looke upon Theolus (& he) lo there he bowves, beholde his comely crowvebright face with fat and *flatling blowves. The sonne of Clinias, would life it thus somewhiles, and fure he lifted neuer a lye, but rightly byt his vviles. And Archippus another poet alfo, mocking the sonne of Alcibiades, sayeth thus, Bicause he vvould be like his father euerie vvaye in his long trayling govune he would goe ietting daye by daye. And counterfeate his speache his countenaunce and face: as though dame nature had him genen, therein a perfect grace.

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,

To life and looke aside and holde his head avvrye, euen as his father lookt and lift, so would he prate and prye.

cause the skailes were set right in the high way where the carte should passe ouer. The carter E was a stubborne knaue, and would not staye for any request the boye could make, but draue

F that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the

flute, holdeth his mouth fo harde to it, that it taketh not only his wordes from him, but his

browes, obfer For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seing his maruelous great prosperitie, as also aduersitie that followed him afterwards. nere as I But of all the great defiers he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, could, like to D feeking to have the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best persone: as appeareth French transby certaine of his dedes, and notable fayings in his youthe, extant in writing. One daye wrest. Lations, like ling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have genen wife Theolies him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so harde, as he would have eaten Alibiades it of. The other feeling him bite fo harde, let goe his holde straight, and sayed vnto him: what ambition. Alcibiades, bitest thou like a woman? No mary doe I not (9 he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boye, he played at skayles in the middest of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throwe, there came a carte loden by chaunce that waye: Alcibiades prayed the carter to staye a while, vntill he had played out his game, bi-

his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but Alcibiades fell flat to the grounde before the carte, and bad the carter drive over and he durfte. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staye them: the neighbours slighted to see the daunger, ranne to the boye in all hast crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne, Meibiades he was very obedient to all his mafters that taught him any thing, fauing that he disdained to fudies. learne to playe of the flute or recorder: faying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, fayed A vile thing he, to playe on the vyoll with a sticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgraceth any gentle- to playe of a

man: but otherwise, to playe on the flute, his countenaunce altereth and chaungeth so ofte, flute that his familliar friends can fcant knowe him. Moreouer, the harpe or woll doth not let him

voyce. Therefore, fayed he, let the children of the THEBANS playe on the flute, that cannot

tell howe to speake:as for vs Athenians, we have (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectours A and patrones of our countrie, the goddesse Pallas, and the god Apollo: of the which the one in olde time (as it is fayed) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that played vpon the flute. Thus Alcibiades alledging these reasons, partely in sporte, and partely in good earnest: dyd not only him selfe leave to learne to playe on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes also quite from it. For these wordes of Alcibiades, ranne from boye to boye incontinently: that Alcibiades had reason to despise playing of the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play of it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to playe of the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberall exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, it is declared: that when he was a boye, he fled out of his B tutours house, into the house of Democrates one of his louers, and howe Ariphron one of his tutours thought to have made a beadle crie him through the cittie. But Pericles would not fuffer him, faying: that if he were dead, they should knowe it but one daye sooner by crying of him:and if he were aliue, that it would be fuch a shame to him while he lived, that he had bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The same Antiphon accuseth him further that he had killed a feruaunt of his that attended on him, in the wrestling place of Sibyrtius, with a blowe of a staffe. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he dyd beare him. Now straight there were many great& riche men that made muche of Alcibiades, and were glad to get his good will. But Socrates Socrates lone loue vnto him had another ende and cause, which witnessed that Alcibiades had a naturall in-C to Michiader. clination to vertue. Who perceyuing that vertue dyd appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beawtie of his face and bodye, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignitie and authoritie, and the great number of his companions, aswell of the chiefest of the cittie, as of straungers, seeking to entife him by flatterie, and by many other pleasures: he tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to fuffer fo goodly an ympe to lofe the hope of the good fruite of his youthe. For fortune doth neuer fo intangle nor fnare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let & hinder him fo, that philosophie should not take holde on him with her free, seuere, and quicke reasons. So Alcibiades was at the beginning, affayed with all delightes, and thut vp as it were in their companie that feafted him with all pleasures, only to turne him that he should not hearken to Socrates wordes, who sought to I bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But Alcibiades notwithstanding, having a good naturall wit, knewe what Socrates was, and went to him, refusing the companie of all his riche friendes and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familliar friendshippe with Socrates. Whom when he had heard speake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no persuasions of a man feeking his dishonesty, but one that gaue him good counsell, & went about to reforme his faultes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and prefumption that was in

> Like to the crauen cocke be drowvped dowwne his wwinges, which cowvardly doth ronne awaye, or from the pit out flinges.

him: then, as the common prouerbe faveth,

And dyd thinke with felfe, that all Socrates love and following of young men, was in dede a E thing fent from the goddes, and ordeined aboue for them, whom they would have preferued, & put into the pathe waye of honour. Therefore be beganne to despise him selfe, and greatly to reuerece Socrates, taking pleasure of his good vsing of him, & much imbraced his vertue: so as he had (he wist not howe) an image of loue grauen in his harte, or rather (as Plato sayeth) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honest affection towards Socrates. Insomuch as all the world wondred at Alcibiades, to fee him commonly at Socrates borde, to playe, to wrestle, & to lodge in the warres with Socrates: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not fo much as haue a good looke at his handes, and befides became daungerous to fome, as it is fayed he was vnto Anytus, the sonne of Anthemion, being one of those that loued him well. Anytus making good cheere to certen straungers his friendes that were come to see him, F went and prayed Alcibiades to come and make merie with them: but he refused to goe. For he went to make merie with certen of his companions at his own house, and after he had well

A raken in his cuppes, he went to Anytus house to counterfeate the foole amongest them, and staving at the halle doore, and seeing Anytus table and cubberd full of plate of silver & gold, he commaunded his feruants to take awaye half of it, and carie it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no neerer into the house, but went his waye home. Anytus friendes and guestes misliking this straunge parte of Alcibiades, sayed it was shamefully and boldly done so to abuse Anytus. Nay, gently done of him, sayed Anytus: for he hath left vs some, where he might have taken all. All other also that made much of him, he ferued after that forte . Sauing a straunger that came to dwell in ATHENS: who being but a poore man as the voyce went, fold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred stateres which he brought vnto Alcibiades, & prayed him to take it at his handes. Alcibiades beganne

B to be merie, and being very glad to viderstand his good will towards him, tooke his honest Alcibiades is offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very hartely, and made berall facte. him good cheere. When supper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and commaunded

him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the cittle are wont to be let out to those that byd most, and charged him he should out byd all. The poore man would fayne have excused him self, saying, the farmes were to great for him to hyre: but Alcibiades threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary farmers of the cittie. The next morning the straunger was ready in the market place, where they dyd crie out the letting of

their farmes, and he raised one to a talent more, then all other dyd offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as they could be, that they all dyd fet vpon him, crying out: let him put in suertie straight, supposing he could have founde none. The straunger was maruelous blancke thereat, and beganne to thrincke backe . Then cried Alcibiades out alowde to the officers that fate there to take the best offers: I will be his suertie, sayeth he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him faye so, were at their wittes ende, and wiste not what to doe. For they being allwayes accustomed to paye their yerely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the rest of the yeres that followed after: perceyuing now that they should not be able to paye the arrerages of the rentes due to the common weale, and seeing no other remedie, they prayed him to take a pece of money, and to leave the bargaine. Then Alcibiades would in no wife he should take lesse then a talent, which they gaue him willingly.

D So Alcibiades suffered the straunger then to departe, and made him gaine by his deuise. Now Socrates loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduerfaries, yet it dyd staye much Aleibiades, somtime by his gentle nature, somtime by his graue counsell and aduise: so as the reason thereof tooke so deepe roote in him, and dyd so pearce his harte, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time also being caried awaye with the intifement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleasure and delightes, he stale awaye from Socrates, and made him ronne after him to fetche him againe, as if he had bene a Meibiades flaue that had ronne awaye from his masters house: for Alcibiades stoode in awe of no man ranne from but of Socrates only, and in deede he dyd reuerence him, and dyd despise all other. And therefore Cleanthes was wont to fave, that Alcibiades was held of Socrates by the eares: but that he

gaue his other louers holde, which Socrates neuer fought for for to faye truely, Alcibiades Meibiades was muche geuen ouer to lust and pleasure. And peraduenture it was that Thurydides ment of gene to plea-him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and dissolute of life. Those that marred Alcibiades quite, dyd still pricke forward his ambition and desire of honour, and dyd put him in the head to thrust him selfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he dyd but once beginne to shewe him selfe to deale in matters of state, he would not only bleamishe and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell Pericles, in authoritie and power among the GRECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made fofte, to be wrought in to any forme, and by colde also doth shut and harden in againe: euen so Alcibiades being puffed vp with vanitie & opi-

nion of him felf, as ofte as Socrates tooke him in hande, was made faste &firme againe by his F good persuasions, insomuch that when he sawe his owne faulte and follie, and how farre wide he had strayed from vertue, he became sodainely very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growen to mans state, he went into a grammer schoole; and asked the

had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place hearing the people very lowde.

he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money certen men had genen to

the people. Then Alcibiades went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purife. The

people were to glad at that, as they fell to thowting and clapping of their handes, in token

to minde that he would fave. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also for keeping of

ronning horses at games: not only bicause they were the best & swiftest, but for the number of coches he had besides. For neuer private persone, no nor any prince, that ever sent seven

fowell appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games Olympicall, as he dyd: nor that at one

course hath borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prise, as Thurydides sayeth: or as

Alcibiadee strake a Chaolemafter . bicause he had not Homer in h chaale.

ALCIBIADES. 214 schoolemaster for one of Homers bookes. The schoolemaster auswered him, he had none of A the: Alcibiades vp with his fifte, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Ano-

ther grammarian tolde him on a time he had Homer which he had corrected . Alcibiades replied, why what meanest thou, to stand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct Homer, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at Pericles gate, desirous to speake with him: aunswer was made him, he was not at levsure now for that he was bufile occupied by him felt, thinking on his reckonings he had to make

Al ibiades first fouldier fare with So crates. Alcibiades faued by So

with the ATHENIANS. Why, fayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of Potide A, where he lave still with Socrates, who would never let him be from him in all battells and skirmifhes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where R

they both fought valliantly, and Alcibiades was hurte. But Socrates stepped before him, and dyd defend him so valliantly before them all, that he saued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reason, was due vnto Socrates: but yet the captaines would faine haue judged it on Alcibiades fide, bicause he was of a noble house. But Socrates, bicause he would increase his desire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed Alcibiades had descrued it; and therefore prayed the captaines to judge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of Delion, the Athenia ns having receyued the over-

Alcibiades she ouerthrow

Alcibiada

fueth to be

Alcibiades.

great dogge.

full nor vnciuill, bicause it seemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cause: that the wife which would be divorced from her husband, should goe her felfe openly before the judgeto put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to speake with his wife, and feeke to stave her if he could. Alcibiades had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that cost him three score and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friendes reproued him, and tolde him how every man blamed him for it: he fella laughing, and tolde them he had that he fought. For, fayeth he, I would have the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they should saye worse of me. Moreouer, it is sayed, the first time

by her, he asked tenne talents more, faving: they were promifed him vpon the contract, if his

wife had children. But Callies fearing least this was an occasio fought of him to lye in wayte to

kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if

he dyed without heires speciall of his bodie. This getlewoman Hipparete, being an honest true wife to Altibiades, misliking her husband dyd so muche misuse her, as to entertaine common

light strumpets, as well cittizens as straungers: she went abroad one day to her brothers house,

and tolde him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter.

but only bad his wife, if the would, prefent her cause of diuorse before the judge. So she went

thirther her felfe, to fue the divorce betwene them, according to the lawe: but Alcibiades being E

there also, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his house,

all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for the dyed, when Alcibiades was in his iorney he made to EPHES VS. This force Alcibiades vsed, was not thought altogether vnlaw-

discreted from and no man durft medle between them, to take her from him. And so she continued with him

throwe, Socrates retired with a fewe other a foote. Aleibiades being a horse backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a C faued Socra- troupe of his enemies that followed him, and flue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto Hipponicus, Callias father: who was one

as the bastall of the greatest men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great possessions, which was done upon a brauery and certaine luftines, as having layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte was straight ouer all the cittie, and every one that heard it, sayed it was lewdly done. But Alcibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping him selfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and punished at his pleafure. Hipponicus pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter Hipparete afterwards in mariage. Howbeit fome faye, it was not Hipponicus that gaue her to him: but D Callias fonne, with tenne talets of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his first child he had

O sonne of Clinias, I will resounde thy praise: for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest allowaves.

him as followeth:

Thy victories therewith doe farre exceede the reft, that ever overe in Greece yout therefore I compt them best. For at thOlympike games, thou hast worth chariots wonne, the first price seconde thirde and all which there in race were ronne. With praise and litle payne thy head hath twvise bene crowunde. with oline boughes for victorie, and twvife by trumpets founde. The her aulds have proclaimed thee victor by thy name: aboue all those which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

Howbeit the good affection divers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie him best, dyd muche increase his same and honour. For the EPHESIANS dyd set vp a tente for him, very fumptuously and richely furnished. Those of the cittie of CHIO, furnished him with prouinder for his horfe, and gaue him muttons befides, and other beaftes to facrifice withall. They of L E S B O S also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a nuber of mouthes daylie. Yet the spite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promise which he often Meibiades a made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of breaker of

& no ill man, who defired once in his life to winne a game at the playes Olympicall. This man F being enformed that the ARGIVES had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their comon weale, and knowing that Alcibiades could doe very thuch in the cittle of A R G o s, bicause he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate Alcibiades to buye this coche for him.

that Alcibiades pake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was Alcibiades ypon a gifte of money he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, on former purpose he largelle.

of thankfullnes; and him felfe was to glad for companie, that he forgat a quayle he had under his gowne, which was fo afeard of the noyle, that the tooke her flight away. The people feeing the quayle, made a greater novie then before and many role out of their places to runne after her : fo that in the ende, it was taken up by a master of a shippe called Antiochus, who brought

B him the quayle againe, and for that cause Alcibiades dyd loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobilitie of his house, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsemen & friends made his wave open to take upon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only wave Alabiates he defired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To the common prouche was eloquent, all the Comicall poers does relifing its and before them. proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe testifie it: and besides them, Demosthenes wealth. the prince of orators also doth fave, in an oration he made against Midias, that Alesbiades a- Alcibiades

boue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye believe Theophrastus, the homen. greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer about any other philosopher: he hath Airbinder written, that Alcibiades had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would save as any witte and in man that was in his time. Howbeit formtimes studying what he should fave, as also to deliuer good wordes not having them very readilie at his tongues ende; he many times tooke breath by the wave, and paused in the middest of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it

Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer striued for victorie therein. For Enripides pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of Milibiades

him then before. For they faye there was one Diomedes at ATHENS, a friend of Alcibiades, Pro

Alcibiades firake a Choolemafler , bicaufe he had not Homer in his choole.

Alcibiades first fouldier fare with Socrates. Alcibiades Sauced by So-

Akibiades faued Socra-

fuesh to be dinorced from

great dogge.

iorney he made to Ephes vs. This force Alcibiades vsed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, bicause it seemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cause: that the wife which would be disorced from her husband, should goe her selfe openly before the judgeto put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to speake with his wife, and feeke to staye her if he could. Alcibiades had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that cost him three score and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friendes reproued him, and tolde him how every man blamed him for it: he fella laughing, and tolde them he had that he fought. For, fayeth he, I would have the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they should saye worse of me. Moreouer, it is sayed, the first time

ALCIBIADES. schoolemaster for one of Homers bookes. The schoolemaster auswered him, he had none of a the: Alcibiades vp with his fifte, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Anos ther grammarian tolde him on a time he had Homer which he had corrected . Alcibiades replied, why what meanest thou, to stand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct Homer, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at Pericles gate, desirous to speake with him: aunswer was made him, he was not at leysure now, for that he was bufile occupied by him felt, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, fayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of Potides, where he laye still with Socrates, who would never let him be from him in all battells and skirmishes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where R they both fought valliantly, and Alcibiades was hurte. But Socrates stepped before him, and dyd defend him fo valliantly before them all, that he faued him and his weapon out of the e-

was straight ouer all the cittie, and euery one that heard it, sayed it was lewdly done. But

cibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he strip-

nemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reason, was due vnto Socrates: but yet the captaines would faine haue judged it on Alcibiades fide, bicause he was of a noble house. But Socrates, bicause he would increase his desire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed Alcibiades had deserved it: and therefore prayed the captaines to judge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of Delion, the Athenians having received the overthrowe, Socrates retired with a fewe other a foote. Aleibiades being a horse backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a c troupe of his enemies that followed him, and flue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto Hipponicus, Callias father: who was one as the bastall of the greatest men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great possessions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine luftines as having layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte

ping him selfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and punished at his pleafure. Hipponicus pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter Hipparete afterwards in mariage. Howbeit fome fave, it was not Hipponicus that gaue her to him : but] Callias sonne, with tenne talets of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his first child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, faying: they were promifed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But Callian fearing leaft this was an occasio fought of him to lye in wayte to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he dyed without heires speciall of his bodie. This getlewoman Hipparete, being an honest true wife to Alcibiades, milliking her husband dyd fo muche mifufe her, as to entertaine common light strumpets, as well cittizens as straungers: the went abroad one day to her brothers house, and tolde him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter

but only bad his wife, if the would, prefent her cause of divorse before the judge. So she went thither her selfe, to sue the divorce betwene them, according to the lawe: but Alcibiades being there also, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his house, him best, dyd muche increase his same and honour. For the EPHESIANS dyd set vp a tente for and no man durst medle between them, to take her from him. And so she continued with him him, very fumptuously and richely furnished. Those of the cittle of CHIO, furnished him with all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for the dyed, when Alcibiades was in his prouinder for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice withall. They of LESBOS also sent him in wine and other provision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a nuber of mouthes

him as followeth:

him then before. For they faye there was one Diomedes at ATHENS, a friend of Alcibiades, promije. & no ill man, who defired once in his life to winne a game at the playes Olympicall. This man F being enformed that the ARGIVES had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their comon weale, and knowing that Alcibiades could doe very much in the cittie of A R G o s, bicause he had many friends in the fame: he came to intreate Alcibiades to buye this coche for him.

that Alcibiedes pake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in marters, was Miliades vion a gifte of money he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpose he largeffe. had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde. he asked what the matter was they tolde him it was about money certen men had genen to

the people. Then Alcibiades went to them, and gave them money out of his owne purfe. The people were fo glad at that, as they fell to showing and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes; and him felfe was to glad for companie, that he forgat a quayle he had ynder his gowne, which was so afeard of the noyle, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the quavle, made a greater noyle then before, and many role out of their places to runne after her : fo that in the ende, it was taken up by a mafter of a shippe called Antiochus, who brought B him the quayle againe, and for that cause Alcibiades dyd loue him euer after, Now albeit the nobilitie of his house, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsemen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye defined to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his cloquence. To the common the common the common the common that the common the common that the common the common that the commo proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe testifie it: and besides them, Demost benes wealth, the prince of orators also doth fave, in an oration he made against Midias, that Alesbiades a Meibiades boue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye believe Theophrassus, the locuent.

to minde that he would fave. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also for keeping of

ronning horses at games: not only bicause they were the best & swiftest, but for the number

of coches he had besides. For neuer prinate persone, no nor any prince, that euer sent seuers

so well appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games Olympicall, as he dyd: nor that at one

course hath borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prise, as Thucydides sayeth: or as

for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest allowaves.

that ever vvere in Greece ygot therefore I compt them best.

With praise and litle payne, thy head hath twvise bene crowunde,

with oline boughes for victorie, and tweife by trumpets sounde.

aboue all those which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

the first price, seconde, thirde and all which there in race were ronne.

For at thOlympike games, thou hast worth chariots wonne,

Howbeit the good affection divers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie

The heraulds have proclaimed thee victor by thy name:

O sonne of Clinias, I will resounde thy praise:

Thy victories therewith, doe farre exceede the reft,

greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath Aleibiades written, that Alcibiades had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would fave as any "ine and inman that was in his time. Howbeit formtimes studying what he should saye, as also to deliner good wordes, not having them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and paused in the middest of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it

Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer striued for victorie therein. For Enripides pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of Meibiades

daylie . Yet the spite they dyd beare him , or rather his breache of promise which he often Meibiadus a made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of breaker of

216 Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to him felfe, not regarding Diemedes request to A had made. Diomedes feeing that fell starke mad for anger, and called the goddes & men rowit neffes that Alcibiades did him open wrong and it feemeth that there fell out fitte in lawe vone the same. For Horrates wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of Aleibiades, being yet but a childe touching a couple of hories; yet in this plea, his adversarie was called Tilias, and not Dismedes. Furthermore, Alcibiades being yet but a young man, when he came to practife and pleade publikly, he putall other Oratours to filence, but only two that were euer against him: the one was Pheax the fonne of Eralistratus, and the other Nicias, the fonne of Nicera tus. Of these two, Nicias was a man growen, and had wonne the name & reputation of a good capraine. And Pheax beganne also to come forward as he dyd, being of a good and honorable

Alcibiades aduerfaries in the commi wealth when he came to house: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence specially. For, he could more ! pleade. properly talke and discourse among his friends privately, then he had any good grace to open

hed eloquice: a matter openly before the people. For he had, as Empolis layeth: VVordes enouve but no eloquence. There is a certen oration extant in writing, against Alcibiades and Pheax: where among other accufations is brought in howe Alcibiades was ordinarily ferued in his house, with gold & filuer plate that belonged to the comon weale, and which were yied to be borne for state & magnificence, in folemne processions before them, and how he vied them as boldly, as if they had bene his owne. Now there was one Hyperbolus in ATHEN'S at that time borne in the village of Perithoide: of whom Thurydides maketh mencion, as of a naughty wicked man, whose tongue was a fit instrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to poore out all their tawnts and mockes against men. Howbeit he was so impudent a persone, and case

Hyperbolue banished for

red fo litle what men fayed of him, that he paffed not though he were defamed, neither dyd any thing greue him, whatfoeuer they reported of him: which fome doe call boldnes, and corage, being no better in deede then plaine impudencie, extreme madnes, and desperate follie. He would never please any man: & if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magistrate, whom they would any waye accuse, Hyperbolus wicked tongue was their instrument to vtter their lpyte. Now the people (by Hyperbolus procurement) being affembled were ready to proceede to the banishment of Ostracismon by most voyces. The manner & custome of this kynde of banishment was for a time to banish out of their cittie such a one, as seemed of the punish- to have to great authoritie and credit in the cittie: and that was, rather to satisfie their enuie, D then for to remedy their feare. And bicause it was manifest it would fall out to one of them three to be banished (to wit, Alcibiades, Nicias, or Pheax) Alcibiades found meanes to joyne all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another; and having conferred with Nicias about it, he made Hyperbolus self to be banished, who was the chief instrument to prepare the wave of their banishment. Howbeit other saye, he spake not with Nicias about it, but with Pheax, and ioyning his parte with Pheax, he caused Hyperbolus to be banished, who feared nothing leffe: for it was neuer seene before, that a man of meane countenaunce, and of small authoritie, fell into the happe of this banishment. As Plato the Comicall poet testifieth, speaking of Hyperbolus.

> Although for his deserts, this payne to him is due, or greater punishment prepard the which might make him rue: Tet since he wwas by birth, a persone meane and base, such punishment therefore dyd seeme (for him) to great of grace. Since Ostracismon was, not made at first to be, nor yet deviside as punishment, for suche meane folke as he.

But of this matter, we have spoken more at large before: and now to return a againe to Aleibiades. Nicias had great reputation among straungers, and his enemies greued at it no leffe, then at the honour the cittizens felues dyd vnto him. For his house was the common inne for all LACEDEMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they euer laye withhim: moreover he had very well entertained the LACADEMON prisoners that were taken at the F forte of PYLE. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene LACEDE MON and A-THEN S, and their prisoners redeliuered home againe by Nisias meanes only & procurement

they loued him more then euer they dyd before . This was blowen abroade through GREECE; that Pericles had kindled the warres amongest them, and Nisias had quenched it: fo some called this peace Nicium, as one would faye, Nicius worke. But Acibiades fto. Nicius peach it: 10 to to the came what focuser glorie, determined to breake the peace what focuser came breakshing breaken had no peace of the Wherefore to compatte this matter, knowing first of all that the A R 01.9 B s had no peace of the liking of the LACED & MONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they Gracian.

dyd but seeke matter to fall out with them; he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS Moreouer he dyd perfuade them to it, both by letters and worde of mouthe, speaking with the magistrates, and suche as had greatest authoritie and credit amongest the people: declaring vinto them, that they should not seare the La-CEDEMONIANS, nor yeld to them at all, but to sticke to the ATHENIANS, who would fone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwardes when the LACBDEMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the cittle of P ANACT VM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and spoyled, contrarie to the league : Alcibiades perceyuing how the people were funche offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought Nicias in difgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of grear likelyhood. As at that time, when he was generall: that he would neuer take any of the LACED & MO-NIANS, when they were thut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and muche leffe diffresse them when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had founde the meanes to deliuer them, and fend them home againe, to gratifie the LACED EMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friende, he dyd not his ducty to disswade the people from making of league offensiue, and defensiue with the B or o-TIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe also, if there were any people of GRBBCB that had a defire to become friendes and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he dyd the best he could to let them, if the LACEDEMONIANS had no liking of the matter, Now as Nicias was thus in difgrace with the people, for the causes about fayd: in the middest of this sturre, ambassadours came by chaunce from LACEDEMONSO A-THEN S, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, faying they had full powers and commission to compound all controuersies, under reasonable and equal conditions, The Senate heard them, and receased them very curteoully, and the people the next daye should affemble in counsell to geue them audience : which Alcibiades fearing muche; he went to labour the ambassadours, and spake with them aparte in this forte, What meane you, my Lordes of Sparta: doe ye not knowe that the Senate hath all dishiader wayes accultomed to be gracious and fauorable vnto those that sue vnto them for any beguleth the

matter, and that the people contrarilie are of a prowde nature, and defirous to imbrace Lacedenne all great matters ? If therefore at the first fight, ye doe gene them to vndetstand that you are come hither with full power, to treate freely with them in all manner of causes: doe you not thinke that they make you stretche your authoritie farre, to graunte them all that they will demaunde. Therefore, my Lordes ambassadours, if you looke for indifferencie at the ATHENIANS handes, and that they shall not prease you to farre against your willes, to graunte them any thing of advantage: I would withe you a litle to courr your full commission, and in open manner to propound cerren articles, and reasonable capitu-

lations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things and for my parte, I will affire you of my good will in fatiour of the L A cap #-MONIANS. When he had rolde them this tale, he gaud them his faithfull promite, and vowed as it were to performe his worde. Heroupon Aibibades turned the Ambaffadours from the truft they reposed in Niciae, and wanne them on his side in so muche as they gaue credit to no man butto him, worldering muche at his great wifedome and ready, win, and they thought him a rate and notable man. The next morning the people wise aftembled P togetie the ambassadours audience. They were fent for, and brought into the market places There Alcibiades gently asked their, what was the cause of their comming. They authorised that they were come to treater of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. I bear

liv/Loog

beganne Aleibiades to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he to to them : calling them vnfaithfull, vnconflant, and fickle men, that were come neither to de nor fave any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the pen ple rated them very roughely: whereat Nicias was fo ashamed and amased withall that he could not tell what to faye, to fee fo fodaine a change, knowing nothing of Alcibrades ma. lice and fubrill practife with the ambaffadours. So the ambaffadours of LACED & MON WER dispatched, without any thing done, and Alcibiades chosen generall: who presently brough the Argives, the Elians, and the Mantinians in league with the Athenians Though no man dyd commend this practife of his, in working it after this forte: yet was it maruelous thing of him to deuise to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, and to procure find

a number of fouldiers against the LACED EMONIANS, as he dyd before the cittie of MAN, TINEA, and to shifte of the miseries of warre and hazard of battell, so farre from A. THENS. Which if the LACED EMONIANS dydwinne, could not profit them muche:and if they lost it, they could hardely faue their cittie of SPARTA. After this battell of MAR. TINEA, the thousand men whom the cittie by an auncient order dyd keepe continually in paye, aswell in peace as in warre, within the cittle of ARGOS, thinking now oportunitie ferued them very trimly: attempted to take the foueraine authoritie from the common people, and to make them selves Lords of the cittie. And to bring this to passe, the LACE DEMONIANS comming in the meane time, dyd ayde them in their purpose, and so dwd put downe the gouernment of the people: notwithstanding, immediatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. Alcibiades comming thither even at the time, dyd warrant them the victorie, and to let vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then he perfuaded them to make their walles longer to joyne their cittie to the fea, to the ende they might more easely be avded by sea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS, many carpinters, masons, stone hewers, and other workemen: and to conclude.

he shewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he dyd beare good will your

them, and thereby wanne him felfe no leffe fauour particularly emong them, then gene

brought to the fea by the

> rally he dyd good vnto his countrie. He dyd persuade also the cittizens of PATRAS to joyne their towne to the fea, by making long walles, which they built out even to the clyffes of the sea. And when one sayed vnto them, alas, poore people of PATRAS, what doe ye meane the ATHENIANS will care you out. Aleibiades aunswered him, it maye well be, but it shallen by litle and litle, beginning first at the feete: but the LACEDE MONIANS will denoure you all at once, and beginne at the head. Now although Alcibiades dyd make the cittie of A THEN Siftrong by fea, yet he dyd not leaue to persuade the ATHEN I ANS also, to make them selves strong by lande. For he dyd put the young men oftentimes in minde of the other they were made to sweare in Agravios, and dyd aduise them to accomplishe it in deede. Which was, that they should take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and confines of ATTI CA, whereby they were taught to reckon all lande theirs, that was manus red, and dyd bring forth fruite . Yet with all these goodly dedes and faver wordes of college biades, and with this great corage and quicknes of vaderstanding, he had many great saules and impetfections. For he was to daintie in his fare, wantonly generanto light women, rise f tous in bankets, vaine and womanishe in apparell: he ware euer: a long purple gowne that fwepr the market place as he walked up and downe, it had fuche a traine, and was to ride and coftely for him to weare. And following these vaine pleasures and delightes, when he was in his galley, he cauled the planckes of the poopethereof to be cutte and broken vertical he might lye the fofter: for his bed was not layed apon the ouerloppe, but laye vponginher strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the fides and he caried to the warres with him a gilded scutchion, wherein he had no cognizaunce nor ordinary deutse of the A THE 121 A 913 but only had the image of Capide in it sholding lightning in his hande . The nee ble men, and best cittizens of ATHENS perdevaing this, they hated his facious and could tions and were muche offended at him, and were afeard with all of his rathnes and infoles. I cie: he dyd fo contemne the lawes and customes of their countrie, being manifest tokens of a manifilat affired to be King , and would subvert and turne all over hand . And as for the good will

A good will of the common people towards him, the poet Aristophanes doth plainely expresse it in these wordes: The people most desire, what most they hate to have:

and what their minde abhorres, even that they feeme to crave, And in another place he fayed allo, aggravating the fulpition they had of him.

For flate or common vicale, muche better should it be 110 A T Can to keepe within the countrie none fuche lyons lookes as he. But if they nedes will keepe, a lyon to their coft,

then must they nedes obeye his vvill for he vvill rule the roste. For to fave truely: his curtefies, his liberallities, and noble expenses to thewe the peop p ple fo great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his. auncesters, the grace of his eloquence, the beawrie of his persone, the strength and valliantnes of his bodie, joyned together with his wifedome and experience in marshall affayers: were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the A THE-NI ANS dyd paciently endure all his light partes, and dyd couer his faultes, with the best wordes and termes they could calling them youthfull, and gentlemens sportes As when he kept Agartharchus the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his Meibieder walles within: and when he had done, dyd let him goe, and rewarded him very honeftly for differential

his paines . Againe when he gaue a boxe of the eare to Taurens, who dyd pave the whole @ "antonese charges of a companie of common players, in spite of him, to carie awaye the honour of the C games. Also when he tooke awaye a young woman of Metia by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine : by whom he had a childe, which he caused to be brought vp . Which they called a worke of charitie, al-

beit afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore Marians, fauing the litle children, bicause he had fauored and persuaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded, Likewife where one Artitophon a painter, had painted a curtifan named Nemea, holding Alcibiades in her armes, and fitting in her lappe, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the grave and auncient men, were angrie at these foolishe partes, accompting them impudent things, and done against all civill modestie and temperancie. Wherefore it seemed with the strates words we heterous D were spoken to good purpose, when he sayed, that Grance could not abide two Alcibiades swing.

at once. And on a daye as he came from the counfaill and affembly of the cittie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obteined the thing; he defired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: Timon, furnamed Milanthropped as who would fave Loup-garon or the manhater) meeting Alcebiades thus accompanied dyd not passe by him. nor gaue him wave (as he was wont to doe to all other men) but went draight to him, and tooke him by the hande, and fayed. O thou doft well my fonne, I can thee thanke that thou goeft on, and climest vo still: for if ever thou be in authoritie, woe be voto those that follows thee, for they are veterly vindone . When they heard thele wordes schoole that stoode by fell at

E laughing: other resulted Timon, other agains marked well his wordes, and sliguishe of them many a time after , fliche fundry opinions they had of him for the yngonflantic of his life. and waywardnes of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of Stotzing the Armsntane dyd matuelofly couet it in Perioles life, but yet they dyd not medle withall, whill after his death and then they dyd it at the first under culler of friendshippe as a syding those cittles which were oppressed, and spoyled by the S x R A C V 3 A M 5. This was in manber a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwardes a greater power and armie this her. How heit ithe Acidides only procurer of the A THEN IANS and persuader of them, to find small abin panies thither the nature in

no more, but to enter with a great armie, at once to conquerall the countries together, was sidile. Aleibiades: who had so allured the people with his pleasaunt tongue, that you his petfus.

F fion, they built caltells in the ayer, and thought to doe greater wonders by witning only of Sieilia. For where other dyd fet their mindes upon the conquest of Sicion,

ALCIBIADES. 220 being that they only hoped after: it was to Alcibiades, but a beginning of further enter A prifes. And where Nicias commonly in all his persuasions, dyd turne the ATHENIANE from their purpose to make warres against the SYRACYSANS, as being to great a matter for them to take the cittle of Syracvsa: Alcibiades againe had a further reache in his head, to goe conquer LIBYA, and CARTHAGE, and that being conquered, to passe from thence into ITALIE, and foto PELOPONNESY'S: fo that SICILIA should serve but to furnishe them with vittells, and to paye the souldiers for their conquestes which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried awaye with a maruelous hope and opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to olde mens tales that tolde them wonders of the countries: infomuche as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to fet rounde together, drawe plattes of Sicile, and def. R cribe the situation of LIBY A and CARTHAGE. And yet they saye, that neither Socrates the philosopher, nor Meton the astronomer dyd euer hope to see any good successe of this ionney. For the one by the reuealing of his familliar spirite, who tolde him all things to come. as was thought, had no great opinion of it: & Meton, whether it was for the feare of the fucceffe of the iorney he had by reason, or that he knew by divination of his arte what would followe, he conterfeated the mad man, & holding a burning torche in his hand, made as though he would have fet his house a fyer. Other saye, that he dyd not couterfeate, but like a mad me in deede dyd fet his house a fyre one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to praye the people, that in consideration of his great losse and his grienous calamitie fo late happened him, it would please them to discharge his sonne for going C this voyage. So by this mad deuise, he obtained his request of the people for his sonne, whom he abused much. But Nicias against his will was chosen captaine, to take charge of men in these warres: who misliked this iorney, aswell for his companion and associate in the charge of these warres, as for other missortunes he foresawe therein. Howbeit the ATHENTANS thought the warre would fall out well, if they dyd not commit it wholy to Alcibiades rashnes and hardines, but dyd ioyne with him the wisedome of Nicias: and appointed Lamachus

at Athens.

The divina-

also for their third captaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat olde, as one that had shewed him felfe no lesse venturous and hardie in some battells, then Alcibiades him felfe. Now when they came to refolue of the number of fouldiers, the furniture and order of these warres, Nicias sought crookedly to thwart this iorney, and to breake [it of altogether: but Alcibiades withstoode him, and gate the better hande of him. There was an orator called Demostratus, who moved the people also that the captaines whom they had chosen for these warres, might have full power and authoritie to leavy men at their difcretion, and to make fuche preparation as they thought good : whereunto the people condescended, and dyd authorise them. But when they were euen readie to goe their waye, many fignes of ill fuccesse lighted in the necke one of another; and amongest the rest this was one. That they were commaunded to take shippe, on the daye of the celebration of the feast of Adonia, on the which the custome is, that women doe fet vp in divers places of the cittie, in the middest of the streams, images, like to dead corfes which they carie to buriall, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funeralles of the E dead, with blubbering, and beating them felues, in token of the forowe the goddeffe Venue made, for the death of her friend Adonis . Moreover , the Hermes (which are the images of Mercurie, and were wont to be fet vp in energlane and streete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: but this put divers in great feare and trouble, yea even those that made no accompt of suche toyes. Whereupon it was altedged that it might be the Coninthians that dydit, or procured that lewde acte to be done, favoring the S Y R A C V S A N S, who were their neere kynfemen, and had bene the first founders of them, imagining upon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake of the enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hande. Neuertheles, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their wordes that sayed, F they should not reckon of any such signes or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youthes, that being tippled, had played this shamefull parte in their brauerie, or for sporte.

A But for all thefe reasons, they tooke these signes very groundly, and were in deede not a little afeard, as thinking vindoutedly, that, no man durft have bene fo bolde to have done fuche an ahhominable facte, but that there was some conspiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked apon every suspicion and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely soever it were and that very seuerely : and both Senate and people also met in countell vpon it, very ofte, and in a fewe dayes. Now whilest they were busilie searching out the matter, Androcles a common counseller, and orator in the common wealth, brought before the counfell certaine flaues and straungers that dwelt in ATHENS: who deposed that Alcibiades. and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that forte, and in a mockerie had counterfeated also in a banker that he made, the ceremonies B of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one Theodorus counterfea-

ted the herauld, that is wonte to make the proclamations: Polytion the torche beater, and Als prophaning cibiades the priest, who sheweth the holy signes and mysteries; and that his other compa, the holy my nions were the affiltantes, as those that make sute to be receyued into their religion and or, series. der, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call & Mystes. These very wordes are written in the accusation Thessalus (Cimons sonne) made against Altibiades, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeffes, Ceres, & Proferpina. Whereat the people being maruelously moued and offended, and the orator Androcles his mortall enemie aggrauating & stirring them vp the more against him: Alcibiades a litle at the first beganne to be amased at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were C prepared for the voyage of Sicilia, and the fouldiers also that were gathered, dyd beare

him great good will, and specially how the ayde, and that bande that came from A a Gos, and Mantinea (being a thousand footemen, well armed and appointed) dyd saye openly, how it was for Alcibiades fake they dyd take vpon them fo long a voyage beyond sea, & that if they went about to doe him any hurte or wrong, they would prefently returne home againe from whence they came: he beganne to be of a good corage againe, and determined with this good fauorable oportunitie of time, to come before the counsell, to aunswer to all fuche articles and accusations as should be layed against him. Thereupon his enemies were a little cooled, fearing least the people in this judgement would have shewed him The ordinal

D had fed other Oratours who feta good face on the matter, as they had bene Alcibiades

friends, and yet bare him no lesse good will, then the ranckest enemies he had. These fine

fellowes rose vp in open assembly, and sayed: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen

one of the generalles of so mightie and puissant an armie (being ready to hoyse sayle and

the avde also of their allies and friendes) should be driven to staye now, and to lose time

and occasion of well doing, whilest they should goe about to choose judges, and appointe

more fauour, bicause they stoode in nede of him. Wherefore to preuent this daunger, they enemies.

him his howres and time of aunswer. Therefore, they sayed, it was fit he should take his iorney betimes, and when warres were done, that he should present him selfe to requier iustice, and to purge him selfe of suche matters as should be objected against him . But Afcibiades smelling streight their fetche, and perceyuing the practise of his staye, stept vp. E and declared how they dyd him great wrong, to make him departe with the charge of a generall of so great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of so grieuous curses, as he should leave apon him: and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and iultifie him felse, of all the vniust and surmised accusations against him. And if he had once clered him felfe of all thinges, and had published his innocencie: he should then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to goe on lustely to fight with his enemies, and to cast behinde him the daunger of all his slaunderous detracters . But all this could not persuade them. And so he was presently commaunded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke, & shippe awaye his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, having in their nauie about a hundred and forty gallyes, all having three sieile.

F owers to a bancke: & fine thousand one hundred footemen very well armed and appointed,& throwers with flinges, archers, & other light armed men to the number of thirteene hundred, fufficiently furnished of all warlicke and necessarie munition. Now after they were arrived

on the coaste of ITALIE, they landed in the cittle of RHEGIO: where , holding counselling A what force they should direct these warres, it was resolved in the ende that they should goe straight vnto Sicilia. This opinion was followed, although Nicias dyd contrarie it, when Lamachus gaue his consent thereunto : and at his first comming, he was the occasion of winning the cittle of CATANA. But he neuer after dyd any exployte, for he was called home immediatly by the ATHENIANS, to come and aunswer certaine accusations layed to his charge For as we tolde you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light suspitions and accusations put vp against him, by some slaues and straungers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burdened him more cruelly, adding to his former faulte, that he had broken the images of Mercurie: and had committed facriledge in counterfeating in least and mockery the holy ceremonies of the mysteries: and blue into the eares of the people, R that both the one and the other proceeded of one fet conspiracie, to chaunge and alter the gouernment of the state of the cittie. Vpon these informations, the people tooke it in so ill parte, that they committed all to prisone, that were in any forte accused or suspected thereof. and would neuer let them come to their aunswer: and moreouer dyd much repent them that they had not condemned Alcibiades, upon so great complaintes and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offense was in question before them. And the furie and hatred

of the people was such towards him, that if any of Alcibiades friends and acquaintance came

within their daunger, they were the worse handled for his fake . Thucydides dyd not name his

accusers, but some other doe name Dioclides and Teucer: amongest whom, Phrynicus the Co-

micall poet is one, who discouereth it in his verses, by bringing in one that speaketh thus to C

Phrenicus

the image of Mercury

My good friend Mercury, I praye thee take good heede, that thou fall not and breake thy necke: for so thou mightst me breede. both daunger and distrust, and though I giltles be, some Dioclides falsely might accuse and trouble me. Mercury aunswereth.

Take thou no thought for me, my felfe I shall well faue: and will foresee full well therewith that Teucer(that false knaue) shall not the money get, which he by lavve hath woonne, for his promounters bribing parte, and accusation.

And yet for all this, these tokens doe showe no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, howe he could knowe them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these images? he aunswered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightnes of the moone. And hereby it appeareth playnely that he was periured, bicause that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the moone. This dyd a little

trouble and staye men of judgement: howbeit the common forte of people this notwithstanding, dyd not leaue to be as tharpe set, to receyue all accusations and informations, that were brought in against him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the orator Andocides (whom Hellanicus the historiographer describeth to descend of the race of Vlysses) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the go- E uernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the small number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefest occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his house there was a fayer great image set vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the Ageides, and that alone amongest all the rest of so many famous images, was lefte whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this daye, the Mercury of Andocides, and is so called generally of every bodye, albeit the inscription sheweth the contrarie. Andocides being in prisone, chaunced to fall in acquaintaunce with one Timeue, with whom he was more familliar then with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause. This Timaus was a man not so well knowen as he, but besides, a wise man, and very hardie. He persuaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse him selfe, and certaine F other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confessing it, he should receyue grace& pardone, according to the course and promise of the lawe. Where contrarilie, if he should

A stande vpon the curtesie of the judges sentence, he might easely endaunger him self: bicause indgements in fuch cases are vncertaine to all people, and most to be doubted and seared toward the riche. And therefore he told him it were his best wave, if he looked into the matter wifely, by lying to faue his life, rather then to fuffer death with shame, and to be condemned apon this faile accusation. Also he sayed if he would have regarde to the comon wealth. that it should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in daunger a fewe of those which stood doubtfull whether in trothe they were any of them or not) to faue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honest men, who in deede were innocent of this lewde fact. Timeus wordes and persuasions wrought such effect with Andocides, that they made him yeld

vnto them, & brought him to accuse him selfe, & certaine other with him: by meanes whereof Alcibiades according to the lawe had his pardone. But all fuche as he named and accused, were enery man put to death, fauing fuche as faued them felues by ronning awaye. Furthermore, to thadowe his acculation with fome apparaunce of trothe, Andocides among those that were accused, dyd accuse also certen of his owne servaunts. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupie their busie heades about the breakers of these images, vet was not their malice thus appealed against Alcibiades, untill they fent the galley called Salaminiana, Alcibiades

commaunding those they fent by a speciall comission to seeke him out, in no case to attempt sem for to attempt to take him by force, nor to laye holde on him by violence: but to vie him with all the good decadains. wordes and curteous manner that they possibly could, & to will him only to appeare in perfone before the people to auniwer to certaine accurations put vp against him. If otherwise

behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, and that there would have growen some sedition amongest their fouldiers. This might Aleibiades have easely done, if he had bene disposed. For the fouldiers were very forie to fee him departe, perceyuing that the warres should be drawen out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder Nicias, seeing Alcibiades was taken from them, who was the only fourre that pricked Nicias forward to doe any feruice: and that Lamachus alfo, though he were a valliant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and authoritie in the armie, bicause he was but a meane man borne, and poore besides. Now Alcibiades for a furewell, disapointed the ATHENIANS of winning the cittle of MESSINA: for they ha-

C they should have yied force, they feared muche least the armie would have mutined on his

uing intelligence by certaine private persones within the cittie, that it would yeld vp into their handes, Alcibiades knowing them very well by their names, bewraved them vnto those that were the Syracus ans friendes: whereupon all this practife was broken vtterly. Afterwards when he came to the cittle of THV RIES, so sone as he had landed, he went and hid him felfe incontinently in suche forte, that such as sought for him, could not finde him. Yet there was one that knewe him where he was, and fayed: Why, how now Alcibiades, darest thou not trust the inflice of thy countrie? Yes very well (4) he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing upon it, I would not trust mine own mother, fearing least negligetly she should put in the blacke beane, where the should cast in the white. For by the first, condemnation of death was figuified: and by the other, pardone of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHE-NIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, they shall knowe I am yet alive.

this forte. The flalus the fonne of Cimon, of the village of LACIADES, hath accused, and doth accuse Alcibiades, the sonne of Clinias, of the village of Scambonides, to have offended against the goddeffes, Ceres & Proferpina, counterfeating in mockery their holy mysteries, & shewing them to his familliar friends in his house, him selfe apparrelled and arrayed in a long vestemet or cope, like vnto the vestemet the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy facred mysteries: & naming him selfe the priest, Polytion the torche bearer, and Theodorus of the village of PHYGEA the verger, & the other lookers on, brethern, and fellowe scorners with them, & all done in manifest contept & derision, of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the Eumolpides, the religious priests & ministers of the sacred teple of the cittle of ELEVSIN. So Alcibiades for

E Now the manner of his accusation and inditement framed against him, was found written in Acidiades

his contept & not appearing, was condened, and his goodes confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious prieftes & women should bane & accurse him, being absented But hereunto auniwered, one of the Nunnes called Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the vil-

Alcibiades

Averbio

ALCIBIADES.

lage of AGRAVIA, faying: that the was professed religious, to praye and to blesse, not to curse A and banne. After this most grieuous sentence and condemnation passed against him, Alei,

biades, departed out of the cittie of THYRIES, & went into the countrie of PELOPONNESVS: where he continued a good season in the cittie of ARGOS. But in the ende fearing his ene mies, and having no hope to return againe to his owne countrie with any fafety; he fent yn-

to Sparta to haue fafe conduct and licence of the LACED EMONIANS, that he might come and dwell in their countrie, promifing them he would doe them more good being now their friend, then he euer dyd them hurte, while he was their enemie. The LACED & MONIANS graunted his request, & received him very willingly into their cittie:where even you his first

comining, he dyd three things. The first was: That the LACED EMONIANS by his persuasion & procurement, dyd determine speedily to fend ayde to the Syracysans, whom they had R long before delayed: & so they lent Gylippus their captaine, to ouerthrowe the ATHENIANS armie, which they had fent thither. The fecod thing he did for them, was: That he made them

of GREECE to beginne warre apon the ATHENTANS. The third, & greatest matter of importance, was: That he dyd counsell them to fortifie the cittie of DECELEA, which was within the territories of ATTICA felfe: which confumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS

lower, then any other thing whatfoeuer he could have done. And if he were welcome, & well esteemed in Sparta, for the service he dyd to the comon wealth: much emore he wanne the loue & good willes of private men, for that he lived after the LACONIAN manner. So as they that fawe his skinne scraped to the fleshe, & sawe him washe him selfe in cold water, & howe he dyd eate browne bread, & suppe of their blacke brothe : would have doubted (or to save of

better, neuer haue beleeued) that suche a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so muche as a perfuming panne, or had touched clothe of tiffue made at Mi-LETV M. For among other qualities & properties he had (wherof he was full) this as they fave was one, whereby he most robbed mens hartes: that he could frame altogether with their manners and facions of life, transforming him felfe more easely to all manner of shapes, then

the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white culler: but Alcibiades Alcibiades could put apon him any maners, customes or facions, of what nation soeuer, & could follows. more chaun. geable then exercise, & counterfeate them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in Spartable the camelion. was very paynefull, & in continual exercise: he lived sparingly with litle, & led a straight life. In Ionia, to the cotrary: there he lived daintely & fuperfluoufly, & gave him felf to all mirthen & pleasure. In THRACIA, he dranke euer, or was allwayes a horse backe. If he came to Tille phernes, lieutenaunt of the mightie king of Persia: he farre exceeded the magnificence of PERSIA in pompe & sumptuousnes. And these things notwithstanding, neuer altered his na-

all fortes of chaunges. But bicause peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose companie he kept, he dyd with fuch a vifer & cloke difguife him felfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming him selfe into their naturall countenaunce. As he that had seene him when he was at Sparta, to have looked apon the outward man, would have fayed as the common prouerbe saveth: It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe:

turall condition from one facion to another, neither dyd his manners (to faye truely) receyue

Euen so it is euen he, whom Lycurgus brought vp . But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and good will in deede lye naked before him: would have faved contrarilie, as they fave commonly in another language.

This vvoman is no chaungeling.

For he entertained Queene Timea, King Agu wife of Sparta, fo well in his absence, he being abroade in the warres: that he got her with childe, & she her selfe denied it not. For she being brought a bed of a sonne, who was named Leotychides, openly to the world called him by that name: but when the was amongest her familliars & very friends, the called him sofetly Alcibiades, the was to farre in lone with him. And Alcibiades leafting out the matter, faved he

had done it for no hurte, nor for any lust of fleshe to satisfie his defire: but only to leave of his race, to reigne amongest the LACED EMONIANS. This matter was brought by divers vnto

king dgie eares, who at the length beleeued it: but specially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was sence he laye with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: fo that it was tenne moneths after ere he lave again with her. Whereinon her fonne Leotychides being borne at the ende of tenne moneths, he faved he was none of his and this was the cause that Leotychides dyd not succede afterwards in the Kingdome. Leotychides

B ROED TIANS favored those of LESBOS: Pharnabazus, the king of PERSIABS lieutenaunt, fa-

Hored the CYZICENIANS. This notwithstanding, the LACED & MONIAN Swere better affe-

Ated to helpe those of C H I o first, by the persuasion of Alcibiades, who tooke their matters in

hande. And he tooke sea him self and went into As IA, where he almost turned the countrie

of IONIA against the ATHENIANS: and keeping allwayes with the generalles of the LACE-

the benefit of the LACED EMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him flying all occasios to fall

with him, that no man was of fo fullen a nature, but he would make him meric nor fo chur-

lishe, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also enuied him:

they were yet glad to fee him, & it did them good to be in his companie, & vie talke with him.

In so muche as this Tisaphernes (that otherwise was a churlishe man, and naturally hated the

with litle money, to let them diminishe and consume by litle and litle : to the ende that after one had troubled and weakned the other, they both arthe length should be the easier for the

King to ouercome. This barbarous man dyd eafely confene to this denife All the world then

bicause he was not of the bloude royall. After the viter ouerthrowe of the ATHENIANS in Alcibiades Signification of the Iles of Chio and Lesbos, with the Cyzicentans, dyd fend all ahout a tene ambassadours to Sparta: to let the LACED EMONIANS vnderstand they had good will to leave the ATHENIANS, so they would send them ayde to defend them. The

BEMONIANS, he dyd muche hurte the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, king Men dvd heare him ill will partely for the injurie he dyd him in dishonoring and defiling his wife, and partely also, for that he enuied his glorie: bicause the rumour rane all about, that the most parte of the goodly exploytes of these warres dyd happen well, by Alcibiades meanes. Other also of the greatest authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious emong them, beganne in their mindes to be angrie with Alcibiades, for the enuie they bare him: who were of The Lacedas fo great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their captaines monians prain the field, to kill him. Alcibiades hearing of this, dyd no whit defift to doe all he could for

into their handes, So in the ende, for more fuerty of his persone, he went vnto Tisphernes, one Alcibiades of the king of Persians lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently fuche credit, that flying the Liehe was the first & chiefest persone he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple equip to Ti. persone, but rather malicious, & subtill of nature, and that loued fine & crasty men: dyd wonder how he could so easely turne from one manner of living to another, and also at his quicke witte and ynderstanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to passe the time awaye, was commonly maruclous full of mirthe and pleasure, and he had suche pleasaunt comely denises

GRECIANS) dyd geue him felfe so muche vnto Alcibiades flatteries, and they pleased him fo well: that he him felfe dyd studie to flatter Alcibiades againe, and make muche of him. For he called Alcibiades his fayer house of pleasure, & goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had Michiades many goodly gardens, sweete springes, grene arbours and pleasaunt meadowes, and those in called a pleas many goodly gardens, tweete ipringes, grene arouns and pleataint incadowes, and thorein faunt place all royall and magnificent manner. Alcibiades despairing veterly to finde any safetie or friends and goodly E shippe emong the Spartans, and fearing on thother side king Agis also: he beganne to profess. speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they dyd, to Tisaphernes. By this practise he slaved Tisaphernes from ayding them so friendly as he might: moreouer, he dyd noc viterly destrove the ATHENIANS. For he perfuaded him that he should furnishe the LACED EMONIANS but

fawe he loued Alcibiades, and esteemed of him very muche: in so muche as he was sought to, and regarded of all handes of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS foricand repent ted them when they had receyued fo great loffe & hurte, for that they had decreed to fenerely against Alcibiades, who in like manner was very forowfull , to fee them brought to fo harde The mon termes fearing, if the cirtie of ATHENS came to destruction, that he himselfe should fall in companyer the ende into the handes of the Line up anon I was, who maliced him to the death. Now

Alcibiades got Timea. king Agia childe.

chaunge the gouernment of ATHENS, and that brought it into the handes of a small number

ALCIBIADES. about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS were almost in the Ile of Samos, from A where with their armie by fea, they fought to suppresse the rebelles that were vp against them. and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily fitting to refift their enemies, at the least by sea: but they stoode in great seare of the power of Tifaphernes, and of the hundred & fiftie gallyes which were reported to be comming out of the countrie of Phane CIA, to the ayde of their enemies, which if they had come, the cittle of ATHENS had benefit. terly spoyled, and for euer without hope of recourry. The which Alcibiades understanding fent fecretly vnto the chiefest men that were in the armie of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS. IN geue them hope he would make Tisaphernes their friende: howbeit not of any desire he had to gratifie the people nor that he trusted to the communaltie of ATHENS, but only to the honorable, and honest cittizens, and that conditionally so as they had the harte and corage, to B bridell a litle the ouer licentiousnes and insolencie of the common people, & that they would take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redreffe their state, and to preserve the cittie of ATHENS, from finall and vtter destruction. Vpon this advertisement, all the heades & chief men dyd geue very good eare vnto it: fauing only Phrynichus, one of the captaines, and of the towne of DIRADES. Who mistrusting (that was true in deede) that Alcibiades cared not which ende went forward nor who had the chief gouernment of ATHENS, the nobilitie, or the communaltie, and dyd but feeke all the deuifes and wayes he could, to returne againe if it might be possible, in any manner of forte, and that he dyd but currie fauour with the Nobilitie, blaming and accusing the people: he stoode altogether against the motion, whereupon Alcibiades deuise was not followed. And having now shewed him selfe open enemie to Alcibiades, he dvd & fecretly aduertife Astiochus then admirall to the LACED & MONIANS, Of Alcibiades practife. and warned him to take heede of him, and to laye him up fafe, as a double dealer, and one that had intelligence with both fides: but he understoode not how it was but one traitour to speake to another. For this Astiochus was a follower of Tilaphernes for his prinate commoditie and perceyuing Aleibiades in fuche credit with him, he dyd discouer to Aleibiades all that Phrynichus had aduertised him. Alcibiades straight sent men of purpose to Samos, vnto the captains

of nobilitie: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called them felues fine thoufand. But so sone as they felt them selues strong, and that they had the whole authoritie of gouernment, without contradiction in their handes: they made then no more reckoning of Micibiades, and so they made warres more coldly and slackly then before. Partely bicause they miltrusted their cittizens, who founde the chaunge of gouernment very strange: and partely allo bicaule they were of opinion that the LACED & MONIANS (who at all times dyd most fauour the gouetnment of Nobilitie) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now. the common people that remained still in the cittie, sturred nor, but were quiet against their B willes, for feare of daunger, bicause there were many of them slaine, that boldely tooke apon them in open presence to result these source hundred. But those that were in the campe, in the He of Samos, hearing these newes, were so grieuously offended that they resolved to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauch of PIREA. First of all, they sent for Alaibiades, whom Middle they chose their captaine: then they commaunded him straightly to leade them against these tyrantes, who had viurped the libertie of the people of ATHENS. But neuersheles he dyd not therein, as another would have done in this case, seeing him selfe so sodainely crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he dyd not thinke he should incontinently please and gratifie the in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their thippes and so great an armie, being before but a banished man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrarie, as it became a generall worthie of fuche a charge, he confidered with him felfs, that it was his parte wifely to staye those, who would in a rage and furie carelesly cast them selves awaye, and not suffer them to doe it. And truely Alcibrades was the cause of the preserving of the cittle of ATHENS at that time, from vtter destruction. For if they had sodainly (according to their determination) departed from Samos to goe to ATHENS: the enemies finding no man to let them, might easely haue wonne all the countrie of Ionia, of Hellespont, and of all the other Hes without stroke striking, whilest the ATHENIANS were busic fighting one there to accuse Phrynichus of the treason he had revealed against them. Those of the counsal against another in civill warres, and within the compasse of their owne walles. This Alcibiades there, receiving this intelligece: were highly offended with Phrynichus. So, he feeing no better alone, & no other, dyd preuent, not only by perfuading the whole armie, and declaring the inwaye to faue him felfe for making of this faulte, went about to make amends with committing conueniece thereof, which would fall out apon their fodaine departure : but also by intrearing a worle faulte. Thereupon he fent againe to Astiochus, complaining muche he had disclosed

their shippes, to make a strong watche, and to fortifie them selues with all speede, the which forthwith they dyd. And as they were about it, there came other letters from Alcibiades, by the which he dyd warne them agains to take heede of Phrypichus, bicause hehad practised agains with their enemies, to deliuer the whole armie of A was into their handes But they gaueno credit to his fecond letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and minder of the enemies, would ferue his own turne with the falle accusing of Phrynichus. Notwithstanding this, there was some falsehood in felllowshippe s for one Hermon, openly in the market Themmeder of place, stabbed Phrynichus in with a dagger, & killed him. The facte being pleaded in lawe, and abroughly confidered of: the dead-bodie by the fentence of the people was condemned for and his contraitour; and Hermon the murtherer, and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their facte they had done to kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherefore those that were sale eibiades friends, being at that time the stronger, and greatest men of the counsell in the armie at Samos: they fent one Pilander to Athens, to attempt to alter the government, and to en-

him: and yet neuertheles he promised him, if he would keepe his counsaill, that he would della

uer the whole fleete and armie of the ATHENIANS into his handes. Howbeit this treason of

Phrysichus dyd the Athenians'no hurte at all, by reason of Astiochus counter treason: for la

dydlet Aleibiades againe understand what offer Phrynichus had made him. Phrynichus looking

to be charged with this againe, the second time before the counsell, by meanes of Aleibiaton

dyd first aduertise the chief of the armie of the ATHEN IANS. That their enemies would come

and fet vpon them, and where, and howe: and gaue them therefore warning to keepe negg

Thrasibulus of the towne of STIRA, dyd helpe him muche: who went through the armie, and cried out apon them that were bent to enterprise this iorney. For he had the biggest and lowdeft voyce as they faye, of any man that was in all the cittle of Athens. This was a notable ment the second agreement for the second agreement fo acte, and a great pece of service done by Alcibiades: that he promised fine hundred faile of of all the dethe Phenicians (which the Laced & Monians affuredly looked for, in their ayde from the king of Persia) should not come at all, or els if they came, it should be in the fauour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, and went with great speede to Tifaphernes: whom he handled in suche sorte, that he brought not the shippes that laye at rode before the cittle of

Aspenda, and so he brake promise with the Laced Emonians. Therefore Alcibiades was maruelously blamed and accused, both of the one & the other side, to have altered Tisaphernes minde, but chiefly of the LACED EMONIANS: who fayed that he had perfuaded this barbarous captaine, he should neither ayde the one nor the other, but rather to suffer them one to denoure and destroye eache other. For it had beine out of doubt, if this great sleete and nauy of the Kings had come, to loyne their force with either partie: that they had taken from the one of them, the figniotie and domination of the fea. Shortely after, the foure hundred noble men that had vsurped the authoritie and gouernment of A HAN'S, were veterly driven awaye and ouerthrowen, by meanes of the friendly ayde, & affiltaunce that Alcibiades friends gave those that tooke the peoples parte. So the cittizens were very well pleased with collections in so muche as they fent for him to returne when he thought good. But he undging with him felfe The timena it would be no honour nor grace vinto him to returne without fome well deferuitie, & before of Athir fine corage the noble men to take upon them the authoritie, & to plucke it from the people; affly he had done fome greater exployte, as only vpon the peoples fauour and good will, whereas de in rinen. ring them that Fifsphernes would give them ayde to doe it, by meanes of Alcibiades, who would otherwise his returne might be both glorious and triumphant: departed first from Sames

some particularly aparte, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one

ALCIBIADES

with a finall number of gallyes, and went failing vp and downe the Hes of Cos and of Gran DOS. There he was aduertifed that Mindarus the admirall of the LACED EMONIANS, was * gone with all his fleete vnto the straight of HBLLESPONT, and that the captaines of the As-THENIANS gaue chase vnto him. Thereupon he went also and sayled thither with speede, to ayde the ATHENTANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteene gallyes euen at the very instant, whe they were both in the middest of their fight, with all their shippes before the Band by fee cittle of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten between them from morning till night, both the one and the other hauing the better in one parte of the battell, and the worst in ano-

Alcihiades victorie of the Lacedzmonians by

come of More ther place. Now at the first discourrie of Alcibiades comming, both partes had in deede conthe Athenia trarie imaginations of him . For the enemies tooke harte vnto them: and the ATHENIANS beganne to be afeard. But Alcibiades fet vp straight his flagge in the toppe of the galley of his & admirall, to shewe what he was. Wherewithall, he set vpon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, & had certen gallyes of the ATHENIANS in chase: whereupon the PELOPONNE-31 ANS gaue ouer their chase, & fled. But Alcibiades followed them so lustely, that he ranne die uersof them a ground, & brake their shippes, & slue a great number of men that lept into the fea, in hope to faue them felues by swimming a lande . So notwithstanding that Pharnabazus was come thither to ayde the LACED EMONIANS, and dyd his best indeuour to faue their gallyes by the fea shore : yet the ATHENIANS in the end wane thirtie gallyes of their enemies, and faued all their owne, and fo dyd fet vp certaine flagges of triumphe and victorie. Alcibiades hauing now happely gotten this glorious victorie, would nedes goe shewe him selfe in triumphe vnto Tifaphernes. So haning prepared to present him with goodly riche presents, and C appointed also a convenient traine & number of fayle mete for a generall, he tooke his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for . For Tifaphernes standing

in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kings handes, having long time

before bene defamed by the LACEDAE MONIANS, who had coplained of him, that he dyd not fulfill the Kings commaundement, thought that Alcibiades was arrived in very happy hower. whereupon hekept him prisoner in the cittie of SARDIS, supposing the wrong he had done; taken prisoner would by this meanes easely discharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the ende of thirtie as Sandis, fig- dayes, Alcibiades by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled vnto the cittle of CLAZOMENES: and this dyd more increase the suspition they had of Tisaphernes, bicause they thought that under hand he had wrought his libertie. Alcibiades toke then sea again, and went D to feeke out the armie of the ATHEN I ANS. Which when he had founde. & heard newes that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together in the cittle of Cizicvm: he made an oration to his fouldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requifite they should fight with their enes mies, both by sea and by lande, and moreouer that they should assault them within their fortes and castells, bicause otherwise they could have no money to defraye their charges. His one tion ended, he made them immediatly hoyse sayle, and so to goe lye at anker in the Ile of P not CONESUS: where he tooke order that they should keepe in all the pinnases and brigantines emong the shippes of warre, that the enemie might have no manner of intelligence of his conming. The great showers of rayne also, with thunder and darke weather that fell out sodainer vpon it, dyd greatly further him in his attempt & enterprise: in so muche as not only his eno. mies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knewe nothing of his comming. So fome made their reckoning, that they could doe litle or nothing all that daye: yet he made them todamely imbarke, and hoyse sayle. They were no sooner in the mayne sea, but they discried a farre of the gallyes of their enemies, which laye at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing least the great number of his sleete would make them slye, and take lande before he could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to staye behinder & to rowe softely after him, and him felfe with fortiegallyes with him, went towards the enemies to prouoks them to fight. The enemies supposing there had bene no more shippes, then those that were in fight: dyd fet out prefently to fight with them. They were no fooner toyned together, but

Alcibiades thippes that came behinde, were also descriedathe enemies were so afeard thereas.

that they cast about, and sled straight. Alcibiades leaving his sleete, followed the chase with

twentie of the best gallyes he had, and draue them alande. Thereupon he landed also, and pur-

ALCIBIADES.

A fued them to corageously at their heeles, that he flue a great nuber of them on the mayne lade: Michiades who thought by flying to have faued them selves. Moreover, Mindains, & Pharnabazas, being victorie as come out of the cittie to rescue their people, were overthrowen both, He sue Mindarus in the Cyclem. field fighting valliantly: as for Pharnabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS fooyled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and

tooke besides all their enemies shippes. After they tooke the cittle of CIZYCV M. Pharmabazzat bauing left it. Then the PEL OPONNESIANS being flaine, they had not only the pofferfion of the whole countrie of HELLESPONT, which they kept but they draue their enemies by force. out of all partes of the fea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a fecretarie gaue aduertiffement vnto the Ephori at Spart A, of the ouerthrowe in this force. All is lost Mindarus is slaine, our people dye for hunger, and we know e not what to doe. Now the fouldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this forney and onerthrowe, grewe to fuche a pryde and reputation of them selues, that they would not, and disdained also to serue with the other fouldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worle. Where they to the contrarie had neuer bene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine Thrafyllus had bene overthrowen by the cittie of EPHESVS. And for this overthrowe, the EPHESTANS had fet up a triumphe, and token of braffe, to the utter shame and ignominie of the ATHE NIANS. For the which Alcibiades fouldiers did very muche rebuke Thrafyllus men, and dyd exceedingly extoll their captaine and them selues, and would neither encampe with them neither have to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill suche time as Pharnabaz me C came with a great armie against them, aswell of footenien as horsemen, when they rane a forraging apon the A BY DENIAN stand then Acibiades went to the rescue of them, and gaue Pharnabazus battell, and ouerthrewe him once againe, and dyd together with Thrafyllus chafe him euen vntill darke night. Then both Acibiades and Thrafyllus fouldiers dyd companie together, one rejoycing with another : and so returned all with great joye into one campe. The next morning Aleibiades fet vp a triumphe for the victorie he had the daye before, and then went to spoyle and destroye Pharnabazus countrie, where he was gouernour, & no man durst once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine priestes and Nunnes of the coutrie: but Alcibiades freely delivered them afterwards without ransome. And preparing to make warres against the Chalcedonians, who were regolted fro the Ather D NIANS, & had receyued a garrison & gouernour of the LACEDEMONIANS into their citties

he was advertissed that they had brought in all their goods & cattells out of the fieldes, & had

deliuered them to the fafe custodie of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbours & frieds.

Hereupon he led his armie into their borders, & fent a herauld before to summone the Bri

THYNIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the ATHENIANS, The BITHYNIANS.

fearing least Alcibiades would fet apon them, dyd straight deliuer him the goodes they had as

battell, so as they might geue a charge vpon them both at one instant; he fought so valliant.

ly, that he forced Pharnabazus to runne his waye with shame enough, & flue Hippocrates in the

field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the feas againe, to goe towardes the

ayer, was fet up before Alcibiades was readio with his copanie. But he perceyuing the figne fet,

tooke about thirtie men with him in his copanie, & rane with them to the walles of the cittle.

afore in their custodie, & moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS besides. That done. hewent & layed feige to the cittle of CHALCEDON, the which he environned all about from Alcibiader the one fide of the fea to the other. Pharnabazus came thither, thincking to have raised the vittorie at feige. And Hippocrates, a captain of the LACED & MONIANS, that was gouernour of the cittie. Chalcedonia E affembled all the force he was able to make within the fame & made a falve out also your the

ATHENIANS at the very fame time. Whereupon Alcibiades putting his menin order of

countrie of HELLESPONT, to get some money, where you the sodaine he did take the cittie of SELYBREA: bicause he valliantly put him selfe in hazard before the time appointed him, Meibiades For certain of his frieds within, with whom he had fecret practife, had generahim a token, that toke the city of Selywhen time ferued they would have a burning torche in the aver at midnight; but they were bree copelled to thew this fyer in the aver before they were readie for feare least one of their cofe-F deracie would bewraye the matter, who fodginly repeted him. Now this torche burning in the

having commaunded the rest of his armie to followe him with all speede possible. The gate A was opened to him, and to his thirtie men: befides them there followed twentie other light armed men. Howbeit they were no foner entered the cittie, but they heard the cittizens are med come against them: so that there was no hope to scape, if he dyd tarie their commine. Neuertheles, colidering that vntill that prefent time he was neuer ouercome in battell, where he had taken charge it greued him very muche to flye; wherefore it straight came in his head to make filence by found of trumpet, and after filence made, he caused one of them that were

about him to make proclamation with a lowde voyce, that the SELYBRIANIANS should not

take armes against the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a litle that would fayne have bene

doing bicause they supposed that all the armie of the ATHENIANS had bene already in the

daunger. And as they beganne to parle vpon composition, the rest of Alcibiades armie was

cittie: the other on the contrarie fide, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further a

come on. Now he thincking in deede (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS fought nothing but peace, and fearing least the THRACIANS which were many in number (& came with good will to serue him in that iorney) would sacke and spoyle the cittie, he made them all to goe out againe: and fo concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurte, apon their huble submission, but made them paye him a summe of money, and so leaving a garrison of the ATHENIANS within the cittie, he departed thence. Whileft Alcibiades was in treatie with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN Captaines cerne the A. that laye at the fiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with Pharnabazus, that he should geue them a summe of money, & give vp the towne into the ATHENIANS handes, to enione c it as they had before. And with expresse condition also, that the ATHENI ANS should make

no rodes into Pharnabazus dominions, to hurte or spoyle any of his: and likewise should be

bounde to geue good safe conducte vnto the ambassadours of the Athenians, to goe and

come safe from time to time, to the king of PERSIA. The other captaines being sworn to this peace, Pharnabazus conditioned also, that Alcibiades at his returne should likewise be sworne to the peace and conditions thereof, But Alcibiades faved, he would not be fworne at all, vnles Pharnabazus were first sworne for his parte. Thus when othes were taken of either side, Akibiades went also against those of BYZANTIVM, who in like case had rebelled against the A-THEN I ANS. At his first comming thither, he enuironned the cittie round about with a walle. Afterwards he practifed with two fecret friends of his, Anaxilaus, & Lycurgus, & certen other D within the cittie, who promifed him to deliuer it into his handes, so they might be affured he would doe them no hurte. To culler this practife, he gaue it out, that he must nedes leave the fiege, & departe with speede, for certain newes that were come out of I on I A: & thereupon he imbarked presently, & wet out of the hauen at none dayes with all his shippes, howbeit he returned again the same night. And going a lande with the choycest & best armed men he had, he approched the walles of the cittie, without any manner of noyle, having left order with them that remained in the shippes, that in the meane season they should rowe with all force

stratageame

winnerh Bi-

into the hauen, with as great cries and showtes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies partely to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their fodaine coming among them, & partely that his cofederates within the cittie, might with better oportunitie receyue him & his copa. E nie, into the towne with the more affured fafety, whilest every man ranne to the haven, to refift them that were vpo the gallyes. Neuertheles they wet not away vnfought with. For those that laye in garrison within the cittle, some of the PELOPONNESIANS, other BOROTIANS, & other MEGARIANS, dyd so valliatly repulse them that came out of their gallyes, that they draue the to retire abord againe. Afterwardes hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred: the cittie on thother side, they put them selues in battell raye, & went to mete them. The battell was terrible of both partes: but Alcibiades in the ende obtained victorie, leading the right winge of his battell, & Theramenes the lefte. The victorie being gotten, he tooke 300. of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a BYZANT INE put to death, neither banished, nor his good conscated: bicause it was capitulated by Aleibiades with F his cofederats, that neither he, nor his, should hurt any of the BIZANTINEs either in persone of goodes, nor any way should rish them. And Anaxilam being afterwards accused of treason in

A LACED EMON, for this practife: he aunswered, and justified him felf in suche forte that they rould not finde he had committed the faulte layed vinto his charge. For he fayed, that he was no LACED & MONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: & that he fawe not LACED & MON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compassed about with a walle they had built that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the cittie. Moreover he alleaged, that they having very smal fore of corne within the cittle (as was true in dede) the PELGRONNESIANS, and BOEG-TIANS, that laye there in garrifon dyd eate it vp, while the poore BY ZANTINES them felues. their wives and children, dyed for very hunger. Therefore it could not be fayed of him, that he had betraved his countrie, but rather that he had delivered it from the miferies and calamities the warres brought voon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of

B LACED & MON, who dyd acknowledge nothing honest and juste, but that which was necesfarie and profitable for their countrie. The LACED & MONIANS hearing his reasons he alleaged for his purgation, were as hamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now Alcibiades desirous in the ende to see his native countrie againe (or to speake more truely. that his contry men should see him) after he had so many times ouerthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoysed faile, and directed his course towardes ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallyes of the ATHEN I ANS richely furnished, and decked all about, with skutchines and targettes, and other armour and weapon gotten amongest the spoyles of his enemies. Moreo- more into his uer, he brought with him many other shippes, which he had wonne &broken in the warres, countrie.

Cother, made up the number of two hundred shippes. Furthermore, where Duris Samian wri-

teth(who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one Chrylogoms, an excel-

lent player of the flute (that had wonne certaine of the Pythian games) dyd playe fuche a note.

that at the founde thereof the galley slaues would keepe stroke with their owers, and that Cal-

besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being compted together one with the

lipides another excellent player of tragedies, playing the parte of a comedie, dyd flurre them to rowe being in suche players garments as every master of suche science vieth commonly to weare, presenting him selfe in Theater or stage before the people to shewe his arte: and that the admirall galley wherein him felf was, entred the hauen with a purple faile, as if some maske had come into a mans house after some great banket made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus, nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it should not be true, D that he returning from exile after fo long a banishment, & having passed over such forowes & calamities as he had fusteined, would so prowdly & presumptuously shewe him selfe vnto the ATHENIANS. But merely contrarie, it is most certain, that he returned in great feare & doubt. For when he was arrived in the hauen of PIRE A, he would not fet foote alande, before he first fawe his nephewe Euryptolemus, & divers other of his friendes from the hatches of his shippe, franding apon the fandes in the hauen mouthe. Who were come thither to receyue and welcome him, & tolde him that he might be bolde to lande, without feare of any thing. He was no foner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to feehim, with fo great loue and affection, that they tooke no heede of the other captaines that came with him, but cluftred all to him only, & cried out for joye to fee him. Those that could come neere him, dyd welcome E & imbrace him: but all the people wholy followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers upon his head: & those that could not come neere him, sawe him a farre of & the olde folkes dyd pointe him out to the yonger forte. But this comon joye was mingled notwithstanding, with teares & sorowe, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, & to copare them with their present prosperitie: waying with them selues also how they had not lost Sicilia, northeir hope in all things els had failed the, if they had deliuered them selves & the charge of their armie into Alcibiades hands, when they sent for him to appeare in persone before them. Cosidering also how he found the cittle of ATHENS in manner put from their seigniorie & comandement on the sea, & on the other side how their force by lade was brought vnto fuch extremitie, that ATHENS featly could defend her suburbes, the F cittie felf being so deuided & turmoiled with civill diffention : yet he gathered together those fewe, & small force that remained, & had now not only restored ATHENS to her former power & soueraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conquerer by lande. Now the decree for his repaire home againe, was past before by the people, at the instant request of Cellias, the some A of Callaschrus, who dyd preferre it: as he him selfe dyd testifie in his elegies, putting Alcibiades in remembraunce of the good turne he had done him, faying:

ALCIBIADES.

I was the first that moved in open conference, the people's voyce to call thee home when thou wert banisht hence. So wwas I eke the first wwhich thereto game confent, and therefore maye I boldly saye, by truthe of suche intent: I was the only meane to call thee home avaine. by suche request so rightly made, to move the peoples vayne. And thu maye ferme for pledge, wwhat friendshippe I thee beare:

fast sealed worth a faithfull tongue, as plainely shall appeare. But notwithstanding, the people being affembled all in counfaill, Alcibiades came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishappes, and founde him selfe grieued a litle with the wronges they had offred him, yet he imputed all in the ende to his curfed fortune, and some spightfull god that enuied his glorie and prosperitie. Then he dilated at oration to the large the great hope their enemies had to have advantage of them: and therewithall perfusded the people to be of good corage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and chose him generall againe of A-THENS, with foueraine power and authoritie both by lande as by fea. And at that very instant

it was decreed by the people, that he should be restored againe to all his goodes, and that the priestes Eumolpides should absolue him of all their curses, and that the herauldes should with C raine aushoopen proclamation reuoke the execrations and curfinges they had thundered out against him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, fauing Theodorus the bishoppe, who sayed: I dyd neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurte to the common wealth. Now Alcibiades florished in his chiefest prosperitie, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very muche the time of his landing: faying it was very valuckie and vafortunate. For the very daye of his returne and arriuall, fell out by channe on the feast which they call Plinteria, as you would save, the washing dave, which they celebrate in honour of Minerus: on the which daye, the prieftes that they call praxiergides, doe make certen fecret and hidden facrifices and ceremonies, being the fine and twenty daye of the moneth of September, and doe take from the image of this goddeffe, D all her rayment and inells, and keepe the image close concred ouer. Hereupon the ATHE-NIANS doe ascribe that daye, for a most vnfortunate daye, & are very circumspect to doe any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly scanned abroade of euery bodye. that it seemed the goddesse was not content, nor glad of Aleibiades returne: and that she dvd hide her selfe, bicause she would not see him, nor have him come neere her. Notwithstanding all these toyes and ceremonies, when Alcibiades found every thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would have wished it: he armed a hundred gallyes presently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wifely regarded the time and folemnitie of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately stayed untill they had finished all. And it sell out that after the LACED & MONIAN S had taken and fortified the cittle of DECELEA, within the territorie of E ATTICA, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, dyd keepe the waye going from A THEN S to ELEVS IN, so as by no possible meanes they could make their solemne procession by lande, with fuche honour and denotion as they were before accustomed to doe: and thereby all the facrifices, dawnces, and many other holy denowte ceremonies they were wonte to doe by the waye, in finging the holy fonge of Iacchus, came of very necessicie to be left of and cleane layed a fide. Then Alcibiades thought he should doe a meritorious dede to the godds, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the faid feaft: and thereupon purposed to accompanie the procession, & defend it by power, against all inuation restored the & difturbaunce by the enemies. As one that forefawe one of those two things would come to passe. Either that Agus king of the Lacad a montans would not sturre at all against the s facred ceremonies, and by this meanes should much imbase and diminishe his reputation and glorie: or if he dyd come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the

A goddes, confidering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worshippe, and in the fight of his countrie, where the people thould fee and witnesse both, his valliantnes, and also his corage. Alcibiades being fully refolued apon this procession, went and made the priestes Fumolpides, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, privile to his determination. Then he fent out skowtes to watche on the fide of the hilles thereabouts, and to viewe the waye of their perambulation. The next morning very early he fent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrie. Then he made the priestes, the professed, and all the minifters of religion, goe in procession, together with those that followed the same: and he him felfe compaffed them about with his armie on every fide, marching in battell raye, and very good order, and with great filence. This was an honorable and denoute leading of an armie, R and fuche as if his greatest enemies would confesse a trothe, they could not but saye, Alcibrades had as muche shewed the office of a highe bishoppe, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this procession, returning to ATHENS in all safe order againe, and not

an enemie that durft once looke out into the field to fet you him. Now this dyd more increase the greatnes of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his sufficiencie, and wife conduction of an armie: in fo much as they thought him vnuincible, having the foueraine power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he spake so fayer to the poore people, and meaner forte, that they chiefly withed and defired he would take vpon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to perfuade him in it, as though he should thereby with-

stand all enuic, and drive awaye the lawes and customes of trying of matters by the voyces of C the people, and all fuche fond deuises, as dyd destroye the state of the common weale. And furthermore, they fayed it was very needefull that he alone should take yoon him the whole rule and gouernment of the cittie, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stande in feare of slaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether Aleibiades euer had any minde to vsurpe the Kingdome, the matter is somewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greatest men of the cittle, fearing least in deede he ment some suche thing, dyd hasten his departure as fone as they could possible, doing all other things according to his minde: and dyd affigne him suche affociates in his charge of generall, as he him selfe best liked. So in the Alcibiades ende, he departed with a fleete of a hundred gallyes, and first of all he fell with the Ile of A N- fecond ior-D MONIANS that were amonged them: but he tooke not the cittie, which was one of the first

DROS, where he ouercame by fight, the inhabitantes of the faid Ile, and certaine L ACED Ematters his enemies dyd accuse him for . For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuied, for the estimation they had of his vallure and sufficiency, truely Alcibiades was the man. For the notable and fundry feruices he had done, wanne him fuche estimation of wisedome and valliantnes, that where he flacked in any feruice what foeuer, he was prefently suspected, iudging the ill fuccesse not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lye in his waye. Hereupon the people perfuading them selves, that immediatly after his departure, they should heare that the Ile of Chiowas taken, with all the countrie of Ionia: they were angrie they could have no newes fo fodainely from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they dyd not confider the E lacke of money he had, and specially making warre with suche enemies, as were euer relieued with the great king of PERSIAES ayde, and that for necessities take he was fundrie times driven to leave his campe, to seeke money where he could get it, to paye his soul- Lacke of modiers, and to mainteine his armie. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was a - ney, the occa-

gainst him, was only for this matter. Lyfander being sent by the LACED & MONIANS for ad- fin of the o- nerthrows of mirall and generall of their armie by fea, yfed suche policie with Cyrus, the king of P B R - the Athenia STARS brother, that he got into his handes a great some of money : by meanes whereof he amie by sea gauevnto his mariners foure oboles a daye for their wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had muche a doe to furnishe his with three only a dave. For this cause, to get money, Alcibiades failed into CARIA. But in the meane time Antio-

F chus, whom Alcibiades had left his lieutenaunt behind him, and had geuen him charge of all the shippes in his absence, being a very skilfull sea man, but otherwise a hastie harebraynd foole, and of small capacitie: he being expressely commaunded by Alcibiades nor to fight in

ning of his straight commaundement, that he armed his owne gallye, whereof him selfe was

captaine, and another besides, and went to the cittle of EPHESVS, passing all alonge his ene.

Lysander being maruelously prouoked by those wordes, went and encountered him at the first

with a fewe shippes. The other captaines of the gallyes of the ATHENIANS, feeing Antiochu

in daunger, went to ayde him, one after another. Then Lylander of his parte also let out all his

Antiochus ra hnes, procured his onne death. and the over- mies gallyes, reuiling & offering villany to those that stoode apon the hatches of their gallyes. throwe of the Athenians

whole fleete against him, and in the end ouercame them, Antiochus self was killed in the con-Lifander flict, and many gallyes and men were taken prisoners: wherefore Lysander set vp shewes of triumphe in token of victorie. Alcibiades hearing these ill fauored newes, returned presently with read of the Land of the care thither, he went with all the rest of his sleete B' outreame the to offer Lylander battell. But Lylander quietly contenting him selfe with his first victorie: went Athenians.

Alcibiades put from his authoritie of

fore Lampfa-

The Atheded not Alci.

not out against him. Now this victorie was no soner wonne, but one Thraspbulus the sonne of Thrason, Alcibiades enemie, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS, to accuse Alcibiades to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had accopied again lost many shippes, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessy putting men in truste, whom he gaue to great credit to, bicause they were good fellowes, and would drincke droncke with him, & were full of mariners mockes and knauishe leastes, such as they vie commonly amongest them selues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroade, here, and there, fcraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feafting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN courtifans, when the enemies armie was so neere theirs as it was, C Moreouer, they layed to his charge, that he dyd fortifie a castell in the countrie of THRA-CIA, neere vnto the cittie of BIS ANTHE, for a place to retire him selfe vnto, either bicause he could not, or rather that he would not, live any lenger in his owne countrie. Vpon those accufations, the ATHENIANS gening ouer credit to the reporte: dyd immediatly choose newe captaines, and thereby declared their misliking. Alcibiades hearing of this, and fearing least they would doe him some worse harme, dyd leaue straight the ATHENIAN'S campe, and gathering a certaine number of straungers together, went of him selfe to make warre apon certaine free people of the THRACIANS, who were subject to no prince nor state: where he got a maruelous masse of money together, by meanes whereof he dyd assure the GRECIANS inhabiting those marches, from all inuation of forreine enemies. Now Tydeus, Menander, and Adimanthus the Athenians captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the gallyes the cittie of Athens had at that time apon that coast: vied energy morning commonly to goe to the sea, to offer battell to Lysander, who rode at an ancker be-Lyfanderrede fore the cittle of Lampfacus, with all the LACED EMONIANS armie by fea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watche or warde, as men that were careles of their enemies. Alcibiades being on the lande nor farre of, and finding their great faulte and negligence: tooke his horse,& went to them, and told them that they laye on an ill shore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driven to feeke their vittells, as farre as to the cittle of SESTOS, & that they fuffered their mariners to leaue their shippes, &goe a lande when they laye at ancker straggling vp and downe R the countrie as they would them selves, without regarde that there laye a great armie of their enemies before them, readie to be fet out at their generalles commaundement; and therefore he aduised them to remoue thence, and to goe cast ancker before the cittie of Sestos. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduised by him: and that which was worst of all, Tydens, one of the captaines, flowtely commaunded him to get him awaye, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, & that other had charge of the armie. Whereupon Alcibiades fearing they would purpose some treason against him, dyd departe presently from them. And as he went his waye, he fayed to some of his friendes which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the ATHENIANS had not bene fo rounde with him he would have forced the LACED EMONIANS to have come to the battell in despight of their F beardes, or els he would have driven them to forfake their shippes. Some tooke this fora glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to have done it, bicause he could have

A brought from lande a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might have geven a charge vpon the LACED EMONIANS, and done great mischief vnto their campe. But now, how wifely Alcibiades dyd foresee the faultes he tolde the ATHE-NIAN'S captaines of: their great misfortune & losse that followed incontinently, did to plainely witnesse it to the worlde. For Lysander came so fiercely apon them on a sodaine, that of all the shippes they had in their whole fleete, only eight gallyes were faued, with whom Conon Aed:and the other being not much leffe then two hundred in number, were every one of them The Athe-

taken and caried awaye, with three thousand prisoners whom Lysander put to death. Shortely after he tooke the cittle felf of ATHENS, and rafed their long walles even to the ground. After lander, this great and notable victorie, Alcibiades fearing fore the LACEDE MONIANS, who then Athensiaken B' without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by sea and by lande: he went into the countrie of BITHYNIA, and caused great good to be brought after him, and tooke a Alcibidete maruelous fume of money with him, besides great riches he lest also in the castells of THRA- steel into the

CIA, where he dydremaine before. Howbeit he lost much of his goodes in BITHYNIA, which Bithynia. certaine THRACIANS dwelling in that countrie had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king Artaxerxes, hoping that when the King had once proued him, he should finde him a man of no lesse service, then he had found Themistocles before him: besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be muche juster then his was. For he dyd not goe thither, to niake warre against the cittle of ATHENS and his countrie, as Themistocles did:but of a cotrarie intent, to make intercession to the King, that it would please C him to ayde them. Now Alcibiades thinking he could vie no better meane, then Pharnabazue helpe only, to fee him fafely conducted to the Kings courte: he proposed his jorney to him. into the countrie of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certaine time to atted you him, & was very honorably entertained and receyued of Pharnabazus. All this while the ATHEN I ANS founde them selues desolate, & in miserable state to see their empire lost: but then much more, when Lyfander spe Lyfander had taken all their liberties, and dyd fet thirtie gouernours ouer their cittie. Now to pointed 30. late, after all was lost (where they might have recovered againe, if they had bene wise) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking backe apon of Athense all their wilfull faultes and follies committed: emong which, they dyd reckon their fecond To later open.

time of falling out with Alcibiades, was their greatest faulte. So they banished him only of ma-D lice and displeasure, not for any offense him selse in persone had committed against them, sauing that his lieutenaunt in his absence had shamefully lost a fewe of their shippes: and they them selves more shamefully had driven out of their cittie, the noblest souldier, and most skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had some litle poore hope lefte, that they were not altogether cast awaye, so long as Alcibiades lived, and had his health. For before, when he was a forfaken man, and led a banished life; yet he could not live idely, and doe nothing. Wherefore now much more, fayed they to them felues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not fuffer out of doubt the infolencie & pryde of the LACED EMONIANS, nor yet abyde the cruelties and outrages of these thirtie tyrauntes. And surely the common people had some reason to have these thoughts in their heades, considering that the thirtie governours them E felues dyd what they could possiblie to spye out Aleibiades doinges, and what he went

about. In fo muche as Critius at the last, declared to Lylander, that so long the LACE-DEMONIANS might reckon them selves Lordes over all GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the cittie of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithstanding the people of ATHENS could well awaye to live like subjects vnder the gouernment of a fewe: yet Alcibiades whilest he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuise he could to bring a chaunge and innouation emong them. Yet Lylander would not credit these persuasions, before speciall commandement was fent to him from the Senate of LACED EMON, vpon his allegiaunce, that he should deuise to kill Acibiades by all meanes he could procure: either The Lacede-F bicause in trothe they feared the subtiltie of his wit, and the greatnes of his corage, to en-monians will

terprise matters of great weight and daunger, or els that they sought to gratifie king A- Lysander to gie by it. Lyfander being thus straightly commaunded, dyd fend and practife incontinently dec.

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

Alcibiades death.

ried Alcibia-

with Pharnabazus to execute the facte: who gave his brother Magaus, and his vncle Sa. A famithres, commission to attempt the matter. Now was Alcibiades in a certen village of PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called Timandra. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how the dandling him in her armes, had dreffed his head, frifeling his heare, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other fave

that he thought Magaus strake of his head, and made his bodie to be burnt: and the voyce

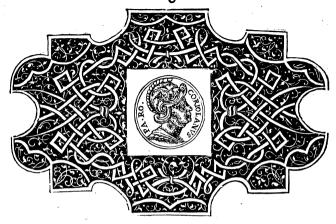
goeth, this vision was but a litle before his death. Those that were fent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it a fire round about . Alcibiades spying the fire, got fuche apparell and hanginges as he had, and threwe it on the fire, thincking to have put it out: and so casting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked sworde in his other hande. and ranne out of the house, him selfe not once touched with fyer, fauing his clothes were a R litle finged. These murderers so sone as they spied him, drewe backe, and stoode a sonder, and durst not one of them come neere him, to stande and fight with him: but a farre of, they beflowed to many arrowes and dartes of him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, Timandra went and tooke his bodie which the wrapped vp in the best linnen the had, and buried him as honorably as the could possible, with suche things as the had, and could get together. Some holde opinion that Law, the only famous curtifan, which they fave Lais a curri- was of Corinthe (though in deede she was borne in a litle towne of Sicilia called HYCCARA, where the was taken) was his doughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of Alcibiades, there are some that agree to all the rest I have written, saving that they

faye, it was neither Pharnabazus, nor Lylander, nor the LACED & MONIANS, which caused him to be staine: but that he keeping with him a young gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolen awaye, and intifed to follie: her brethern to reuenge this iniurie, went to fet fire voon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we haue tolde you, thinking to leape out of the fyre.

The ende of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS

Martius (oriolanus.



HE house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the Patri- The familie cians, out of the which hath fprong many noble personages: whereof of the Mar-Ancus Martius was one, king Numaes daughters sonne, who was king of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same house were Publius, and Quintus, who brought to Rome their best water they had by con- Public and ducts. Cenforinus also came of that familie, that was so surnamed, bi-

cause the people had chosen him Censor twise. Through whose per- brought the fuafion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might re
wells to quire, or enjoye the Cenforshippe twife. Caisus Martius, whose life we Rome. intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a conformus widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a law. childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common forte: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully doe complayne, that it is the occasion of their casting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good proofe to confirme forme mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many crisique

good and euill things together: like as a fat foile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vn- ***. manured. For this Martine naturall wit and great harte dyd marueloufly sturre vp his corage, to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other fide for lacke of education, he was so chollericke and impacient, that he would yeld to no living creature: which made him churlishe, C vacinill, and altogether vafit for any mans convertation. Yet men marveling much at his conflancy, that he was neuer ouercome with pleasure, nor money, and howe he would endure eafely all manner of paynes and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his flowines and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one cittizen yfeth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was fo vnpleafaunt to them, by reafon of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which bicause it was to lordly, was disliked. And to faye truely, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be civill and

fignificats.

curteous, & to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those dayes, vallantnes was A honoured in Rome about all other vertues: which they called Virtus, by the name of vertue felfe, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that Virtus in the Latin, was asmuche as valliantnes. But Martius being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time : beganne from his Childehood to gene him felf to handle wespons, and daylie dyd exercise him selfe therein. And outward he esteemed armour to no purpose, vales one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he dyd so exercise his bodie to hard.

nes, and all kynde of actiuitie, that he was very fwift in ronning, strong in wrestling, & mighte in griping, so that no man could euer cast him. In so much as those that would trye masteries with him for strength and nimblenes, would saye when they were ouercome: that all wash reason of his naturall strength, and hardnes of warde, that never yelded to any payne or toyle h he tooke apon him. The first time he went to the warres, being but a strippling, was when Tarquine surnamed the prowde (that had bene king of Rome, and was driven out for his pride,

first going to

after many attemptes made by fundrie battells to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouer come) dyd come to Rome with all the ayde of the LATINES, and many other people of ITA-LIE: euen as it were to fet vp his whole rest apon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie armie had vndertaken to put him into his Kingdome againe, not fo much to pleasure him, as to ouerthrowe the power of the ROMAINES, whose greatnes they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein were many hotte and sharpe encounters of either partie, Martine valliantly fought in the fight of the Dictator: & a Romaine fouldier being throwen to the groud euen hard by him, Martins straight bestrid him, and flue the enemie with his owne handes C that had before ouerthrowen the ROMAINE. Hereupon, after the battell was wonne, the Di-

profitable fruite, and of plantes to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning dyd D

incontinently after the battell, men fawe them in the market place at ROME, all their horses

force of winde, to enterprise things of highe deseruing praise. For they esteeme, not to recease

ctator dyd not forget so noble an acte, & therefore first of all he crowned Marting with a garcrounted with land of oken boughs. For who foeuer faueth the life of a Romain Egit is a maner among them. a garland of to honour him with such a garland. This was, either bicause the lawe dyd this honour to the oke, in fauour of the ARCADIANS, who by the oracle of Apollo were in very olde time called eaters of akornes: or els bicause the souldiers might easely in euery place come by oken

boughes: or lastely, bicause they thought it very necessarie to gene him that had saued a cittizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto Impiter, the patron and protectour of their citties, and thought amongest other wilde trees to bring fortha

The goodnes vie akornes for their bread, and honie for their drincke: and further, the oke dyd feede their beaftes, and geue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made birdlime to catche feely birdes. They faye that Castor, and Pollux, appeared in this battell, and how

being on a white fome: and they were the first that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the

Coriolaniu noble endenue well deferming.

same place, where remaineth at this present a teple built in the honour of them neere vnto the fountaine. And this is the cause, why the daye of this victorie (which was the fiftenth of Iulye) is confecrated yet to this daye vnto Castor and Pollux. Moreouer it is daylie seene, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they have no great corage by nature: the defire to winne more, dieth straight in them, which easely happeneth, the fame having no deepe roote in them before. Where contrariwife, the first honour that valliant mindes doe come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, hasting them forward as with ther defier of

reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembraunce and encoragement, to make them doe better in time to come: and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heeles, not feeking to increase it still by like deserte of worthie valliant dedes. This desire being bred in Martius, hestrainedstill to passe him selfe in manlines: and being desirous to shewe a daylie increase of his valliantnes, his noble service dyd still advaunce his same, bringing in spoyles apon spoyles from the enemie. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of them that went before) dyd contend who should most honour him, and who should beare F most honorable testimonie of his valliantnes. In so much the ROMAINES having many warres and battells in those dayes, Coriolanus was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from

whence he returned not without some rewarde of honour. And as for other the only refued

that made them valliant, was they hoped to have honour: but touching Martine, the only thing that made him to loue honour, was the loye he fawe his mother dyd take of him. For he thought nothing made him to happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare every hodie praife and commend him, that the might allwayes fee him returns with a crowne vpon his head, and that the might still embrace him with teares ronning downe her cheekes for iove. Which desire they saye Epaminondas dyd auowe, and confesse to have bene in him: as coriolanus & to thinke him selfe a most happie and blessed man, that his father and mother in their life time Epaminondas had seene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for Epaminondas, he had then define of

this good happe, to have his father and mother living, to be partakers of his joye and profpe- honour alike. rine. But Martim thinking all due to his mother, that had bene also due to his father if he had The abedices lined; dyd not only content him felfe to rejoyce and honour her, but at her defire tooke a wife of Coriolanus

alfo, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers house therefore . Now he to his mother. heing growen to great credit & authoritie in Rome for his valliantnes, it fortuned there grewe fedition in the cittle, bicause the Senate dyd fauour the riche against the people, who dyd co-

plaine of the fore oppression of vierers, of whom they borowed money. For those that had vierers come litle, were yet spoyled of that litle they had by their creditions, for lacke of abilitie to paye plained of as theylerie: who offered their goodes to be folde, to them that would geue most. And suche as people. had nothing left, their bodies were layed holde of, and they were made their bonde men, notwithstanding all the woundes and cuttes they shewed, which they had receyued in many bat-C rells fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the last warre

they made, was against the SABYNES, wherein they fought apon the promise the riche men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently, and also vpon the worde of Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate, who by authoritie of the counsell, and in the counsellers behalfe of the riche, fayed they should performe that they had promised . But after that they hadfaithfully ferued in this last battell of all, where they ouercame their enemies, seeing they m hope of inft were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would geue no performance. eare to them, but make as though they had forgotten their former promife, and suffered them and seed fer. to be made flaues and bonde men to their creditours, and besides, to be turned out of all that were very sure of the state euerthey had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutine, and to sturre vp daungerous ded proseketh D tumultes within the cittle. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion, dyd ftraight enter the territories of Rome with a maruelous great power, spoyling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by founde of trumpet,

pinions emong them felues. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yeld to the poore peoples request, and that they should a litle qualifie the severitie of the lawe. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martins for one. For he alleaged, that the credi- Marine cotours losing their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was thereby: but that the lenitie that was fauored, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the prowde attempt of the people. communaltie, was to abolish lawe, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he fayed, if the Senate were wife, they should betimes preuent; & quenche this ill fauored & worfe ment begin-

ning. The Senate met many dayes in confultation about it but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore comon people seeing no redresse, gathered them selues one daye together.

& one encoraging another, they all for looke the cittle, & encamped them felues upon a hill, they the citcalled at this daye the holy hill, along eff the river of Tyber, offering no creature any hutte or vie and doe violence, or making any shewe of actuall rebellion: fauling that they cried asking went vp and see to the hodown, that the riche men had driven them out of the cittie, and that all I was through they should finde aver, water, & ground to burie them in. Moreouer, they fayed, to dwell at Rowis

F was nothing els but to be flaine, or hurte with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the riche mens goodes. The Senate being afeard of their departure, dyd fend vato them certaine of the pleafauntest olde men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of

that all those which were of lawfull age to carie weapon, should come and enter their names

into the muster masters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeyed their commaunde-

ment. Whereupon their chief magistrates, and many of the Senate, beganne to be of divers o-

An excellen sale solde by Menenius Agrippa so

those, Menenius Agrippa was he, who was fent for chief man of the message from the Sense. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requestes made to the people, on the behalfeer the Senate: knit vp his oration in the ende, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans bodie, dyd rebell against the bellie, complaining of it, that it only remained in the middest of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither dyd beare any laboured the maintenaunce of the rest: whereas all other partes and members, dyd labour paynefully, &was very carefull to fatisfie the appetites and defiers of the bodie. And so the bellie, all this

notwithstanding, laughed at their follie, and fayed. It is true, I first receyue all meates that no. rishe mans bodie: but afterwardes I send it agains to the northement of other partes of the fame. Euen fo(o he) o you, my masters, and cittizens of Rome: the reason is a like betweene

the Senate, & you. For matters being well digefted, & their confells throughly examined, tou- h ching the benefit of the common wealth: the Senatours are cause of the common comodine that cometh vnto every one of you. These persuasions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would graunte there should be yerely chosen fine magistrates, which they now call

Tribuni Plebis, whose office should be to defend the poore people from violence and oppres-The first besion . So Iunius Brutus , and Sicinius Vellutus , were the first Tribunes of the people that were Tribuni ple. chosen, who had only bene the causers & procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the cittie being Iunius Brugrowen agains to good quiet and vnitie, the people immediatly went to the warres, thewing suc Sicinius that they had a good will to doe better then ever they dyd, and to be very willing to obey the Vellutus , the magistrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. Martius also, thoughing 2. first Tri-

liked him nothing to fee the greatnes of the people thus increased, confidering it was to the prejudice, and imbaling of the nobilitie, and also sawe that other noble Patricians were troubled as well as him felfe: he dyd perfuade the Patricians, to shew them selues no lesse forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were; and to let them knowe by their dedes and actes, that they dyd not so muche passe the people in power and riches, as they dyd exceede them in true nobilitie and valliantnes. In the countrie of the Volsces, a gainst whom the Romaines made warre at that time, there was a principall cittle & of most

The civile of fame, that was called Cortoles, before the which the Conful Cominius dyd laye feige. Corioles be- Wherefore all the other VOLSCES fearing least that cittie should be taken by affault, they fieged by the came from all partes of the countrie to faue it, entending to geue the ROMAINES battell be fore the cittie, and to geue an onset on them in two seuerall places. The Consul Cominius, ya. h

derstanding this deuided his armie also in two partes, and taking the one parte with him selle. he marched towards them that were drawing to the cittie, out of the countrie; and the other parte of his armie he left in the campe with Titus Lartius (one of the valliantest men the Re-MAINES had at that time) to refult those that would make any salve out of the cittle apon them. So the Corto DAN's making small accompt of them that laye in campe before the cittie made a falye out apon them, in the which at the first the Corto LANS had the better, and draue the ROMAINES backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But Martius being there at that time, ronning out of the campe with a fewe men with him, he flue the first enemies he met withall, and made the rest of them staye vpon a sodaine crying out to the Romaines that has

turned their backes, and calling them agains to fight with a lowde voyce, For he was even fuch another, as Cate would have a fouldier and a captaine to be: not only terrible, and fierce to lave about him, but to make the enemie afeard with the founde of his voyce, and grimnes of his countenaunce. Then there flocked about him immediatly, a great number of ROMATINES whereat the enemies were fo afeard, that they gave backe prefently . But Martius not staying so, dyd chase and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there, perceyuing that the Romannes retired backe, for the great number of dartes and arrowes which flewer bout their eares fro the walles of the cittie, & that there was not one man amongeft them that durst vencer him selfe to followe the flying enemies into the cittie, for that it was full of menof warre, yeth well armed, and appointed: he dyd encorage his fellowes with wordes and dedes serving out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the cittie; more for the followers, the the flyers, But all this notwithstanding fewe had the hartes to followe him, Howbeit Martin being in the throng emong the enemies, thrust him selfe into the gates of the cittie, and enrred the same emong them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turne their face you him, or els offer to staye him. But he looking about him, & seeing he was entred the cittie with very fewe men to helpe him, & perceyuing he was enuironned by his enemies that gathered round about to fet apon him: dyd things then as it is written, wonderfull & incredible. aswell for the force of his hande, as also for the agillitie of his bodie, and with a wonderfull corage & valliantnes, he made a lane through the middest of them, and ouerthrewe also those he laved at: that some he made ronne to the furthest parte of the cittie, & other for feare he made yeld them selues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, Lartius that was gotten out, had some leysure to bring the ROMAINES with more fafety into the cittie.

The cittle being taken in this forte, the most parte of the souldiers beganne incontinently to The cities of B spoyle, to carie awaye, & to looke vp the bootie they had wonne. But Martius was marue- Corioles take. lous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to looke after spoyle,

& to ronne straggling here and there to enriche them selues, whilest the other Consul and their fellowe cittizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and howe that leauing the spoyle they should seeke to winde them selues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit crie, and fave to them what he could, very fewe of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered them selues to followe him, he went out of the cittie. and tooke his waye towardes that parte, where he vnderstoode the rest of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him, not to be fainte harted, and ofte holding vp his handes to heaven, he befought the goddes to be fo gracious and favorable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in good hower to hazarde his life in defence of his country men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell rave. and ready to take their targettes on their armes, and to guirde them vpon their arming coates, had a custome to make their willes at that very instant, without any manner of wri-

ting, naming him only whom they would make their heire, in the presence of three or foure flaments,

that forte, and that the enemies were approched so neere, as one stoode in viewe of the other. When they fawe him at his first comming, all bloody, and in a swet, and but with a fewe men following him: fome thereupon beganne to be afeard. But fone after, when they fawe him ronne with a lively cheere to the Conful, and to take him by the hande, decla-D ring howe he had taken the cittle of CORIOLES, and that they fawe the Conful Cominius also kiffe and embrace him: then there was not a man but tooke harte againe to him, and beganne to be of a good corage, some hearing him reporte from poynte to poynte, the happy fuccesse of this exployte, and other also coniecturing it by seeing their gestures a farre of. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Conful to marche forward, and to delaye no lenger,

witnesses. Martius came iust to that reckoning, whilest the souldiers were a doing after

but to geue charge vpon the enemie . Martius asked him howe the order of their enemies By Criticanus

battell was, and on which fide they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made meaner, the him aunswer, that he thought the bandes which were in the voward of their battell, were Volsciwere those of the ANTIATES, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valliant corage would geue no place, to any of the hoste of their enemies. Then prayed Martim, to be fet directly against them. The Consul graunted him, greatly prayling his corage. Then Martins, when both armies came almost to joyne, aduaunced him selfe a good space before his companie, and went fo fiercely to geue charge on the voward that came right a-

enemies, and brake their arraye: and feattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed Martius that he would retire to the campe, bicause they sawe he was able to doe no more, he was already so wearied with the great payne he had taken, and so fainte with the great woundes he had apon him. But Martins aunswered them, that it was not for con-

gainst him, that they could stande no lenger in his handes: he made suche a lane through

them, and opened a passage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either

fide turned one to the other, to compasse him in betweene them : which the Conful Co-

minius perceyuing he fent thither straight of the best souldiers he had about him. So the

battell was maruelous bloudie about Martius, and in a very shorte space many were flaine

in the place. But in the ende the ROMAINES were so strong, that they distressed the

The tenth parte of the enemics goods offered Martim for rewarde of his fernice , by Comining the Conful. Valiancie rewarded with

fielde.

that fled, vntill suche time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowen, and numbers of them flaine, and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, Martins went to the Conful, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Conful Cominius going vp to his chayer of state, in the presence of the whole armie, gaue thankes to the goddes for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to Martius, whose valliantnes he commended beyond the moone, both for that he him felfe fawe him doe with his eyes, as also for that Martins had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed Martins, he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all the goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of every forte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honorable offer he had a made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of prowes aboue all other, a goodly horse with a capparison, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, dyd marueloufly praife and commend. But Martius stepping forth, tolde the Conful, he most thankefully accepted the gifte of his horse, and was a glad man befides, that his feruice had deferued his generalls commendation; and as for his other offer. which was rather a mercenary reward, then an honorable recompence, he would none of it, but was contented to have his equall parte with other fouldiers. Only, this grace (faved honour in the he) I craue, and befeeche you to graunt me. Among the Voisces there is an olde Martius nofriende and hoste of mine, an honest wealthie man, and now a prisoner, who living before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth now a poore prisoner in the handes of C & refufall, his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his miserie and misfortune, it would doe me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from being solde as a slave. The fouldiers hearing Martius wordes, made a maruelous great showte among them: and they were moe that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they fawe so litle couetousnes in him, then they were that highely praised and extolled his valliantnes. For even they them felues, that dyd fomewhat malice and envie his glorie, to fee him thus honoured, and paffingly prayfed, dyd thincke him fo muche the more worthy of an honorable recompence for his valliant feruice, as the more carelesly he refufed the great offermade him for his profit; and they efteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse suche rewards, then that which made them to be offred him. D as vnto a worthie persone. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valliant: and yet it is better not to defire them, then to vie them well. After this showte and novse of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul Cominius beganne to speake in this forte. We cannot compell Martius to take these giftes we offer him, if he will not recease them: but we will geue him suche a rewarde for the noble service he hath done, as he cannot refule. Therefore we doe order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, onleshis

valliant acts have wonne him that name before our nomination. And so ever fince, he stil bare the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the ROMAINES lanus by the Conful. haue, as Caisis: was our Christian name now. The second, as Martius: was the name of the How the Ro. house and familie they came of. The third, was some addition geuen, either for some acte or I maines came to three notable service, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their bodie, or els for VVhythe Kings fur-

fomespeciall vertue they had. Euen so dyd the GRECIANS in olde time give additions to Gracial gave Princes, by reason of some notable acte worthic memorie. As when they have called some, Soter, and Callinicos: as muche to fave, fauiour and conquerour. Or els for fome notable apparaunt marke on ones face, or on his bodie, they have called him Phiscon, and Grypos: as ye would fave, gorebelley, and hooke noted: or els for some vertue, as Euergetes, and Phyladelphon to wit, a Benefactour, and louer of his brethern . Or otherwife for ones great felicitie, as Estdemon: as muche to faye, as fortunate. For fo was the fecond of the * Battes furnamed. And fome Kings have had furnames of least and mockery. As one of the Antigones that was that built the called Doson, to save, the Gener: who was ener promising, and never gening. And one F of the Ptolomees was called Lamyros: to faye, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vie more then any other nation, to give names of mockerie in this forte. As there was one Metellus furnamed

A furnamed Diadematus, the banded : bicause he caried a bande about his heade of longe time, by reason of a fore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called Names of Celer: the quicke flye. Bicause a fewe dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fensers at vnrebated swordes, which they founde wonderfull for the thormes of time. Other had their furnames derived of some accident of their birthe. As to this daye they call him Proculeius, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage: and him Posthumius, that is borne after the deathe of his father. And when of two brethern twinnes, the one doth dye, and thother furuiteth: they call the furuiter Vopiscus. Somtimes also they geue surnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the bodie. As Sylla to fave, crooked nofed: Niger, blacke: Rufus, red: Cacus, blinde: Claudus, lame, They dyd wifely R in this thing to accustome men to thincke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as maye chaunce to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to aunswer boldly to suche names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this . Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people beganne to flurre vp fedition againe, without any newe occasion, or iust matter offered of complainte. For they dyd grounde this seconde insurrection against the Nobilitie and Patricians, apon the peoples milerie & misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discorde and sedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Bicause the most parte of the errable lande within the territorie of Roms, was become

heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne. C to be brought them out of other countries to fowe, by reason of their warres which made the sedition extreme dearth they had emog them. Now those busic pratiers that fought the peoples good Remember reas will, by fuche flattering wordes, perceyuing great scarsitie of corne to be within the cittie, and some of families. though there had bene plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buye it: they foread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practifed and procured the extreme dearthe emong them. Furthermore, in the middest of this sturre, there came ambassadours to Rome from the cittle of Veritres, that offered vp their cittie to the Romaines, and prayed them they would fend newe inhabitants to replenishe the same: bicause the plague had bene so extreme among them, & had killed such a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth persone of the people that had bene

ple into a most bottomles pyt. And are not yet contented to have famished some of the

poore cittizens hertofore to death, & to put other of them even to the mercie of the plague:

but a freshe, they have procured a voluntarie warre, to the ende they would leave behind

no kynde of miserie and ill, wherewith the poore syllie people should not be plagued, and

only bicause they are werie to serue the riche. The common people being set on a broyle

D there before. So the wife men of ROME beganne to thincke, that the necessitie of the VELL-TRIANS fell out in a most happy hower, and howe by this occasion it was very mete in so great a scarsitie of vittailes, to disburden Rome of a great number of cittizens; and by this meanes as well to take awaye this newe fedition, and veterly to ryd it out of the cittie, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persones, being the superfluous ill humours that greuously fedde this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to sende to V E L ITRES, to goe dwell there as in forme velinge media of a colonie: and they leavied out of all the rest that remained in the cittie of Rome, a great acolonie to

number to goe against the Volsces, hoping by the meanes of forreine warre, to pacific their sedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the totemone the E meane forte with the nobilitie, should by this deuise be abroad in the warres, & in one campe, Rome and in one seruice, and in one like daunger: that then they would be more quiet and louing

together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two feditious Tribunes, spake against either of these deuises, sicinius and and cried out apon the noble men, that vinder the gentle name of a colonie, they would cloke Brane Triand culler the most cruell and vnnaturall facte as might be; bicause they sent their poore cittizens into a fore infected cittie and pestilent ayer, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there both those dealso to dwell under the tuytion of a straunge god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people, wife. This were (faid they) euen as muche, as if the Senate should hedlong cast downe the peoCoriolanus offendesh she people.

Coriolanus inuadeth the

of fuyng for office as Rome.

VVhereupon this manner of swyng w.11 So dewised.

Offices govern fers, without fausier or corruption,

Bankets and only destroyers wealth.

first that with bred she fensence of the

and brauerie with these wordes, would not appeare when the Consuls called their names A by a bill, to preft them for the warres, neither would they be fent out to this newe colonie; in fo muche as the Senate knewe not well what to fave, or doe in the matter, Martine then, who was now growen to great credit, and a flowte man befides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, rose vp, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the cittie of VELITRES, he dyd compell those that were chosen, to poe thither, and to departe the cittie, apon great penalties to him that should disobey; but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or constrained . So Martins taking his friendes and followers with him, and fuch as he could by faver wordes intreate to goe with him, dyd ronne certen forreyes into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruelous great spoyle, as well of cattell, as of men he had R Antiates, and taken prisoners, whom he brought awaye with him, and referued nothing for him felfe. Afbringeth rich terwardes having brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, fafe and founde to Rome, and every man riche and loden with spoyle: then the hometarriers and housedoues that kept Rome still, beganne to repent them that it was not their happe to goe with him. and so enuied both them that had sped so well in this iorney, and also of malice to Martins. they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, bicause they accompted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortely after this, Martins stoode for the Consulshippe: and the common people fauored his sure, thinking it would be a shame to them to denie, and refuse, the chiefest noble man of bloude, and most worthic persone of ROME, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the common wealth, For C the custome of Rome was at that time, that such as dyd sue for any office, should for certen dayes before be in the market place, only with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to praye the cittizens to remember them at the daye of election; which was thus deuised, either to moue the people the more, by requesting them in suche meane apparell, or els bicause they might shewe them their woundes they had gotten in the warres in the service of the comon wealth, as manifest markes & testimonie of their valliantnes. Now it is not to be thought that the futers went thus lose in a simple gowne in the market place. without any coate vnder it, for feare, and suspition of the common people: for offices of dignitie in the cittie were not then geuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and felling fell out in election of officers, and that the voyces of Il the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten waye into the clection of offices, it hath ronne from man to man, even to the very fentence of judges, and also emong captaines in the warres: so as in the ende, that only turned common wealther into Kingdomes, by making armes subject to money. Therefore me thinckes he had reason that sayed: he that first made banckets, and gaue money to the common people. was the first that tooke awaye authoritie, and destroyed common wealth. But this pestilence crept in by litle and litle, and dyd secretly winne ground still, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly knowen and discouered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the peoples voyces for money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the judges. Howbeit at ATHENS fome holde opinion, that Anguas, the some E Athenian, the Of Anthemion, was the first man that fedde the judges with money, about the ende of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accused of treason for yelding vp the force of PYLE, at that time, when the golden and vnfoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at Roms. Now Martius following this custome, shewed many woundes and cuttes apon his bodie, which he had receyued in seuenteene yeres seruice at the warres, and in many fundrie bartells, being euer the formest man that dyd set out feete to fight. So that there was not a man emong the people, but was ashamed of him selfe, to refuse so valliant a man: and one of them fayed to another, we must needes chuse him Consul, there is no remedie. But when the daye of election was come, and that Martius came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the cittie about F him, who fought to make him Conful, with the greatest instance and intreatie they could,

or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common

raine authoritie into his handes, being a man somewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and minder of coof great credit and authoritie amongest the Patricians, and as one they might doubt would mon people. take away alltogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for these conderations, they refused Martins in the ende, and made two other that were futers, Confuls. The Senate being maruelously offended with the people, dyd accompt the shame of this refusall, rather to redownd to them selves, then to Martius: but Martius tooke it in farre worse parte then the Senate, and was out of all pacience. For he was a man to full of passion and choller, and to muche geuen to ouer felfe will and opinion, as one of a highe minde and great corage, that lacked the grauity, and affabilitie that is gotten with judgment of learning and reason, which only is to B be looked for in a gouernour of state: and that remembred not how wilfulnes is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a comon wealth for pleasing should shone, being that which Plato called solitarines. As in the ende, all men that are wilfully genen to a selfe opinion & ob- The fraince of stinate minde, and who will neuer yeld to others reason, but to their owne: remaine without selfs will and

C people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose mindes were nobly

bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly vsed for to followe and honour him.

But then specially they floct about him, and kept him companie, to his muche harme: for

they dyd but kyndle and inflame his choller more and more, being forie with him for the in-

iurie the people offred him, bicause he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that

taught them all marihall discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and

valliantnes, and yet without enuie, praifing them that deserued best. In the meane season,

D The Senate fate in counsell apon it immediatly, the common people stoode also about the

palice where the counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out: persuading them

selues, that the corne they had bought should be solde good cheape, and that which was ge-

would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole state. For they

will not thincke it is done in recompele of their feruice past, fithence they know well enough

copanie, & forsaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, must nedes have patience. which lufty bloudes make but a mocke at. So Martius being a flowte man of nature, that ne-

uer velded in any respect, as one thincking that to ouercome allwayes, and to have the vpper hande in all matters, was a token of inagnanimitie, and of no base and fainte corage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned parte of the harte, much like the matter of an impostume: went home to his house, full fraighted with spite and malice against the

there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, parte in ITALIE, and parte Great flore of was fent out of Sicile, as genen by Gelon the tyranne of Syracvs a: fo that many stoode in corne brought great hope, that the dearthe of vittells being holpen, the civill diffention would also cease.

uen, should be deuided by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, bicause certaine of the Senatours amongest them dyd so wishe and persuade the same. But Martius stan- Coriolanus and ding vp on his feete, dyd somewhat sharpely take vp those, who went about to gratifie the the infolencie

people therein: and called them people pleasers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer he fine people fayed they nourrished against them selves, the naughty seede and cockle, of insolencie and sedition, which had bene fowed and scattered abroade emongest the people, whom they should

haue cut of if they had bene wife, and haue preuented their greatnes: and not to their owne E destruction to have suffered the people, to stablishe a magnitrate for them selves, of so great power and authoritie, as that man had, to whom they had graunted it. Who was also to be feared, bicause he obtained what he would, and dyd nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but lived in all libertie, acknowledging no superiour to commaund him, sauing the only heades and authours of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore sayed he, they that gaue counsell, and persuaded that the come should be genen out to the common people gratio, as they vied to doe in citties of GRECE, where the people had more absolute power: dyd but only nourishe their disobedience, which

F they have so ofte resused to goe to the warres, when they were comaunded: neither for their mutinies when they wet with vs, whereby they have rebelled & forfaken their coutrie: neither for their accusations which their flatterers have preferred vnto them, & they have receyved, " and made good against the Senate: but they will rather judge we gene and graunt them this. A as abasing our selues, and standing in searce of them, & glad to flatter them every waye. By this meanes, their disobedience will still growe worse and worse: and they will neuer leave to practife newe fedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinckes to doein gea, shall I saye more? we should if we were wife, take from them their Tribuneshippe, which " most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulshippe, & the cause of the diussion of the cittie ... The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becommeth dismembred in two factions, which mainteines allwayes civill diffention and discorde between vs , and will " neuer fuffer vs againe to be vnited into one bodie. Martius dilating the matter with many fuch like reasons, wanne all the young men, and almost all the riche men to his opinion: in so much they range it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the cittie, who stoode out against the R people, & neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe olde men that spake against him fearing least some mischief might fall out apon it, as in dede there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, when they fawe that the opinion of Martius was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Senate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would affemble to faue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ranne on head in tumult together, before whom the wordes that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so stomaked, that euen in that furie they were readie to flye apon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes layed all the faulte and burden wholy vpon Martins, and fent their fergeantes forthwith to arrest him, presently to appeare in persone before the people, to aunswer the wordes he had c spoken in the Senate. Martius stowtely with stoode these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their owne persones, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to setche him by force, and so layed violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble Patricians gathering together about him, made the Tribunes geue backe, and layed it fore apon the Ædiles: fo for that time. the night parted them, & the tumult appealed. The next morning betimes, the Confuls feing the people in an vprore, ronning to the market place out of all partes of the cittie, they were affrayed least all the cittie would together by the eares: wherefore affembling the Senate in all hast, they declared how it stoode them vpon, to appeale the furie of the people, with some gentle wordes, or gratefull decrees in their fauour : and moreouer, like wife men they should confider, it was now no time to stande at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for ho-p nour against the communaltie: they being fallen to so great an extremitie, and offering such imminet daunger. Wherefore they were to confider temperately of things, & to deliuer fome present and gentle pacification. The most parte of the Senatours that were present at this counfaill, thought this opinion best, & gaue their consents vnto it. Whereupon the Consuls rifing out of counfaill, went to speake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they dvd pacific their furie & anger, purging the Senate of all the vniustaccusations layed vpon them, and vsed great modestie in persuading them, and also in reprouing the faultes they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corne: they promised there should be no difliking offred them in the price. So the most parte of the people being pacified, and appearing so plainely by the great silence and still that was among them, as yelding to the Consuls, E and liking well of their wordes: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seates, and fayed. For a fmuche as the Senate yelded vnto reason, the people also for their parte, as became them, dyd likewife geue place vnto them: but notwithstanding, they would that Martins should come in persone to aunswer to the articles they had deuised. First, whether he had not folicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the prefent state of the common weale, and to take the foueraine authoritie out of the peoples handes. Next, when he was fent for by authoritie of their officers, why he dyd contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastely, seeing he had driuen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the worlde: if in doing this, he had not done as muche as in him laye, to raife civill warres, and to fet one cittizen against another.

All this was spoken to one of these two endes, either that Martins against his nature should F

be constrained to humble him selfe, and to abase his hawty and sierce minde: or els if he con-

tinued still in his stowtnes, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so farre, that

A he should never possibly winne them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise : as in deede they gest vnhappely, considering Martin nature and disposition . So Martius came, and presented him selfe, to aunswer their accusations against him, & the pedple held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would fave . But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only to vie his wonted boldnes of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and unpleasaunt, and dvd more aggrauate his acculation, then purge his innocencie) but also gaue him selfe in his confidence wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall fo grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the former in wonderful furious in 8 a third definite of matter. This stirred coales emong the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate him selfe. and malice grewe fo toward him, that they could holde no lenger, beare, nor indure his bra-R uerv and careles boldnes. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and stowtest of the Tribunes, after he had whifpered a litle with his companions, dyd openly pronounce in the face of all the Tribune, propeople, Martius as condemned by the Tribunes to dye. Then prefently he commaunded the nomineath fen-Ædiles to apprehend him, and carie him straight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to cast him hedlong downe the fame. When the Ædiles came to lave handes vpon Martin to doe that they were commaunded, divers of the people them selves thought it to cruell, and violent a dede, The noble men also being muche troubled to see such force and rigour vsed, beganne to crie alowde, helpe Martius: To those that layed handes of him being repulsed, they compassed him in rounde emong them felues, and fome of them holding vp their handes to the people, befought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their wordes, nor crying out could C ought preuaile, the tumulte and hurly burley was so great, vntill suche time as the Tribunes owne friendes and kinsemmen weying with them selues the impossiblenes to conuey Martius to execution, without great flaughter & murder of the nobilitie: dyd perfuade and aduife not to proceede in so violent and extraordinary a sorte, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in lawe, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voyce of the people. Then Sicinius bethinking him felf a litle, dyd aske the Patricians, for what cause they tooke Martins out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The Patricians asked him againe, why they would of them selues, so cruelly and wickedly put to death, fo noble and valliant a ROMAINE, as Martius was, and that without lawe or inflice? Well, then fayed Sicinius, if that be the matter, let there be no mole quarrell or diffention against the peo-D ple for they doe graunt your demaude, that his cause shalbe heard according to the law. Therpleitor they doe graunt your demande, that his caute that be near according to the law. I ner-fore fayed he to Martius, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third hath days gedaye of our next sitting and affembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shalbe wen him to obiected against you, that by free voyce the people maye gene sentence apon you as shall sunfyer the please them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were muche pleased they had gotten Martius out of this daunger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next cession came about, the same being kept euery nineth daye continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, Nunding: there fell out warre against the Antiates, which gaue fome hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them so longe, as that the furie of the people against him would be well E swaged, or veterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expechation, the peace was concluded presently with the ANTIATES, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the Patricians affembled oftentimes together, to confult how they might stande to Martius, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutine againe, and rife against the nobilitie. And there Appius Clodius (one that was taken ever as an heavy enemie to the people) dyd auowe and protest, that they would vtterly abase the authoritie of the Senate, and destroye the common weale, if they would suffer the common people to haue authoritie by voyces to geue judgment against the nobilitie. On thother side againe, the most auncient Senatours,& suche as were geuen to fauour the comon people sayed: that when the people thould fee they had authoritie of life and death in their handes, they would F not be so cruell & fierce, but gentle and civill. More also, that it was not for contempt of nobilitie or the Senate, that they fought to have the authoritie of inflice in their handes, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but bicause they feared, that them selues should

Articles againft Coriolanus.

Sedition at

accufed, that he fought to be King.

be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perfuaded, that fo fone as they gave A them authoritie to judge by voyces: fo fone would they leave all envie and malice to condemne anye. Martino leeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolue, partely for the lone and good will the nobilitie dyd beare him, and partely for the feare they stoode in of the people: asked alowde of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with ? The Tribunes auniwered him, that they would shewe howe he dyd aspire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to viurpe tyrannicall power ouer Rome. Martins with that, rifing vp on his feete, fayed: that thereupon he dyd willingly offer him felf to the peo-

ple, to be tried apon that accuration. And that if it were proued by him, he had so mucheas once thought of any suche matter, that he would then resule no kinde of punishment they would offer him: conditionally (q. he) that you charge me with nothing els besides, and that B ye doe not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Vinder these conditions the judgement was agreed vpon, and the people affembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoeuer became of it) that the people would proceede to geue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy people (and all fuche rable as had nothing to lofe, and had leffe regard of honeftie before their eves) came to be of greater force(bicaule their voyces were numbred by the polle) then the noble honest cittizens, whose persones and purse dyd duetifully serue the common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes fawe they could not proue he went about to make him felf King: they beganne to broache a freshe the former wordes that Martius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, c and persuading also to take the office of Tribuneshippe from them. And for the third, they charged him a newe, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iorney. But this matter was most straunge of all to Martius, looking least to have bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Where

upon being burdened on the fodaine, and having no ready excuse to make even at that in-

stant: he beganne to fall a praising of the fouldiers that had served with him in that jorney.

But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so lowde, and made

determined to have done & fuffered any thing whatfoeuer, before the comon people should

fo arrogantly, and outrageously have abused their authoritie. There needed no difference of

garments I warrat you, nor outward showes to know a Plebeian from a Patrician, for they were

easely decerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples side, looked cheerely on the

matter: but he that was fad, and honge downe his head, he was fure of the noble mens fide.

fuche a noyfe, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for life. Af D banished for ter declaration of the fentence, the people made fuche joye, as they never rejoyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were to braue and lively, & went home to iocondly from the affembly, for triumphe of this sentece. The Senate agains in contrary manner were as fad and heavie, repenting them felues beyond measure, that they had not rather

Coriolan us constăt minde

Sauing Martins alone, who neither in his countenaunce, nor in his gate, dyd euer showe him E felfe abashed, or once let fall his great corage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angrie at his fortune, dyd outwardly shewe no manner of passion, nor care at all of him selfe. Not that he dyd paciently beare and temper his good happe, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but bicause he was so caried awaye with the vehemencie of anger, and defire of reuenge, that he had no fence nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people judge, not to be forow, although in dede it be the very fame. For when forow (as you would faye) is fet a fyre, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth awaye for that time all faintnes of harte and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the chollericke man is fo altered, and mad in his actions, as a man fet a fyre with a burning agewe: for when a mans harte is troubled within, his pulse will beate maruelous strongely. Now that F Martine was even in that taking, it appeared true sone after by his doinges. For when he was come home to his house againe, and had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them

A weeping, and shreeking out for forrowe, and had also comforted and persuaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the cittie, accompanied with a great number of Patricians that brought him thither, from whence he went on his wave with three or foure of his friendes only taking nothing with him, nor requesting any thing of any man. So he remained a fewe dayes in the countrie at his houses, turmoyled with sundry fortes and kynde of thoughtes, fuche as the fyer of his choller dyd sturre vp . In the ende, seeing he could resolue no waye, to take a profitable or honorable course, but only was pricked forward Hill to be reueged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raise up some great warres against them. by their neerest neighbours. Whereupon, he thought it his best waye, first to stirre vp the VOLSCES against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to en-B counter them, not with standing their former losses they had receyued not long before, & that their power was not so muche impaired, as their malice and desire was increased, to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the cittie of ANTIVM, there was one called Tullus Aufi-

diss, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valliantnes, was honoured emong the Tullus Ans. VOLSCES as a King. Martius knewe very well, that Tullus dyd more malice and enuie him, dius, agrase then he dyd all the ROMAINES besides: bicause that many times in battells where they met, the Vollege, they were euer at the encounter one against another, like lustic coragious youthes, striuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. In so muche, as besides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruelous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great minde, C and that he aboue all other of the Volsces, most desired revenge of the ROMAINES, for the injuries they had done vnto them: he dyd an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an

auncient Poet, who fayed: It is a thing full harde, mans anger to withstand, if it be stiffely bent to take an enterprise in hande. For then most men will have, the thing that they defire, although it soft their lines therefore, suche force hath wwicked ire.

And so dyd he, For he dilguised him selse in suche arraye and attire, as he thought no man could ever have knowen him for the persone he was seeing him in that apparell he had your his backe : and as Homer fayed of Vlyffes,

So dyd he enter into the enemies towwne.

It was even twy light when he entred the cittie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius house, and when discussed. he came thither he got him up straight to the chimney harthe, and fat him downe, and spake gother Annot a worde to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the house spying him, wondered of the Vusces wheeh of houself he and the state of the Vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces with the second of the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheeh of houself he are they during the vusces wheel he are the vusces wheel he are the vusces wheel he are the vusces where they do not the vusces wheel he are the vusces wheel he are the vusces wheel he are the vusces where t what he should be, and yet they durst not byd him rise. For ill fauoredly mustled and disguised as he was yet there appeared a certaine maiestie in his countenance, and in his filence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper to tell him of the straunge disguising of this man. Tullus role presently from the borde, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and

wherefore he came. Then Martius vnmuffled him felfe, and after he had paufed a while, ma-

that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thy felf particularly, and to all the Vosces " generally, great hurte and milchief, which I cannot denie for my furname of Coridanus that I " beare. For I never had other benefit nor recompence, of all the true and paynefull feruice I " have done, and the extreme daungers I have bene in, but this only furname: a good memorie a and witnes, of the malice and displeasure thou showldest beare me. In deede the name only " remaineth with me; for the rest, the enuie and crueltie of the people of Rome haue taken " from me, by the fufferance of the darftardly nobilitie and magistrates, who have for faken me, a

& let me be banished by the people. This extremitie hath now driven me to come as a poore " F futer, to take thy chimney harthe, not of any hope I have to faue my life thereby. For if I had " feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard : but prickt forward "

with spite and desire I have to be revenged of them that thus have banished me, whom now "

E king no aunswer, he sayed vnto him. If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and seeing me, doft not Coriolanus operhappes beleeue me to be the man I am in dede, I must of necessitie bewraye my selfe to be ration to Tul-

CORIOLANVS. " I beginne to be auenged on putting my persone betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou A " haft any harte to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee spede thee now, and " let my miferie ferue thy turne, and fo vie it, as my feruice maye be a benefit to the Volscher " promiting thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then euer I dyd when I was " against you, knowing that they fight more valliantly, who knowe the force of their enemie. " then such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weare " to proue fortune any more: then am I also weary to line any lenger. And it were no wisedome " in thee, to faue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemie, and whole fer-" uice now can nothing helpe nor pleafure thee. Tulbus hearing what he fayed, was a maruelous glad man, and taking him by the hande, he fayed vnto him. Standevp, o Martine, and bee of good chere, for in profering thy felfe vnto vs, thou doft vs great honour: and by this meanes R thou mayest hope also of greater things, at all the Voisces handes. So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honorablest manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that present: but within fewe dayes after, they fell to consultation together, in

tius banish-

what forte they should beginne their warres. Now on thother side, the cittie of Rome was in Great differ. maruelous vorore, and discord, the nobilitie against the communaltie, and chiefly for Martin condemnation and banishment. Moreover the priestes, the Soothesayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certaine fightes and wonders in the ayer, which they had seene, and were to be considered of : amongest the which, such a vision happened . There was a cittizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but otherwife an honest sober manageuen to a quier life, without superstition, and much lesse to vanitie of orlying. This man had a vision in his dreame, in the which he thought that Iupiter appeared vnto him, and commaunded him to fignifie to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewde daunser to goe before the procession; and saved, the first time this vision had appeared vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his minde, he made not muche more accompt of the matter then before. In the ende, he fawe one of his fonnes dye, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethern; and sodainely he him felfe was fo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he tolde the whole circumstace of this vision before the Senate, sitting upon his litle couche or bedde, whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no fooner reported this vision to the Senate, but he prefently felt his bodie & limmes reftored again, to their former street h & vse. So n raising up him self upon his couche, he got up on his seete at that instant, & walked home to his house, without helpe of anyman. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquierie to vinderstand the trothe: & in the ende they found there was such a thing. There was one that had deliuered a bodman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other flaues & bondemen, & had commanded them to whippe him vp & down the market place, & afterwards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they dyd fo martyre the poore wretch, that for the cruell fmarte & payne he felt, he turned & writhed his bodie in strauge & pittiefull forte. The procession by chaunce came by euen at the same time, & many that followed it, were hartely moued & offended with the fight, faying; that this was no good fight to behold, nor mete to be met in processio time. But for all this, there was nothing done fauing they blamed & rebuked him, that punished his flaue so cruelly. For the Romainess that time, dyd vse their bondemen very gently, bicause they them selues dyd labour with their owne hands, and lived with them, & emong them: and therefore they dyd vie them the more gently and familliarly. For the greatest punishment they gaue a slaue that had offended, was this. They made him carie a limmer on his showlders that is fastened to the axeltree of a

The Romaipunishing sheir (laues,

coche, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that forte amongest all their neighbours. He that had once abidden this punishement, and was seene in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in euery market towne: so that no man would euer trust him after, and they called him Furcifer, bicause the LATINES call the wood that ronneth into the axeltree of the coche, Furea, as muche to faye, as a forke. Now when Latinus had made reporte to the Senate of the F vision that had happened to him, they were deuising whom this vnpleasaunt daunser should be that went before the procession. Thereupon certain that stoode by remembred the poore

A flane that was so cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwardes put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the straunge and rare manner of his nunishment. The priestes hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduise: they were wholy of opinion, that it was the whipping of the flaue. So they caused the flaues master to be punished. and beganne againe a newe procession, and all other showes and sightes in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king Numa dyd wifely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the instituted by king Numa.

R wholy to dispose them selves to serve God, leaving all other busines and matters a side: know-

images of their goddes, and fuche other like holy relikes ypon open hallowed coches or char-

drawe no more: and bicause also the coche man tooke the raynes of the bridle with the left

hande, they ordained that the procession should be begonne againe a newe. Of later time also,

they dyd renewe and beginne a facrifice thirtie times one after another, bicause they thought

still there fell out one faulte or other in the same, so holy and deuout were they to the goddes.

Now Tullus and Martius had secret conference with the greatest personages of the cittie of

ANTIVM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre

with the Romaine s, while they were in diffention one with another. They aunswered them,

they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace

should anoyde out of Rome before sunne set. Some thincke this was a crafte and deceipt of

people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers southing religoe about any divine feruice, or matter of religion, an herauld ever goeth before them, crying gion. out alowde, Hot age: as to faye, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are specially comaunded,

ing well enough, that what societ most men doe, they doe it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the ROMAINES dyd euer vie to beginne againe their facrifices, processions, playes, and The Georgie fuche like thowes done in honour of the goddes, not only vpon fuche an occasion, but apon tion of the lighter causes then that. As when they went a procession through the cittie, and dyd carie the Remaines,

rets, called in LATIN Thenfe: one of the coche horses that drue them stoode still, and would Thense.

for two yeres. Howbeit shortely after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occasion to make The Romaiwarre with them. For on a holy daye common playes being kept in Rome, apon some suspine section. tion, or false reporte, they made proclamation by found of trumpet, that all the Volscas fun of wares.

Martius, who fent one to Rome to the Confuls, to accuse the Volsces fallely, aduertising Marine Co-

D them howe they had made a conspiracie to set apon them, whilest they were busic in seeing these games, and also to set their cittie a fyre. This open proclamation made all the Vols ces of the Volses. more offended with the ROMAINES, then ever they were before: and Tullus agravating the matter, dyd so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the ende they sent their ambassadours to Rome, to furnimone them to deliuer their landes and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The ROMAINES hearing this. were maruelously netled : and made no other aunswer but thus. If the Voisces be the first that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the last that will ende it. Incontinently upon returne of the Volsces ambassadours, and deliverie of the Romaines aunswer: Tullus caufedan affembly generall to be made of the Volsces, and concluded to make warre apon the ROMAINES. This done, Tullus dyd counsell them to take Martins into their service, and not to miltrust him for the remembraunce of any thing past, but boldely to trust him in any matter to come: for he would doe them more feruice in fighting for them, then ever he dyd them displeasure in fighting against them . So Martius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tongue, then warlike in showe: and declared him selfe both expert in warres, and wife with valliantnes. Thus he coriolanus was joyned in commission with Tullus as generall of the Volsces, having absolute authoritie betwene the to follow & pursue the warres. But Martins fearing least tract of time to bring Volfces, with this armie togither with all the munitio & furniture of the Volsces, would robbe him of the Tullus Aufmeane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers and chief of the the Romaines.

cittie, to affemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the campe. Coriolania. Then he with the lightest fouldiers he had, and that were willing to followe him, state awaye insudant the vpon the fodaine, and marched with all speede, and entred the territories of Rome, before the the Romaines. Suspect she

Great hate burning be . twent the nopeople.

ROMAINES heard any newes of his comming. In fo much the Voiscas found fuch spoyle A in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to drine and carie awaye that they had. Howbeit the gayne of the spoyle and the hurte they dyd to the ROMAINES in this inuation, was the least parte of his intent. For his chiefest purpose was, to A fine desisse increase still the malice and dissention betweene the nobilitie, and the communaltie: and to drawe that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes & goods fafe from harme and burning, but spoyled all the whole countrie besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurte any thing of the noble mens. This made greater sturre and broyle betweene the nobilitie and people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, bicause they had fo vniustly banished a man of so great valure and power. The people on thother side, accused the nobilitie, how they had procured Martins to make these warres, to be reuenged of them: R bicause it pleased them to see their goodes burnt and spoyled before their eyes, whilest them felues were well at ease, and dyd behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, & knowing their owne goodes fafe and out of daunger: and howe the warre was not made against the noble men, that had the enemie abroad, to keepe that they had in fafety. Now Martius having done this first exploite (which made the Volsces bolder, and lesse fearefull of the ROMAINES) brought home all the armie againe, without losse of any man, After their whole armie (which was maruelous great, and very forward to feruice) was affembled in one campe: they agreed to leave parte of it for garrison in the countrie about, and the other parte should goe on, and make the warre apon the Romaines. So Martin bad Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him aunswer, he knewe by experience that Martin C was no leffe valliant then him felfe, and howe he euer had better fortune and good happe in all battells, then him felfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that should make the warres abroade: and him selfe would keepe home, to prouide for the fafety of the citties and of his countrie, and to furnishe the campe also of all necessary prouision abroade. So Martius being stronger then before, went first of all vnto the cittie of Cin-CEES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yelded them selues, and therefore had no hurte. From thence, he entred the countrie of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times fent vnto the Romaines for their ayde. But on the one fide, the people of Rome were very ill willing to goe: and on the other fide the Confuls being apon their going out of their D office, would not hazard them selues for so small a time: so that the ambassadours of the La-TINES returned home againe, and dyd no good. Then Martius dyd besiege their citties, and having taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDA NIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made refistaunce: he sacked all their goodes, and tooke them prisoners. Suche as dyd yeld them selues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be to defend them from hurte: and bicause they should recevue no damage by his will he removed his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the cittie of Boles by affault, being about an hundred furlonge from Rome, where he had a maruelous great spoyle, and put every man to the sword that was able to carie weapon. The other Volsces that were appointed to remaine in garrifon for defence of their countrie, hearing E this good newes, would tary no lenger at home, but armed them felues, and ranne to Martin campe, saying they dyd acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his same ranne through all ITALIE, and every one praised him for a valliant captaine, for that by chaunge of one man for another, suche and so straunge euents fell out in the state. In this while, all went fill to wracke at ROME. For , to come into the field to fight with the enemie, they could not abyde to heare of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious wordes, the nobilitie against the people, & the people against the nobilitie. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had layed seige to the cittle of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came first their auncient originall, for that Aneas at his first arrivall into ITALIE dyd build that cittle. Then I fell there out a maruelous fodain chaunge of minde among the people, & farre more straunge & contrarie in the nobilitie. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and

A exile of Martins. The Senate affembled upon it, would in no case yeld to that. Who either dvd it of a selfe will to be contrarie to the peoples defire: or bicause Martine should not returnethrough the grace and fauour of the people. Or els, bicause they were throughly angrie and offended with him, that he would fet apon the whole, being offended but by a fewer and in his doings would showe him selfe an open enemie besides you his countrie; notwithstanding the most parte of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruelous ill parte, and as if the injurie had bene done vnto them felues. Reporte being made of the Senates resolution, the people founde them selves in a straight: for they could authorise and confirme nothing by their voyces, vnles it had bene first propounded and ordeined by the Senate. But Martius hearing this sturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then be-R fore: in so muche as he raised his seige incontinently before the citie of LAVINIVM. and going towardes Rome, lodged his campe within fortie furlonge of the cittie, at the ditches called Cluilia. His incamping so neere Rome, dyd put all the whole cittie in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appealed the sedition and dissention betweet the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Conful, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrarie the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of Martius. When they fawe the women in a maruelous feare, ronning vp and downe the cittie: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes; and finally, not a man either wife or hardie to prouide for their fafetie: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home Martins againe, to reconcile them selves C to him, and that the Senate on the contrary parte, were in maruelous great faulte to be angrie and in choller with him, when it stoode them vpon rather to have gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to fend ambassadours vnto him, to let him vn- The Romei. derstand howe his countrymen dyd call him home againe, and restored him to all his nes fend amgoodes, and befought him to deliver them from this warre. The ambassadours that were Coriolanus in fent were Martine familliar friendes, and acquaintaunce, who looked at the least for a cur- trease of teous welcome of him, as of their familliar friende and kynfeman. Howbeit they founde peace. nothing leffe. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was fer in his chayer of state, with a maruelous and an vnspeakable maiestic. having the chiefest men of the V o L S CES about him: so he commaunded them to de-D clare openly the cause of their comming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly wordes they possiblie could deuise, and with all modest countenaunce and behaulour agreable for the fame. When they had done their message : for the injurie they haddone him, he aunswered them very hottely, and in great choller. But as generall of the Volsces, he willed them to reftore vnto the Volsces, all their landes and citties they had taken from them in former warres: and moreover, that they should geue them the like honour and freedome of Rome, as they had before gener to the LATINES. For otherwife they had no other meane to ende this warre, if they dyd not graunte these honest and just conditions of peace. Thereupon he gave them thirtie dayes respit to make him aunswer. So the ambassadours returned straight to Rome, and Martius forthwith departed with his armie out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the first matter wherewith the Volschs (that most enuied Martins glorie and authoritie) dyd charge The first oc-Martius with Among those Tallus was chief: who though he had received no private case of the iniurie or displeasure of Martins, yet the common faulte and impersection of mans na- Volscus emos ture wrought in him, and it grieued him to fee his owne reputation bleamished, through Martius great fame and honour, and so him selfe to be lesse esteemed of the Vo 1s c a s, then he was before. This fell out the more, bicause every man honoured Martius, and thought he only could doe all, and that all other governours and captaines must be content with suche credit and authoritie, as he would please to countenaunce them with . From hence they derived all their first accusations and secret murmurings Fagainst Martius. For prinate captaines conspiring against him, were very angrie with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor forces, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great

CORIOLANVS. 254 importaunce, bicaufe it was that which in treason might both lose and binde all, and pre-s ferue the whole . Now Martius having geuen the ROMAINES thirtie dayes refin for their aunswer, and specially bicause the warres have not accustomed to make any great chaunges, in lesse space of time then that : he thought it good yet, not to lve a fleepe and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the landes of the enemies allies, and tooke feuen great citties of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES durft nor once put them selues into the field, to come to their ayde and helpe: they were so fainte harted, fo mistrustfull, and lothe besides to make warres. In so muche as there properly reflembled the bodyes paralyticke, and losed of their limmes and members as those which through the palsey have lost all their sence and feeling. Wherefore the time of peace expired, Martins being returned into the dominions of the Romains againe with all his armie, they fent another ambassade vnto him, to praye peace, and the remoue of the V o is c a s out of their countrie: that afterwardes they might with better levfure fall to suche agreementes together, as should be thought most mete and necessarie. For the Romaines were no men that would ever yeld for feare. But if

baffade fent

and foothe-

he thought the V o L S C E S had any grounde to demaunde reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably aske should be graunted vnto, by the Roman NES, who of them felues would willingly yeld to reason, conditionally, that they dyd laye downe armes. Martius to that auniwered : that as generall of the Voisceshe awould replie nothing vnto it. But yet as a ROMAINE cittizen, he would counfell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they C should returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had first deliuered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more gene them affuraunce or fafe conduite to returne againe into his campe, with fuche vaine and friuolous messages. When the ambassadours were returned to Rome, and had reported Martius aunswer to the Senate: their cittie being in extreme daunger', and as it were in a terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common prouerbe fayeth) their how ancker. For then they appointed all the bishoppes, priestes, ministers of the goddes, and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or foothefayers, which foreshowe things to come by observation of the flying of birdes (which is an olde auncient kynde of prophecying and divination amongest the Romaines) to goe to Martius apparelled D as when they doe their facrifices : and first to intreate him to leave of warre, and then the he would speake to his contrymen, and conclude peace with the V o 18 C #8. Martin fuffered them to come into his campe, but yet he graunted them nothing the more neither dyd he entertaine them or speake more curteously to them, then he dyd the first time that they came vnto him, fauing only that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the first conditions offered, or els to receybe warre. When all this goodly rable of fuperstition and priestes were returned, it was determined in counsell that none should goe out of the gates of the cittie, and that they should watche and warde vpon the walles, to repulse their enemies if they came to affault them: referring them felues and all their hope to time, and fortunes has be

vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise howe to remedie the daunger. Now all the cittie was full of tumult; feare, and maruelous doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell ongi out fuche a like matter, as Homer oftetimes าสส fayed they would least haue thought 101 of. For in great matters, that

happen feldome, Homer fayeth, and crieth out in this forte. 1021

The goddesse Pallas she, with her fayer glistering eyes. dyd put into his minde suche thoughts, and made him so deuise. A And in an other place:

But fure some god hath t'ane, out of the peoples minde, both wvit and understanding eke and have therewvith asynde Some other simple spirite in Reede thereof to byde. that so they might their doings all for lacke of wis misguyde.

And in an other place:

The people of them selues, did either it consider, or else some god instructed them, and so they jounde together.

Many recken not of Homer, as referring matters unpossible, and fables of no likelyhoode ortrothe, vnto mans reason, free will, or judgement: which in deede is not his meaning. But B things true & likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free wil and reason. For he oft speaketh these wordes:

I have thought it in my noble harte.

And in an other place:

Achilles angrie vvas, and sorie for to heare bim fo to fay, his heavy breft wwas fraught weith penfine feare.

And againe in an other place:

Bellerophon(she) could not move with her fager tongue, fo honest and so vertuous, he was the rest ambig.

But in wonderous and extraordinarie thinges, which are done by secret inspirations and C motions, hedoth not say that God taketh away, from man his choyce and freedom of will, but that he doth moue it : neither that he doth worke desire in vs, but objecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are lead to defire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For, either we must say, that the goddes meddle not with the causes and beginninges of our actions: or elsewhat other meanes have they to helpe and further men? It is apparaunt that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and handes, when there is occasion to vie them: but that parte of our minde from which these motions proceede, is induced thereto, or caried away by fuch objectes and reasons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the Romaine Ladies and gentlewomen did vifite all the temples and goddes D of the same, to make their prayers vnto them : but the greatest Ladies (and more parte of them) were continuallie about the aulter of Impiter Capitolin, emonge which troupe by name, was Valeria, Publicolaes owne fifter. The felfe fame Publicola, who did fuch notable feruice to the ROMAINES, both in peace & warres: and was dead also certaine yeares before, as we have declared in his life. His fifter Valeria was greatly honoured and reverenced a- Valeria Ph. monge all the ROMAINES : and did so modestlie and wiselie behaue her selfe, that she did blicolate not shame nor dishonour the house she came of . So she sodainely fell into suche a fansie, as she. we hauerehearfed before, and had (by some god as I thinke) taken holde of anoble deuise. Whereuppon (herose, and thother Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius mother: and comming in to her, founde her, and Martius Volumnia, E wife her daughter in lawe ser together, and hauinge her husbande Martius young children Marius moin her lappe. Now all the traine of these Ladies sittinge in a ringe rounde about her: Valeria ther. first beganne to speake in this sorte vnto her. We Ladies, are come to visite you Ladies of Valeria, (my Ladie Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaunde- vinto Volumnia ment of other magistrate: but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god aboue. nia and Va-Who havinge taken compassion and pitie of our prayers, hath moved vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficiall for vs, as also for the whole citizens in gene-

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Hitti

» rall: but to your selues in especiall (if it please you to credit me) and shall redounde to our A " more fame and glorie, then the daughters of the SABYNES obtained in former age, when " they procured louinge peace, in stead of hatefull warre, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on goodladies, and let vs goe all together vnto Martius, to intreate him to take pitie vpponvs, and also to reporte the trothe vnto him, howe muche you are bounde ", vnto the citizens: who notwithstandinge they have sufferned greate hurte and losses by him. ", yet they have not hetherto sought revenge apon your persons by any discurreous viege, " neither euer conceyued any fuche thought or intent against you, but doe deliuer ye safe " into his handes, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemency from him. "When Valeria had spoken this vnto them, all thother ladges together with one voyce con-

" firmed that the had faved. Then Volumnia in this force did auniwer her. My good ladies, twe R are partakers with you of the common miserie and calamitie of our countrie, and vetous griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular missortune: to feele the losse of my sonne Martius former valiancie and glorie, and to see his persone enuiron ed nowe " with our enemies in armes, rather to see him foorth comminge and safe kept, then of any ", loue to defende his persone. But yet the greatest griefe of our heaped mishappes is, to see ,, our poore countrie brought to such extremitie, that all the hope of the safetie and pre-» feruation thereof, is nowe vnfortunately cast vppon vs simple women: bicause we know " not what accompt he will make of vs, sence he hath cast from him all care of his natu-" rall countrie and common weale, which heretofore he hath holden more decreand pre-" cious, then either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithstandinge, if ye thinke we can o doe good, we will willingly doe what you will hauevs : bringe vs to him I pray you. For if we can not preuaile, we maye yet dye at his feete, as humble futers for the fafetie of our countrie. Her aunswere ended, the tooke her daughter in lawe, and Martius children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE ladies, they went in troupe together vnto the Voisces campe: whome when they fawe, they of them selues did both pine and reuerence her, and there was not a man amonge them that once durft fay a worde you her. Nowe was Martin fet then in his chayer of state, with all the honours of a generall. and when he had spied the women comming a farre of, he marueled what the matter ment but afterwardes knowing his wife which came formest, he determined at the first to perfish in his obstinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercomen in the ende with naturall affection, D and being altogether altered to see them: his harte would not serue him to tarie their comming to his chayer, but comming downe in hast, he went to meete them, and first he kiffed his mother, and imbraced her a pretie while, then his wife and litle children. And nature to wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he coulde not keepe him felfe from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloode, as if he had bene violently carried with the furie of a most swift running streame. After he had thus louingly received them, and perceivinge that his mother Volumnia would beginne to speake to him, he called the chiefest of the counsell of the Volsces to heare what she would fay. Then the spake in this force. If we helde our peace (my sonne) and determined not to speake, the state of our poore bodies, and present sight of our rayment, would easely be wray to thee what life we have led at home, fince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now

" ther, confidering that the fight which should be most pleasaunt to all other to beholde, spite-

full fortune hath made most fearefull to vs: making my selfe to see my sonne, and my daugh-

ter here, her husband, belieging the walles of his natine countrie. So as that which is thouly

comforte to all other in their aduersitie and miserie, to pray vnto the goddes, and to call

,, to them for aide: is the onely thinge which plongeth vs into most deepe perplexitie. For we

" can not (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for fafery of thy life

" also: but a worlde of grieuous curses, yea more then any mortall enemie can heapey poor

" nurse of their native contrie. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tarie, till fortune

" with thy felfe, howe much more vnfortunatly, then all the women livinge we are come he-

turne againe to Rome, for fo they dyd request him: and so remaining in campe that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homewardes into the Volsces countrie againe, corislanus who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had withdraweth done. Other being well pleased that peace should be made, sayed: that neither the one, nor form Rome. the other, deserved blame nor reproche. Other, though they misliked that was done, dyd not thincke him an ill man for that he dyd, but fayed: he was not to be blamed, though he yelded to suche a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commaundement, more for respect of his worthines and valiancie, then for feare of his au-" vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter soppe of most harde choyce is offered F thoritie. Now the cittizens of Rome plainely shewed, in what feare and daunger their cittie " thy wife & children, to forgoe the one of the two: either to lose the persone of thy selfe, or the stoode of this warre, when they were deliuered. For so sone as the watche vpon the walles of the cittle perceyued the Volsces campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the cittle but

257 A in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot persuade thee, rather to doe " good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and destroye the one, preferring loue and natures before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust vnto it, thou shalt no soner marche forward to affault thy countrie, but thy foote shall treade upon " thy mothers wombe, that brought thee first into this world. And I maye not deferre to see the " dave, either that my sonne be led prisoner in triumphe by his naturall country men, or that he a him selfe doe triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were so, that my request " tended to faue thy countrie, in destroying the Volses: I must cofesse, thou wouldest hardly " and doubtfully resolue on that. For as to destroye thy naturall countrie, it is altogether vnmete a and vnlawfull: so were it not iust, and lesse honorable, to betraye those that put their trust in " R thee. But my only demaunde confifteth, to make a gayle deliuerie of all euills, which deliuereth equall benefit and fafety, both to the one and the other, but most honorable for the Voi- " sces. For it shall appeare, that having victorie in their handes, they have of speciall favour a graunted vs singular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit them selves have no lesse parte of both, then we. Of which good, if so it came to passe, thy selfe is thouly authour, and so hast thou a

thonly honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy felfe alone deseruedly shall carie the " shamefull reproche and burden of either partie. So, though the ende of warre be vncertaine, a yet this notwithstanding is most certaine: that if it be thy chaunce to conquer, this benefit " fhalt thou reape of thy goodly coquest, to be chronicled the plague & destroyer of thy countrie. And if fortune also ouerthrowe thee, then the world will saye, that through desire to re- " C uenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever vindone thy good friendes, who dyd most louing- " ly and curteously receive thee. Martins gaue good eare vnto his mothers wordes, without interrupting her speache at all: and after the had sayed what she would, he held his peace a prety while, and aunswered not a worde. Hereupon she beganne againe to speake vnto him, and fayed. My fonne, why doest thou not aunswer me ? doest thou thinke it good altogether . to geue place vnto thy choller and defire of reuenge, and thinkest thou it not honestie for thee " to graunt thy mothers request, in so weighty a cause? does thou take it honorable for a no-

ble man, to remember the wronges and injuries done him: and doeft not in like cafe thinke it " an honest noble mans parte, to be thankefull for the goodnes that parents doe shewe to their " children, acknowledging the duety and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man " liuing is more bounde to shewe him selfe thankefull in all partes and respects, then thy selfe: " who so vnnaturally sheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my sonne) thou hast forely taken of thy countrie, exacting grieuous payments apon them, in reuenge of the injuries offered thee: be- " sides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore mother any curtesie. And therefore, it is not only honest, but due vnto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my so just and reasona- " ble request of thee. But since by reason I cannot persuade thee to it, to what purpose doe I de- " ferre my last hope? And with these wordes, her selfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon " their knees before him. Martius seeing that, could refraine no lenger, but went straight and e lifte her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what have you done to me? And holding her hard by the coriolans right hande, oh mother, fayed he, you have wonne a happy victorie for your countrie; but tomposition of his matter, mortall and vnhappy for your sonne: for I see my self vanquished by you alone. These wordes being spoken openly, he spake a litle a parte with his mother and wife, and then let them re-

Tullus Aufi-

dius flaine in

was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads, factifi- a cing to the goddes, as they were wont to doe vpon the newes of some great obtained victo. rie. And this common joye was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the whole Senate, and people dyd bestowe on their ladyes. For they were all throughly persuaded, and dyd certenly beleeue, that the ladyes only were cause of the fauing of the cittie, and

deliuering them selues from the instant daunger of the warre. Whereupon the Senate or-

deined, that the magistrates to gratifie and honour these ladyes, should graunte them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of Fortune of The semble of the women, for the building whereof they offered them selves to defraye the whole charge Fortune built of the facrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the ferunce of the goddes. Neuertheless the Senate commending their good will and forwardnes, ordeined, that the temple and R image should be made at the common charge of the cittie. Notwithstanding that the ladges gathered money emong them, and made with the fame a second image of Fortune, which

The image of place: and they affirme, that the spake these wordes. Ladyes, ye have devoutely offered me Fortune forke to the ladyes

vp . Moreouer , that the spake that twife together , making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to fee images that feeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humour red or blowdie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wodde and stone doe commonly receyue certaine moysture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which doe yeld of them felues, or doe take of the aver, many fortes and kyndes of spottes and cullers: by which signes

the ROMAINES fave dyd speake as they offred her vp in the temple, and dyd fet her in her

and tokens it is not amiffe we thincke, that the goddes formetimes doe warne men of things C. to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues doe somtimes put forth soundes, like vnto fighes or mourning, when in the middest or bottome of the same, there is made fome violent separation, or breaking a fonder of things, blowen or deuised therein : but that a bodie which hath neither life nor foule, should have any direct or exquisite worde formed in it by expresse voyce, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god him selfe can distinctly speake without a bodie, having necessarie organes and instrumentes mete for the partes of the same to forme and vtter distinct wordes. But where stories many times doe force ys to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must fave. that it is some passion contrarie to our fine naturall sences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue parte or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we doe in our slee D ping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we doe not heare: and we imagine we fee, that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously genen to thinke apon heauenly things, so as they can no waye be drawen from beleeuing that which is spoken of

them, they have this reason to grounde the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the

omnipotencie of God which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of refemblaunce or like-

lines of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our mo-

potencie of

uing, our arte, and our force: and therefore if he doe anything vnpoffible to vs, or doe bring forth and deuise things, without mans common reache and vnderstanding, we must not therefore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrarie to vs. muche more in his workes and secret operations, he farre passeth all the rest: but the most E parte of goddes doings, as Heraelitus fayeth, for lacke of faith, are hidden and vnknowen ynto ys. Now when Marting was returned againe into the cittle of Antivm from his voyage, Tullus that hated and could no lenger abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie: fought divers meanes to make him out of the waye, thinking that if he let flippe that dius Ceekesh to kill Coriepresent time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore Tullus having procured many other of his confederacy, required Martins might be deposed from his estate, to render vp accompt to the Volsces of his charge and gouernment, Martin

fearing to become a private man againe vnder Tullus being generall (whose authoritie was greater otherwise, then any other emong all the Volsces) aunswered: he was willing to geue vp his charge, and would refigne it into the handes of the lordes of the Volsces, if F they dyd all commaund him, as by all their commaundement he receyued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuse euen at that present to geue vp an accompt vnto the people,

a if they would rarie the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counfaill, in which affembly there were certen oratours appointed, that stirred up the common people against him : and when they had tolde their tales, Martius rose vp to make them aunswer. Now notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruelous great nove vet when they

fawe him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valliantnes, they quieted them felues, and gaue fillaudience to alledge with levfure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honeftest men of the ANTIATES, and who most rejoyced in peace, shewed by their countenaunce that they would heare him willingly, and judge also according to their conscience. Whereunon Tullus fearing that if he dyd let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people. bicause emongest other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good service R he had done to the people of the Volses, dyd winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure; and furthermore, the offence they layed to his charge, was a testimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the cittle of Rome, if they had not bene very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approache and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no lenger delaye his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the murining and rifing of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a traytour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the Volsces, who would not yeld vp his effate and authoritie, And in faving these wordes, they all fell you him, and killed him in Coriclanae the market place, none of the people once offering to refcue him. Howbeit it is a clere cafe; madded in that this murder was not generally confented vnto, of the most parte of the Voisces: for Antium of Antium of the Voisces: men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and dyd honorably burie him, fetting out Coviolanus his tombe with great store of armour and spoyles, as the tombe of a worthie persone and funeralles. great captaine. The ROMAINES understanding of his death, shewed no other honour or

malice, fauing that they graunted the ladyes the request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they yied to weare blackes for the death. The time of of their fathers, brethern, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius order, who stablished mourning apthe fame, as we have enlarged more amplie in the description of his life. Now Martius being Nama. dead, the whole state of the Volsces hartely wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell n out with the Æ QVES (who were their friendes and confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrell grew on fo farre betwene them, that frayes and mur-

ders fell out apon it one with another. After that, the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which Tullus was flaine in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the fworde: fo that they were compelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yelding them felues fubiect vnto the conquerers, & promising to be obedient at their commandement.

Y iii

THE COMPARISON OF AL-

cibiades with Martius Coriolanus.



The acts done

OW that we have written all the dedes of worthie memorie, done A by either of them both: we maye prefently difcerne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were a like hardie & valliant for their persones. as also wise and politike in the warres: vnles they will saye, that Alcibiades was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battells with his enemies, both by fea and lande, then ever Coriolanus had done, and had allwayes the victorie of his enemies. For otherwife, in this they were much a like: that where they were both present& had

charge and power to commaund, all things prospered notably, and with good successe on the parte they were of: and also when they tooke the contrary side, they made the first haue the B worse enery waye. Now for matters of gouernment, the noble men and honest cittizens dyd hate Alcibiades manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man most dissolute, and geuen to flatterie: bicause he euer studied by all deuise he could, to currie fauour with the common people. So dyd the Romaine s malice also Coriolanus gouernment, for that it was to arrogant. prowde, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding, he is lesse to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratifie his common people: then he that despiseth and disdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and injurie, bicause he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen fo is it besides dithonesty, and injuflice also, to atteine to credit and authoritie, for one to make him selfe terrible to the people, by C offering them wrong and violence. It is true that Martius was ever counted an honest natured man, plaine and fimple, without arte or cunning: Howbeit Alcibiades merely contrarie, for he was fine, subtill, and deceiptfull. And the greatest faulte they euer burdened Alcibiades for, was his malice and deceipt, wherewith he abused the ambassadours of the LACED EMO-NIANS, & that he was a let that peace was not cocluded, as Thucydides reporteth. Now, though by this acte he fodainly brought the cittie of Athens into warres, yet he brought it thereby of Milionaus, to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the Man-TINIANS and the ARGIVES, who by Alcibiades practife entred into league with the ATHE-NIANS. And Martius, as Dionysius the historiographer writeth: dyd by craft and deceipt bring the Romaines into warres against the Volsces, causing the Volsces maliciously, and D wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the games played. But the cause why he dyd it, made the fact fo much more fowle and wicked. For it was not done for any civill diffention, nor for any ielouzy and contention in matters of gouernment, as Alcibiades dyd: but only following his cholerike moode, that would be pleafed with no thing, as Dion fayed, he

A would needes trouble and turmoile the most parte of ITALIE, and so being eangrie with his countrie, he destroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe with all. This is true also, that Alcibiades spite and malice did worke great mischiese and miserie to his countrie: but when he faw they repented them of the injurie they had done him, he came to him selfe, and did withdrawe his armie. An other time also, when they had banished Alcibiades, he would not yet fuffer the captaines of the ATHENTANS to runne into great errours, neither would he see them cast away, by followinge ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forfake them in any daunger they put them felues into . But he did the very fame that Arestides had done in olde time vnto Themistocles, for which he was then and is vet so greatly praised. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the A-B THENIAMS, although they were not his friendes, and tolde them wherein they did amiffe, and what they had further to doe . Where Martins to the contrarie, did first great hurtelynto the whole citie of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him: yea; and when the best and chiefest parte of the citie were grieued for his sake, and were very sorie and angrie. for the injurie done him. Furthermore, the ROMAINES fought to appeal one onely difplease fure and despite they had done him, by many ambassades, petitions and requestes they made, whereunto he neuer yelded, while his mother, wife, and children came, his harte was fo hardned. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would harken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to destroy and spoyle his countrie, and not as though he ment. to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was in deede the difference between them: C that spialls being layed by the LACED EMONIANS to kill Alcibiades, for the malice they did beare him, as also for that they were affrayed of him, he was compelled to returne home apaine to ATHENS. Where Martine contrariwife, having bene so honorably received and entertained by the Youses, he could not with honestie for sake them, considering other had done him that honour, as to choose him their generall, and trusted him so farte as they put all their whole armie and power into his handes: and not as thother, whome the LACEDE MO-NIANS rather abused, then yied him, suffering him to goe vp and downe their citie (and afterwardes in the middest of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the ende Alcibiades was compelled to put him selfe into the handes of Tisaphernes : vnlesse they will fay that he went thither of purpose to him, with intent to saue the citie of ATHENS from vt-D ter destruction, for the desire he had to returne home againe. Moreover, we read of Alcibades biades, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money : and when he had it, he & Coriolanua would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where Martins in contrarie maner would manner for not so much as accept giftes lawefully offered him by his Captaines, to honour him for his valliantnesse. And the cause why the people did beare him such ill will, for the controuersie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of dettes, grew: for that they knewe well enough it was not for any gayne or benefit he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and difpleasure he thought to doethem. Antipater in a letter of his, writing of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, doth not without cause commend the singular giftes that were in Al-

eibiades, and this inespecially: that he passed all other for winning mens good willes. Wheras E all Martius noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull even to those that received benefit by them, who could not abide his feueritie and felfe will: which caufeth desolation (as Plato sayeth) and men to be ill followed, or altogether for saken. Contrariwife, feeing Alcibiades had a trimme enterteinment, and a very good grace with him, and could facion him selse in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and him felfe much honoured and beloued of the people, confidering that some faultes he did, were oftetimes taken for matters of sporte, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurte to the common wealth, yet they did ofte. make him their generali, and trusted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where Martius

fuing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the fundrie good feruices he had done F to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus doe we see, that they to whome the one did hurte, had no power to hate him : and thother that honoured his vertue, had no liking to loue his persone. Martimalso did neuer any great exployte, beinge generall of his

Coriolanus

nence from

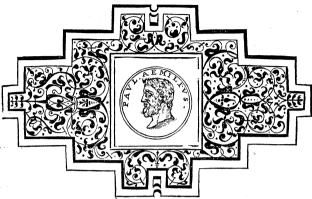
bribes,

Alcibiader contry men, but when he was generall of their enemies against his naturall contrie: whereas A Alcibiades, being both a private persone, and a generall, did notable service vnto the ATHO their contrie. NIANS. By reason whereof, Alcibiades wheresoeuer he was present, had the vpper hande ener of his accusers, even as he would him selfe, and their accusations tooke no place against him: onlesse it were in his abscence. Where Martius being present, was condemned by the Ro-MAINES: and in his person murdered, and slaine by the Volsces. But here I can not say they have done well, nor justly, albeit him felfe gave them some colour to doe it, when he openly denied the ROMAINE Ambassadors peace, which after he privatly graunted, at the request of women. So by this dede of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was between both people but leaving warre still between them, he made the Volsces (of whome he was generall) to lose the oportunity of noble victory. Where in deede he should (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawen his armie with their counfaill & confent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that accompt of them, as their good will towards him did in duery binde him. Or else, if he did not care for the Volsces in the enterprise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leave it of when his anger was blowen ouer : yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to pardone his contrie, but rather he should in pardoning his contrie, have spared his mother, bicause his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his contrie and city, which he did be fiege. For in that he vncurteously rejected all publike petitions, requestes of Ambassadors, in. treaties of the bishoppes & priestes, to gratifie only the request of his mother with his departure: that was no acte fo much to honour his mother with as to dishonour his contrie by the which was preserved for the pitie and intercession of a woman, & not for the love of it selfe as if it had not bene worthie of it. And so was this departure a grace, to say truly, very odious and cruell, and deserved no thankes of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the request of the ROMAINES, against whom he made warre: nor with their consentar whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill happe, the austeritie of his nature, and his hawtie obstinate minde, was the onely cause: the which of itselfe being hatefull to the worlde, when it is joyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churling fierce, and intollerable. For men that have that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, feeming thereby as though they made no estimacion or regard of the people; and yet on the ther fide, if the people should not geue them honour and reuerence, they would straight take h it in scorne, and litle care for the matter. For so did Metellus, Aristides, and Epaminondas, ally fed this manner: not to feeke the good will of the common people by flatterie and diffimulation: which was in deede, bicaufe they despifed that which the people coulde gener take awaye. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced. and fet at any fines, or that they banished them, or gauethem any other repulse: but they loued them as wel as they did before, so soone as they shewed any token of repentaunce, & that they were forie for the wrong they had done them, and were easely made frendes againe with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the people, and to have their favour, should much more scorne to seeke to be revenged, when he is repulfed. For to take a repulfe and deniall of honour, so inwardly to the hartscom. meth of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore Alcibiades did not diffemble at all, that he was not very glad to fee him felfe honored, and fory to be rejected and denied any honour: but also he sought all the meanes he could to make him selfe beloued of those amongest whome he lived. Whereas Martin stowenes, and havry stomake, did stay him from making much of those, that might aduaunce and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnawe him felfe for spite and anger, when he sawe he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reproued in him; for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperaturce, and cleane handes from taking of bribes and monosable abstiney he may be compared with the most perfect vertuous, and honest men of all GRECE; but not with Alcibiades, who was in that vindoutedly alwayes too licentious & lofely genen, and \$ had too small regard of his credit and honestie.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

THE LIFE OF

Paulus Æmilius.



HEN I first beganne to write these lives, my intent was to profit other: but fince, continuing and going on, I have muche profited my felf by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame and facion my life, to the mowld and patterne of these vertuous noblemen. For ronning ouer their manners in this forte, and feeking also to describe their lives: me thinkes I am still conversaunt and familliar with them, and doe as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruse their histories, and to wave the vertues and qualities they have had, and what fingularitie eche of them

possessed and to choose and culle out the chiefest things of note in them, and their best spea-B ches and doings most worthie of memorie: Then I crie out,

O godds, can there be more passing pleasure in the vvorlde?

Oristhere any thing of more force, to teach man civill maners, & a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? Democritus the philosopher writeth, that we should praye we might euer see happy images and fightes in the ayer, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, maye rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: presupposing a false opinion and doctrine in philosophie, which allureth men to infinite superstitions. That there are good and bad images flying in the ayer, which geue a good or ill impression vnto men', and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient histories, and gathering these lives together which now I seaue before you, and by keeping allwayes in minde the actes of the most noble, vertuous, and best genen men of former age, and worthie memorie: I doe teache and prepare my felfe to shake of & banishe from me, all lewde and dishonest condition, if by chaunce the companie and conversation of them whose companie I keepe, and must of necessitie haunte, doe acquainte me with some vnhappie or vngratious touche. This is easie vnto me, that doe dispose my quiet minde, & not troubled with any passion, vnto the deepe consideration of so many noble examples. As I doe present vnto you now in this volume, the liues of Timoleon the CORINTHIAN, and of Paulus AEmilius the ROMAINE, who had not only a good & an vpright minde with them, but were also fortunate and happie, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have red ouer their lines, whether wisedome, or good fortune brought them to atchieue to suche honoravse to pleade private mens causes in lawe, neither would creepe into mens favour by fawning

vpon any of them: though he fawe it a common practife, & policie of men, to feeke the peo.

in all holie matters: that where that priesthood was before esteemed but a title of honout.

defired for the name only:he brought it to paffe, that it was the most honorable science, & best

ble actes and exploytes as they dyd, Many (& the most parte of historiographers) doe write, that the house and familie of the Amilians in Rome, was allwayes of the most auncient of the nobilitie, which they call Patricians. Some writers affirme also, that the first of the housether gaue name to all the posteritie after, was Marcus, the sonne of Pythagoras the wife, whom The hange of king Numa for the sweetnes and pleasaunt grace of his tongue, surnamed Marcus Emiliae and those specially affirme it, that saye king Numa was Pythagor as scholler. Howsoeuer it was lians came of the most parte of this familie that obteined honour and estimation for their vertue, were eur fortunate also in all their doings, sauing Lucius Paulus only, who dyed in the battell of CAS. Lucius Tan NES. But his misfortune doth beare manifest testimonie of his wisedome and valliancy toge. ther. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he sawe he could not bridle the rah. Lins Confiel, nes of his fellowe Conful that would nedes joyne battell, and to doe as he dyd, fauing that he h Paine at the

fled not as the other, who being first procurer of the battell, was the first that ranne awaye where he to the contrarie, to his power dyd what he could to let him, and dyd flicke by it. & MEmylia, the fought it valliantly vnto the last gaspe. This Amylius left a daughter behind him called Am. lia, which was maried vnto Stipio the great: and a sonne, Paulus Æmylius, being the same man whose life we presently treate of. His youth fortunately fell out in a florishing time of glorie militing ma-ried to Science and honour, through the fundrie vertues of many great and noble persones living in those dayes, emong whom he made his name famous also: and it was not by that ordinarie arte and course, which the best esteemed young men of that age dyd take and followe. For he dydnot

battell of

Cannes.

ples fauour and good willes by fuche meanes. Moreouer, he refused not that common course which other tooke, for that it was contrarie to his nature, or that he could not frame with e-The vertues of Paulus ther of both, if he had bene so disposed: but he rather sought to winne reputation by his ho-AEmylius. nestie, his valliantnes, and vpright dealing, as choosing that the better wave, then either of thother two, in so much as in maruelous shorte time he passed all those that were of his age,

The first office of honour he sued for, was the office of Adilis, in which sute he was presented melius made before twelue other that fued for the felfe fame office: who were men of no small qualitie for AEdilis and they all came afterwardes to be Confuls. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the priestes, whom the ROMAINES call Jugures: who have the charge of all the diving

tions and foothefayings, in telling of things to come by flying of byrdes, & fignes in the aver. I He was so carefull, and tooke suche paynes to understand how the Romaines dyd vse the fame, & with fuche diligence fought the observation of the auncient religion of ROMAINE

The philoso, reputed of in Rome. Wherein he confirmed the philosophers opinion: that religion is the pher opinion knowledge how to ferue God . For when he dyd any thing belonging to his office of priefthood, he dyd it with great experience, judgment, and diligence, leauing all other thoughtes &

without omitting any auncient ceremonie, or adding to any newe, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which feemed light, and of small moment: declaring vine

gente in the constraint, them, that though we doe prefume the goddes are easie to be pacified, and that they readilie [ent in rifles. pardone all faultes & scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of common wealths sake, they should not slightly, nor carelesly dissemble or passe ouer faults committed in those matters. For no man (sayeth he) at the first that committeth any faulte, doth alone trouble the state of the common wealth: but withall, we must thincke he leaveth the groundes of civill government, that is not as carefull to keepe the inflitutions of small matters, as also of the great. So was he also a seuere captaine, and strict observer of all marshall The discipline, not seeking to winne the souldiers loue by flatterie, when he was generall in the field, as many dyd in that time: neither corrupting them for a fecond charge, by shewing him felfe gentle and curteous in the first, vnto those that served vnder him but him selfe dyd orderly shewe them the very rules and preceptes of the discipline of warres, euen as a priest that F should expresse the names and ceremonies of some holy facrifice, wherein were daunger to omitany parte or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the lawe of armes apon rebelA lious and disobedient fouldiers, he kept vp thereby the state of the common weale the better: judging, to ouercome the enemie by force, was but an accessorie as a man mave rerme it, in respect of well training and ordering his cittizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres against king Antiochus surnamed the great, in the South partes: all the chiefest captaines of Rome being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West partes towardes SPAYNB, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they fent AEmylius Prætor, not with fixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the mylin sem authoritie and dignitie of a Conful. He twife ouercame the barbarous people in mayne Presor into

hattell, and flue a thirtie thousand of them, and got this victorie through his great skill Spane. B and wisedome, in choosing the advantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, AEmylline euen as they passed ouer a river : which easely gave his fouldiers the victorie . Moreo- skilfad to even as they parted out a fitter; which eatery gate his foliated the victorie. Moreos choose place use he tooke there, two hundred and fiftie citties, all which dyd open, and gladly re- and time to

ceyue him in. So, leauing all that countrie quiet and in good peace, and having re- fight. ceaued their fealtie by othe made betweene his handes, he returned againe to ROME, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle regard to his expences, he spent so franckly, neither was his purse his master, though his reuenue was not great to beare it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was litle enough to satisfie his wifes ioynter. His first wife was Pappria, the daughter of a noble Conful Papyrius Maffo, and after they had lived a long time together, he was a divorted from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her . For by her he had that famous Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus. The inst cause of the dinorse betweene Scibio the sethem, appeareth not to vs in writing : but me thinckes the tale that is tolde concerning conde, or Fa-

the separation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certen Romaine hauing for sken his bine maximum, weether wife, her friendes fell out with him, and asked him: what fault dost thou finde in her? formes of P. is the not honest of her bodie? is the not fayer? doth the not bring thee goodly children? AEmylius, by But he putting forth his foote, thewed them his shooe, and aunswered them. Is not this find wife. a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not newe? yet I dare saye there is neuer a A greet sale one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to faye truely, great and open faultes are that for fooke commonly occasions to make husbands put awaye their wives: but yet oftentimes house- his wife. D hold wordes ronne fo betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diversitie of natures, which straungers are not privile vnto) that in processe of time they doe beget suche a straunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one house can no lenger holde them. So AEmylius, having put awaye Papyria his first wife, he maried another that

brought him two fonnes, which he brought vp with him felfe in his house, and gaue his

two first sonnes (to wit, Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption, to two of the

noblest and richest families of the cittie of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto Fabius

house, with their wives, and many litle children. Amongest their wives, one of them was the

daughter of Paulus AEmylius, after he had bene twife Conful, and had triumphed twife,

Maximus, he that was fine times Conful: and the younger vnto the house of the Cornelians, whom the sonne of the great Scipio the AFRICAN dyd adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him Scipio. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of Cato maried F. the one, and AElius Tubero the other, who was a maruelous honest man, and dyd more Theremees nobly mainteine him felfe in his pouertie, then any other ROMAINE: for they were AEBIM THfixteene persones all of one name, and of the house of the AElians, very neere a urrise and kynne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the cittie, and a small farme quies life. in the countrie, wherewith they enterteined them selues, and liued all together in one

not being ashamed of her husbands pouertie, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethern and kynfemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre

a fonder, and in other countries, not one neere another, and that rivers parte them not, or Inname aline F walles deuide their landes, leaving great large wastes between them: they are neuer quiet, red information. but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this storie laye before the wife, and well aduifed readers, to learne thereby howe to frame their life, and wifely

to behave them selves. Now Amylius being chosen Consul, went to make warre with the Li. A GVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, & which otherwise are called LIGVSTINES. These are very valliat & warlike men, & were very good fouldiers at that time, by reason of their coting warres against the ROMAINE s, whose neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the fur. dest parte of ITALIE, that bordereth upon the great ALPES, & the rowe of ALPES, whereof the foote joyneth to the THVSCAN fea, & pointeth towards AFRICKE, and are mingled with the GAVLES, & SPANYARD S, neighbours vnto that sea coast: who scowring all the Mediterra. mian fea at that time, vnto the straight of Hercules pillers, dyd with their litle light pinnales of pirats, let all the trafficke & entercourse of marchaundise. Amylius being gone to seeke them in their countrie, they taried his comming with an armie of forty thousand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were five to one of his, yet he gave B the onfer apon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their citties. Then he fent to offer them peace, for the ROMAINES would not altogether destroye the LIGVRIANS, bicause their countrie was as a rampeyr or bullwarke against the inuasion of the GAVLES, who lave lurking for oportunitie and occasion to inuade ITALIE: whereupon these LIGVRIANS Vel. ded them selves vnto him, and put all their fortes and shippes into his handes. AEmylius de-

livered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurte done vnto them, fauing that herafed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their shippes from them, leaving them litle botes of three owers only, and no greater, & fet all the prisoners at libertie they had taken, both by fea and by lande aswell ROMAINES as other, which were a maruelous number. These were all the notable acts he dyd worthie memorie, in the first yere of his Consulshippe, C Afterwards, he oftentimes shewed him felf very desirous to be Consul againe, & dyd put forth him felfe to fue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made fute for it againe, but gaue him felfe only to studie divine things, and to fee his children vertuously brought vp, not only in the ROMAINE tongue which him selfe was taught, but also a litle more curiously in the GREKE tongue. For he dyd not only retaine Grammarians, Rethoricians, and Logitians, but also painters, grauers of images, riders of horses, and huntes of GRECE about his children and he him felfe also (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was ever with themin the schoole when they were at their bookes, and also when they otherwise dvd exercise them felues. For he loued his children as much, or more, then any other Romaine. Now concerning the state of the commo wealth, the ROMAINES were at warres with king Perseus, & they D much blamed the captaines they had sent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and corage, they had fo cowardly behaued them felues, as their enemies laughed them to fcorne: and they receyued more hurte of them, then they dyd vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen king Antiochus beyound mount Taurus, and had made him forfake the rest of As I A, and had thut him up within the borders of S Y R I A: who was glad that he had bought that contrie with fifteene thousand talets, which he payed for a fine. A little before also, they had ouercome Philip, king of MACEDON, in THESSALY, and had delinered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS, And moreover, having overcome Hannibal (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the worlde was comparable, either for his power or valliantnes) they thought this to great a dishonour to them, that this warre they had against E king Perfew, should hold so long of even hande with them, as if he had bene an enemie equal with the people of Rome: confidering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered people of the ouerthrowen armie his father had lost before, and knew not that Philip had left his armie stronger, and more experte by reason of his ouerthrowe, then it was before. As I will briefly reherfe the storie from the beginning. Antigonus, who was of the greatest power of all the captaines & successours of Alexander the great, having obteined for him felf & his posteritie the title of a King, had a sonne called Demetrius, of who came Antigonus the fecond, that was furnamed Gonatas, whose sonne was also called Demetrius, that raigned no long time, but dyed, and left a young sonne called Philippe. By reason whereof, the Princes and Nobilitie of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme should be left without heire F they preferred one Antigonus, cofin to the last deceased King, and made him marie the mother of Philip the leffe, geuing him the name at the first of the Kings protectour only, and

king of Ma-

The corred-

lines of the

A lieutenaunt generall of his maiestie. But after, when they had founde he was a good and wife prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the absolute name of a King. and furnamed him Doson, to saye, the giver: for he promised muche, and gave litle. After him Antigonius reigned Philip, who in his grene youth gaue more hope of him felfe, then any other of the Dofen,king of Kingsbefore: in fo much they thought that one daye he would reftore MACEDON her auncient fame and glorie, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the Ro-MAINES, who role against all the world. But after that he had lost a great battell, and was ouer-MAINES, WILD Tota against after working that the find the find a great batterigated was other throwen by Titus Quintus Flaminius neere vinto the cittle of Scotys at then he beganne to of Macedon quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercie of the Romaines, thinking he escaped good manufactures.

of his Realme farre from great beaten wayes, he leavied a great number of men of warre & re-

plenished his townes & strong holdes that laye scatteringly abroad, with armour & weapon,

money, & men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as fecretly as he could. For he had proui-

fafely lokt vp in his fortes & stroger places, & ready money, as much as would serue to enter-

raine tenne thousand straungers in paye, to defend his countrie for the space of tenne yeres.

of the worst, that was Perseus: who as he dyd inherite the Kingdom of his father by succession,

so dvd he also inherite his fathers malice against the Romaines. But he had no shoulders to

beare so heavy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature:

behers. And some thinke that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put Demetrius

to death, fearing least this lawful sonne would seeke occasio to proue him a bastard. Notwith-

hundred prisoners. And their armie by sea, riding at ancker before the cittie of OREVM, he

foncke the rest, which were all loden with corne: & tooke of all sortes besides, about soure &

he offred him battel, but the other durst not abide it. Furthermore, as though the warre trou-

bled him nothing at all,& that he had cared litle for the ROMAINES: he wet and fought a bat-

tell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he slue tene thousand of those barbarous

people, & brought a maruelous great spoyle awaye with him. Moreouer he procured the na-

E dyd fodainly fet apon, and tooke twenty great shippes of burden, and all that was in them, and

cheape, for any light ransome or tribute the ROMAINES should impose apon him. Yet after- in basell, by R wards comming to vnderstad him selfe, he grewe to distaine it much, thinking that to reigne through the fauour of the Romaines, was but to make him felfe a flaue, to feeke to live in at the cittle pleasure at his ease, & not for a valliat & noble prince borne. Whereupon he set all his minde, of Scomfa.

to studie the discipline of warres, and made his preparations as wisely and closely, as possi- Philips second blie he could. For he left all his townes alongest the sea coast, & stading upon any high wayes, preparation without any fortification at all, & in manner defolate without people, to the endethere might Macedon. appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: & in the meane time, in the highe countries

money, & men, prouding for warte, which he kept as feeterly as he could, For he had proud-

But before he could bring that to passe he had purposed, he dyed for grief & sorowe, after he The death of knewe he had vniustly put Demetrius the best of his sonnes to death, apon the falle accusation king Philip.

for among many lewde & naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miserable. Perseu ex-They fave also, that he was not legitimate, bicause Philippes wife had taken him from Gnathai- meme cone-

D nia(a tailours wife borne at A R Gos) immediatly after he was borne, & dyd adopt the child to

ftanding fimple though he was, & of vile & base nature, he found the strength of his Kingdom King Perseute fogreat, that he was contented to take upon him to make warre against the Romaines, which maketh warre hemainteined a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their generalles, and with the Rorepulled great armies of theirs both by sea and lande, and ouercame some. As Publius Livinius Publius Liamong other, the first that inuaded MAGEDON, was ouerthrowen by him in a battell of horse-cinius conful, men, where he flewe at that time two thousand fine hundred good men of his, and tooke fixe by Prifem.

fiftie foystes, and galliots of fiftie owers a pece. The second Consul & generall he fought with Hoffillimes. all, was Hostilius, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to inuade MACEDON, by waye of the surroulsed cittie of ELVMIA. Another time again, whe he entred in by stelth vpo the coast of THESSALY, cedon,

tion of the GAVLES dwelling vpo the river of Danubie, which they call Bastarna (me very war- Bastarna, the

F like, & excellet good horseme) & did practise with the ILLYKIAN'S also by meane of their king Gantes dwel-

Getius, to make the joyne with him in these warres: so that there ranne a rumour all about, that ling open the for money he had gotten these GAVLES to come downe into ITALIE, from the highe contrie mobile.

AEmylius chofen Conful the fecond sime,takesh charge of the wares of Macedon.

Tertia, a litle

mylius oraciö of shanckes to

> See what fruite foulobedience &

of GAVLE, all alongest the Adriatick sea. The ROMAINES being advertised of these newes, A thought the time served not now to dispose their offices in warres any more by grace & fauour vnto those that sued for them: but contrariwise, that they should call some noble man that were very skilfull, and a wife captaine, and could differely gouerne and performe things of great charge. As Paulus AEmylius, a man well stepped on in yeres, being three score yere olde: and yet of good power by reason of the lufty young men his sonnes, & sonnes in lawe. besides a great number of his friends and kinsefolke. So all that bare great authoritie, dyd altogether with one consent counfaill him to obey the people, which called him to the Confull hippe. At the beginning, in deede he delayed the people muche that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: faying, he was no meete man neither to defire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the ende, feeing the people dyd vrge it apon him, by knoc. R king continually at his gates, and calling him alowde in the streetes, willing him to come into the market place, and perceyuing they were angrie with him, bicause he refused it: he was content to be perfuaded. And when he stoode among them that sued for the Consulshippe the people thought straight that he stoode not there so muche for desire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of affured victorie, and happie successe of this begonne warre: so great was their loue towardes him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Conful agains the second time. Wherefore so some as he was chosen, they would not proceede to drawing of lottes according to their custome, which of the two Confuls should happen to goe into MACEDON: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all. they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Conful now, and C appointed to make warre apon king Perfeus, all the people dyd honorably companie him home vnto his house: where a little girle (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant. came weeping vnto her father. He making muche of her : asked her why the wept. The poore girle aunswered, colling him about the necke, and kiffing him: Alas, father, wote you proninced by what? our Perseus is dead. She ment it by a little whelpe so called, which was her playe sellowe. In good hower, my girle, fayed he, I like the figne well. Thus doth Cicero the orator reporte it in his booke of divinations. The ROMAINES had a custome at that time, that suche as were elected Confuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an oration of thanckes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heave AEmylius speake, he made this D oration vnto them. That the first time he sued to be Consul, was in respect of him selfe, stanthe Romaines ding at that time in neede of fuche honour: now he offred him felfe the fecond time vnto it. when he was for the good love he bare vnto them, who stoode in nede of a generall, wherefore he thought him felfe nothing bounde nor beholding vnto them now. And if they dyd thincke also this warre might be better followed by any other, then by him felfe, he would prefently with all his harte refigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to discharge it: then that they would not speake nor medle in any matter that concerned his duetie, and the office of a generall, fauing only, that they would be diligent (without any wordes) to doe whatfoeuer he commaunded, and should be necessarie for the warre and service they tooke in hande. For if every man would be a F. commaunder, as they had bene heretofore, of those by whom they should be commaunded: then the world would more laughe them to fcome in this feruice, then euer before had bene accustomed. These wordes made the Romain as very obedient to him, and conceyued good hope to come, being all of the very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that fued for the charge, & had geue it vnto a man, that durft boldly & franckly tell them the troth. Marke how the ROMAINES by yelding vnto reason & vertue, came to comand all other, & to make them selves the mightiest people of the world. Now that Paulus Æmylius setting forward to this warre, had winde at will, and fayer paffage to bring him at his iorneis ende: I impute it to good fortune, that fo quickly and fafely conveyed him to his campe. But for the rest of his exployees he dyd in all this warre, when parte of them were performed by his F owne hardines, other by his wifedome and good counfell, other by the diligence of his friendes in feruing him with good will, other by his owne resolute constancy and corage in

extremest daunger, and last, by his maruelous skill in determining at an instant what was to bedone: I cannot attribute any notable acte or worthy service vnto this his good fortune, they talke of fo much, as they maye doe in other captaines doings. Onles they will faye peraduenture, that Perseus couetousnes and miserie was Amilius good fortune : for his miserable Perseuscofeare of spending money, was the only cause and destruction of the whole realme of M A. Metoussies and teare or ipending money, was the only cause and destitution of the whole realise of the was in good state and hope of continuing in prosperitie. For there came the definedowne into the countrie of MACEDON at king Perfeus request, tenne thousand Bastarnæ a Hien of him horse backe, and as many footemen to them, who allwayes joyned with them in battell, all felfe, and his mercenary fouldiers, depending upon paye and enterteinment of warres, as men that could Maced m. not plowe nor fowe, nor trafficke marchandise by sea, nor skill of grafing to gaine their living Bastane. a B with: & to be shorte, that had no other occupation or marchadise, but to serue in the warres, people, and to ouercome those with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incampe & lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACEDONIANS, who fawe them to goodly great men, and so well trained & exercised in handling all kinde of weapons, so braue and lustic in wordes and threates against their enemies: they beganne to plucke vp their hartes, & to looke bigge, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and only to fee their marche, it was fo terrible and fearefull. But Perfeus, after he had incoraged his men in this forte, and had put them in suche a hope and iollitie, when this barbarous supply came to aske him a thousand crownes in hande for enery captaine, he was fo damped & troubled withall in his minde, casting vp the summe it came to, that his only coe uetousnes and miserie made him returne them backe, and resuse their service: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to spare his treasure, and to be a husband for Nove, what them, as if he should have geven up a straight accompt vnto them of his charges in this became of warre, against whom he made it. And not with standing also his enemies dyd teache him what bandry. he had to doe, confidering that befides all other their warlike furniture & munition, they had no leffe then a hundred thousand fighting menlying in campe together, ready to execute the Consuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to resist so pussant an armie, and to mainteine the warres, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in enterteining fuch multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and filuer, but kept thousand me. it safe locked up in his treasurie, as if he had bene affrayed to touche it, and had bene none of D his. And he dydnot shewe that he came of the noble race of these kings of LYDIA, and of Phoenicia, who gloried to be riche: but shewed howe by inheritaunce of bloude he chalenged some parte of the vertue of Philip, and of Alexander, who both bicause they esteemed to buye victorie with money, not money with victorie, dyd many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common faying in olde time, that it was not Philip.but his gold and filuer that wanne the citties of GR RCB. And Alexander when he went to conquer the Indes, seeing the Macedonians carie with them all the wealth of Persia, which made his campe very heavie, and flowe to marche: he him selfe first of all set fire of his owne cariage that conveyed all his necessaries, and persuaded other to doe the like, that they might marche more lightly, and easelier goe on the iorney. But Perseus contrarilie would not spend F any parte of his goodes, to faue him felfe, his children and Realme, but rather yelded to be led prisoner in triumphe with a great ransome, to shewe the Romaines howe good a husband he had bene for them. For he dyd not only fend away the GAVLES without geuing them paye as he had promised, but moreouer having persuaded Gentius king of Luly king to take his Gentius king parte in these warres, for the summe of three hudred talents which he had promised to furnish and dealers. him with : he caused the money to be told, and put vp in bagges by those whom Gentius lent fem. toreceive it. Whereupon Gentius thinking him felfe fure of the money promifed, committed a fond and fowle parte: for he stayed the ambassadours the Romaines sent vaco him, and committed them to prisone. This parte being come to Perseus eares, he thought now he need ded not hier him with money to be an enemie to the Rom kings conidering he had waded to F fatre, as that he had already done, was as a manifest signe of his ill will towards them, and that it was to late to looke backe and repenthim, now that his fowle parte had plonged him into certen warres, for an vincerten hope. So dyd he abuse the vinsortunate Kings, and defrauded king Genime.

Tre d Amore

Kinz Gentiue Lucius Aniciul Preser.

Perfent Lage the mount 0-4000 borfefootemen.

AEmylisu so his fouldiers.

haue the watch to have no speares nor

compared to womes brests

him of the three hundred talents he had promifed him. And worfe then this, thortely after A he suffered Lucius Anicius the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they fent against him with an armie to plucke king Gentius, his wife, and children, out of his Realme and Kingdome, and to carie them prisoners with him. Now when Amylius was arrived in MACEDON, to make warrea. gainst such an enemie: he made no manner of reckoning of his persone, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thousand horsemen, and no leffe at the foot of then forty thousand footemen, with the which armie he had planted him selfe alongest the fea side, by the foote of the mount Olympus, in a place vnpossible to be approched: and there he had so well fortified all the straites and passages vnto him with fortifications of woode, that mis 40000 he thought him selfe to lye safe out of all daunger, and imagined to dalie with Amylius, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. AEmylius in the meane featon laye not idle, B but occupied his wittes throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put fome thing in proofe. And perceyuing that his fouldiers by ouermuche licentious libertie (wherein by fufferaunce they lived before) were angrie with delaying and lying still, and that they dyd bufilie occupie them selues in the generalles office, saying this, and suche a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundely, and commaunded them they should medle no more to curiously in matters that perteined not to them, and that they should take care for nothing els, but to fee their armour & weapon ready to ferue valliantly, & to vse their fwordes after the ROMAINES facion, when their generall should appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to them felues, he commaunded those that watched should have no speares nor pykes, bicause they should be more wakefull, C having no long weapon to refift the enemie, if they were affaulted. The greatest trouble his army had, was lacke of freshe water, bicause the water that ranne to the sea was very litle, and maruelous fowle by the sea side. But AEmylius considering they were at the soote of the mount Olympus (which is of a maruelous height, and full of wodde withall) coniectured, feeing the trees to frethe and grene, that there should be some little pretie springes among The original them, which ranne vnder the grounde. So he made them digge many holes and welles alongest the mountaine, which were straight filled with fayer water, being pent within ground before for lacke of breaking open the heades, which then ranne downe in streames, and met together in fundrie places. And yet some doe denie, that there is any meeting of waters within the grounde, from whence the springes doe come. For they saye, that ronning out of the D earth as they doe, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openethin any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and rifeth at the fame time and place where it ronneth out, turning the fubstaunce into water, which is a moist vapour, thickneth and waxeth cold by the coldnes of the earth, and so becommeth a streame, and ronneth downe. Euen so, saye they, as womens brestes are not allwayes full of milke, as milke pannes are that continually keepe milke, but doe of them felues convert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are springes and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which have no meeting of hidden waters, nor hollowe places capable, readily to deliuer water from them, as one would drawe it out of a pompe, or festerne, from so many great brookes, and deepe E rivers. But by their natural coldnes and moisture, they waxe thicke, and put forth the vapour & aver fo ftrong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reason why the places where they digge and open the earth, doe put forth more abundaunce of water by opening the grounde: like as womens breftes doe geue more milke, when they are most drawen and flickt, bicause in a sorte they doe better seede the vapour within them, and convert it thereby into a ronning humour. Where, to the contrarie, those partes of the earth that are not digged, nor have no vent outward, are the more vnable, and leffe mete to ingender water, having not that prouocation and course to ronne, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet fuch as mainteine this opinion, doe geue them occasion that love argument, to contrarie them thus. Then we may fave by like reason also, that in the bodies of beastes there is no bloud F long before, and that it ingendreth upon a fodaine, when they are hurte, by transferring of fome spirite or fleshe that readilie chaungeth into some ronning licoure. And moreover, they

A are confuted by the comon experience of these mine men, that digge in the mines for mettell or that vndermine castells to winne them: who when they digge any great depth, doe many rimes meete in the bowells of the earth with ronning rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of necessitie it should be, if it were true, that you the present opening of the ground, the humour should immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rocke, sodainely there ronneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our historie againe. Amylius laye there a convenient time, & stirred not: and it is faved there were neuer seene two so great armies one so neere to the other, and to be so quier. In the ende, cafling many things with him felfe, and deuising fundrie practiles, he was enformed of another wave to enter into MACEDON, through the countrie of PERREBIA, ouer against the temple called Pythion, & the rocke vpon which it is built, where there laye no garrison: which gaue him better hope to passe that waye, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes & hardnes of the waye vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his confaill. Thereupon Scipio called Nafical the fonne adopted of that great Scipio the African, who became afterwards a great ma, scipio Nafica, & was prefidet of the Senate or counsell) was the first man that offred him self to leade them, and Fabina whom it would pleafe him to fend to take that passage, & to assault their enemies behind. The offer them fecond was Fabius Maximus, the eldest sonne of AEmylius, who being but a very young man, feluer to take role notwithstanding, & offred him self very willingly. Emplies was very glad of their offers, & the straighte. gaue them not so many men as Polybius writeth, but so many as Nasica him self declareth, in a Cletter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the storie of this iorney . There were 3000. ITALIANS leavied in ITALIE, by the cofederats of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINE legions, & in the left winge about 5000. Besides those, Nasica tooke also 120. men at armes, & about 200. CRETANS & THRACIANS mingled together, of those Harpalus had fent thither. With this number Nasica departed from the campe, & tooke his waye toward the sea fide, & lodged by the teple of Hercules, as if he had determined to doe this feate by lea, to enuironne the cape of the enemies behind. But when the fouldiers had supped, & that it was darke night, he made the captaines of euery bande privie to his enterprise, & so marched all night a contrary wave from the fea, vntill at the length they came under the teple of Pythion, where he lodged to rest the souldiers that were fore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount Olympus D is aboue tenne furlonge highe, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that measured it.

Olympus mounte is just, by measure made with line, tuvelue hundred seuentie paces trodde, as measure can assigne. The measure being made, right ore against the place, whereas Apolloes temple stands, ybuilt with stately grace. Even from the leavell plott, of that same countries plaine. unto the toppe which all on highe, doth on the hill remaine; And so Xenagoras the sonne of Eumelus, in olden dayes by measure made, the same dyd finde for vsi And dyd engrave it here in voriting for to fee, when as he tooke his latest leave (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the Geometricians saye, that there is no mountaine higher, nor sea deeper, then the length of tenne furlonges: fo that I thinke this Xenagoras (in my opinion) dyd not take his meafure at auenture, and by geffe, but by true rules of the arte, and instrumentes Geoinetrically There Nasica rested all night. King Perseus perceyning in the meane time that Amylius stirred not from the place where he lave, mistrusted nothing his practife, and the comming of Nasics who was at hande vntill such time as a traitour of CRETA (flealing from Nasta) dydreneate vnto him the pretended practife, as also the ROMNINES compating of him about ille work diedmuche at these newes; how beithe removed nothis campe from the place he lave in hur dispatchedone of his captaines called Milon, with tenne thousand straungers; and myo thous F fand MACEDONYANE and ftraightly commanded him with all the possible speeds he could to get the toppe of the hill before them Polybius fayeth, that the Roman scame and gaus them an alaromy when they were ildeping But Nasion writeth; that there was a maruelous

sharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine; and faved plainely, that a THEA. CLAN fouldier comming towards him, he threwe his darte at him, and hitting him right in the breft flue him ftarke dead; and having repulfed their enemies. Milon their captaine shame. Natica ranne fully ronning awaye in his coate without armour or weapon, he followed him without any daninger, and so went downe to the valley, with the fafety of all his companie. This confide fortuning thus, Present raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disapointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wittes ende, and not knowing howe to determine. Yet was he conftrained either to ftaye, and incampe before the circient PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or els to deuide his armie into his citties & strong holdes, and to receyue the warres within his owne countrie, the which being once crepting could neuer be driven out againe, without great murder & bloudeshed. Hereupon his friends a dyd counfell him, to choose rather the fortune of battell; alledging vnto him, that he was the

stronger in men a great wave. & that the Macedonians would fight lustely with all theco.

rage they could, confidering that they fought for the fafety of their wives and children. & also

in the presence of their King, who should both see every mans doing, and fight him selsein

persone also for them. The King moued by these persuasions, determined to venter the chauce

lightly armed to retire them selues vnto being distressed & also to enuirone their enemies be-

though they were not very deepe, being about the later ende of the former, yet they would

annoye the ROMAINES notwithstanding. Now when Emylius was joyned with Nasca he

marched on straight in battell raye towards his enemies. But perceyuing a farre of their battell

marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondred

vnto him to praye him to gene the onfet: but Nafica specially about the rest, having good

hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. Amplian finiling, aunswered him n

of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and deniested his cape ded the companies amongest his captaines, purposing to genea whotte charge vpon the enemies when they thould drawe nere. The place and countriewas fuche, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to raunge a battell of footemen in, and litle prety hilles also one depending vpon another, which were very comodious for archers, naked men, and fuch as were of

The rines of hind. There were two small rivers also, Asian and Lewew that rane through the same, the which

to behold it, and fodainly stayed his armie, considering with him selfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaines having charge under him, desirous to fight it out presently, went fo would I doe, if I were as young as thou, But the fundry victories I have wonne heretofore, AEmyline having taught me by experience the faultes the vanquished doe commit: doe forbid me to Scipio Nafera

goe to whottely to worke (before my fouldiers have reflect, which dyd returne but now) to affor gening charge apon fault an armie fer in fuche order of battell. When he had aunswered him thus, he commaunded the first bands that were now in viewe of the enemies, should imbattell them selves, shewforefight of a ing a countenaunce to the enemie as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward wife captaine. Thould lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindemost, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyle, and the enemies never perceyuing it. But when night came, and every man I

The eclipse of

the moone is eclipfed.

was beganne to make a novie with basons and pannes, as their factor is to doe in suchea the first channes, thinking by this found to call her agains, and to make her come to her light, lifting mainer when Tu many torches lighted, and firebrands into the avera The Make Don Lass on thother lide elve no fliche matter within their campe, but were all to seaher flicker with an horrible feare and there raine firaight a whifpering rumour dwoogh the people, that this figne in the elementilguified the eclipse of the King For Amplian was not agnoraum of the diverticies of the eclipfes; and he had heard fave the cause is, by neason that the moone making her ordinant i counse about the world (after certen revolutions of timer) that it come to enter into the round thadowe of the earth, within the which the remaineth-hidden: vntill sticke time as hailing

had supped as they were going to sleepe and take their rest the moone which was at the full,

and of a great height, begame to darken, & to chainge into many fortes of cullers, losing het

light would fushe time as the vanished awaye, and was eclipfed altogether. Then the Rough

A nast the darke region of the shadow, she cometh afterwards to recouer her light which she taketh of the sunne. Neuertheles, he being a godly deuout man, so sone as he perceyued the moone had recouered her former brightnes againe, he facrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making facrifice to Hercules, he could neuer haue any fignes or tokens that promifed him good lucke, in facrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one & twenteth, he had figues that promifed him victorie, so he defended him self. Wherfore, after he had vowed a solemne sacrifice of a hundred oxen to Hercules, and also games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight: & to fought to winne time, tarying till the funne came about in the after noone towardes the

West to the ende that the ROMAINES which were turned towardes the East, should not have Bit in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed him selfe in his tent. which was all open behind towardes the fide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies laye. When it grewe towards night, to make the enemies fet apon his men: fome save he ysed this policie. He made a horse be driven towards them without a bridell, & certen ROMAINES followed him, as they would hauetaken him againe: and this was the cause of Atmylium poprocuring the skirmishe. Other saye, that the THRACIANS seruing vnder the charge of capraine Mexander, dyd set apon certen forragers of the Romaines, that brought forage into mibe. the campe: out of the which, seuen hundred of the LIGVRIANS ranne sodainly to the refcue, and relief comming still from both armies, at the last the mayne battell followed after. Wherefore Æmilius like a wife generall foreseeing by the daunger of this skirmishe, and the

C flirring of both campes, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and paffing by the bandes, dyd encorage them, and prayed them to sticke to it like men. In the meane time, Nasica thrusting him selfe into the place where the skirmishe was whottest.perceyued the army of the enemies marching in battell, ready to joyne. The first that marched in the voward, were the THRACIANS, who seemed terrible to looke apon, as he writeth him self: for they were mightie made men, and caried maruelous bright targets of steele before them, The army of their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with tases, their coates were blacke. the Macedo-&marched shaking heavy halberds vpon their shoulders. Next vnto these THRACIANS, there mians, marfollowed them all the other straungers and fouldiers whom the King had hiered, diverfely armed and set forth : for they were people of fundrie nations gathered together, emong whom in banel. D the PEONIANS were mingled. The third squadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them

chosen men, aswell for the flower of their youthe, as for the valliantnes of their persones: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and braue purple cassocks apon them, spicke, and spanne newe. And at their backes came after them, the olde bandes to shewe them selues out of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the brightnes of their steele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts dyd ringe againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyle of fo many fighting men, one incoraging another. In this order they marched fo fiercely, with fo great harte burning, & fuch fwiftnes: that the first which The banell were flaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlonges from the campe of the Romaines. The between Percharge being geuen, and the battell begonne, AEmylius galloping to the voward of his bat-E tell, perceyued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the first ranckes,

had already thrust their pikes into the ROMAINES targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swordes; and that the other MACEDONIANS carving their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and dyd base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the ROMAINES. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his walle and rancke of targets was, one joyning so neere another. and what a terrour it was to see a fronte of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any fight he euer fawe before. Neuertheles he could wifely diffemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet voon his head, he shewed a noble cherefull coun-

F tenaunce vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie fide, Perfew the king of MACEDON, 25 Perfer goesh Polybius writeth, so sone as the battell was begonne, withdrewe him felf, and got into the cittie out of the battell was begonne, withdrewe him felf, and got into the cittie of PYDNE, vinder pretence to goe to doe facrifice vinto Hercules: who doth not accept the Profine.

Pelignians 200ke she en

figne, and shrewe it a-

fainte facrifice of cowards neither doth receyue their prayers, bicause they be vnreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not, should byt the white : nor that he should winne Victorie none the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he should have any good, that doeth no. by labour, nest thing toward it: nor that a naughty man should be fortunate, and prosper. The goddes dud fauour AEmylins prayers, bicause he prayed for victorie with his sworde in his hande, and fighting dyd call to them for ayde. Howbeit there is one Polidonius a writer, who fayeth he was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell : and he hath written an historic conteining many bookes of the actes of king Perfeus, where he fayeth that it was not for fainte harte, nor vnder culler to facrifice vnto Hercules, that Perfeus went from the battellibut bicaufe he had a stripe of a horse on the thighe the daye before. Who though he could not very well helpe him felf, and that all his friends fought to perfuade him not to goe to the battell: yet he caused one of his horse to be brought to him not with standing (which he commonly ysed to ryde vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of dartes were throwen at him from both fides. And emong those, he had a blowe with a darte that hurte him fomwhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the pointe, and dyd hit him on the left fide glawnfing wife, with fuche a force, that it rent his coate, and rafed his skinne vnderneath so as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that Polidomiss writeth to defend and excuse Persess. The Romaines having their hands full, and being staved by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breache into them: there was a captaine of the PELIGNIAN'S called Salim, who tooke the enfigne of his band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians brake in apon them, with C a maruelous force & furie into that place : for all ITALIANS thinke it to great a shame & difhonour for fouldiers, to lofe, or forfake their enfigne. Thus was there maruelous force of both fides vsed in that place: for the Pelignians proved to cut the Maced onlans pikes with their fwordes, or els to make them geue backe with their great targets, or to make a breache into them, and to take the pikes with their handes. But the MACED ONIANS to the contrarie. holding their pikes fast with both hands, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: so that neither target nor corfelet could hold out the force and violence of the pushe of their pikes, in so much as they turned up the heeles of the Pelignians and Terracinians, who like desperate beastes without reason, shutting in them selues emong their enemies. ranne wilfully vpon their owne deathes, and their first rancke were flaine every man of them. Thereupon those that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and only retired geuing backe, towardes the mountaine Olorus, Emylius feeing that (as Polidonius writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, bicause that some of his men gaue backe: other durst not fronte the battell of the Maced onlans, which was fo strongly imbattelled of euery fide, and fo mured in with a wall of pikes, presenting their armed heads on euerie fide a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not fo muche as to come neere them only. Yet notwithstanding, bicause the field was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the fronte, could not allwayes keepe that walle, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driven of necessities breake and open in many places as it happeneth oft in great battells, according to the great E force of the fouldiers: that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they gene backe, and leave a hole. Wherefore Amylius fodainly taken the vauntage of this occasion, deuided his men into small companies, and commaunded them they should quickly thrust in between their enemies, and occupie the places they fawe voyde in the fronte of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that forte, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with divers companies, in fundry places. Amylius gave this charge vnto the private captaines of every band and their lieutenaunts, and the captaines also gave the like charge vnto their fouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement. For they went prefently into those partes where they sawe the places open, and being once entred in among them, some gaue charge vpon the flanckes of the MACED ONIANS, where they were all naked and vnarmed: other fet vpon them behind: fo that the strength of all the corpes of the battell (which confifteth in keeping close together) being opened in this forte,

was ftraight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a fewe against a fewe: the MACEDON I ANS with their litle shorte swordes, came to strike vpon the great sheldes of the Romaines, which were very strong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driven of necessitie to receaue the blowes of the strong heavy swordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targettes: so that what with their heavines, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted voon them, there was no target nor corselet, but they passed it through, and ranne them in . By reason whereof they could make no long refiftance, whereupon they turned their backes, and ranne awaye. But when they came to the squadron of the olde beaten souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruellest fight and most desperate service, where they saye that Marcus Cato (sonne of The vallianwas the cruencing it and more despetate lettice, where they saye that of said the control of Marpropert Cato, and sonne in lawe of Aemylius) (the wing all the valliantnes in his persone that a cut cato. noble minde could possibly performe, lost his sword which fell out of his hande. But he like a young man of noble corage, that had bene valliantly brought vp in all discipline, & knew how to follow the steppes of his father (the noblest persone that ever man sawe) was to shewe then his value and worthines: and thought it more honour for him there to dye, then liuing to fuffer his enemies to enious any spoyle of his. So, by & by he ranne into the ROMAINE army, to finde out some of his friendes, whom he tolde what had befalled him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his fworde: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lufty valliant fouldiers together, they rushed straight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so dyd set apon them with suche sorce and surie, that they made a lane C through the middest of them, and with greatslaughter and spilling of bloude, euen by plaine force, they cleared the waye still before them. Now when the place was voyded, they fought for the sworde, and in the ende founde it with great a doe, amongest a heape of other swords and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruelously. Then singing a songe of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to geue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not vet broken a fonder : vntill suche time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACED o-NIAN'S fighting valliantly euen to the last man, and neuer for saking their rancks, were all slaine inthe place. After whose ouerthrowe, there was a great slaughter of other also that fled: so that all the valley and foote of the mountaines thereaboutes was couered with dead bodies. Horie of Per-The next daye after the battell, when the Romaines dyd passe ouer the river of Leucus, they sem. founde it ronning all a bloude. For it is fayed there were flaine at this field, of Perfeus men, aboue fiue and twentie thousand: and of the ROMAINES fide, as Posidonius sayeth, not aboue fixe score, or as Nasica writeth, but foure score only. And for so great an ouerthrowe, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done, and executed. For they beganne to fight about three of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the rest of The banell the daye they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred & twenty furlonges from the place funghs and where the battell was fought: fo that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So fuche as returned, were received with maruelous great ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their masters into their tentes, where their men had made great bonfiers, and decked them vp with crownes and F garlands of laurell, fauing the generalles tent only; who was very heavy, for that of his two somes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be founde, which he loued best of the twaine, bicause he sawe he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethern. For The validation euen then, being newe crept out of the shell as it were, he was maruelous valliant and hardie, new f Scipio and defired honour wonderfully. Now Æmylius thought he had bene cast awaye, fearing least for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the rathnes of his youthe, he had put him felfe to farre in fight amongest the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard straight what forowe AEmylius was in, and how gricuously he tooke it. The Romaines being fet at supper, rose from their meate, and with torche light some ranne to Amylius tent, other went out of the campe to feeke him among the dead bodies, if they might knowe him: fo all the

F campe was full of forowe and mourning, the vallies & hilles all abouts dyd ringe againe with

the cries of those that called Scipio alowde. For even from his childhood he had a natural

gift in him, of all the rare and fingular partes required in a captaine & wife gouernour of the

hope of his comming againe, he happely returned from the chafe of the enemies, with two or three of his familliars only, all bloudied with new bloude(like a fwift running greyhownde fleshed with the bloude of the hare) having pursued very farre for iove of the victorie. It is that Scipio which afterwards destroyed both the citties of CARTHAGE and NUMANTIVE who was the greatest man of warre, and valliantest captaine of the ROMAINES in his time. and of the greatest authoritie and reputation emong them. Thus fortune deferring till and ther time the execution of her spite, which she dyd beare to so noble an exployte, suffered Amilius for that time to take his ful pleasure of that noble victorie. And as for Perseus, he fled first from the cittie of Pydne, vnto the cittie of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in manner all faued. Whereupon the footemen that faued them felues by flying meeting them by the wave, called them traitours, cowards, and villanes: & worfe then that, they turned them of their horle backes, and fought it out lustely with them. Perfew feeing that, and fearing leaf this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the highe wave. and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing leaft they should knowe him by these tokens: and bicause he might more easely speake with his friends by the wave, he lighted a foote, and led his horse in his hande. But suche as were about him. one made as though he would mende the latchet of his shooe, an other seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drincke: so that one dragging after another in this some they all left him at the last, and ranne their waye, not fearing the enemies furie so muche, as their Kings crueltie: who being greued with his misfortune, fought to laye the faulte of the ? Time, to due ouerthrowe vpon all other, but him felfe. Now he being come into the cittle of Pella by night, Eucline and Eudens, two of his treasorers came vnto him, and speaking boldly (but our Serued to the of time) prefumed to tell him the great faulte he had committed, and dyd counsell him also what he should doe. The King was so moued with their presumption, that with his owner handes he stabbed his dagger in them both, and slue them outright. But after this facte, all his feruauntes and friendes refused him, and there only taried with him but Euander Can-

dignation of the Frince.

gooddes.

Mifers whine

about him, that he had vnwares gener to the fouldiers of CRETA, his plate and vessell of gold to be spoyled, being those which in olde time belonged vnto Alexander the great: & prayed them with teares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chaunge it for ready money. Now suche as knewe his nature, founde streight this was but a fraude and a CRETAN lye, to deceaue the CRETANS with: but those that trusted him, and dyd restoreagaine the plate they had, dyd loofe it euery iotte, for he neuer payed them pennie of it. So he r got of his friendes, the value of thirtie talents which his enemies sone after dyd take from him. And with that fumme he went into the Ile of Samothracia, where he tooke the fanchuarie and priviledge, of the temple of Castor and Pollux. They fave, that the MACEDO NIANS of long continuaunce dyd naturally loue their Kings: but then feeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hartes failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and fubmitted them selues vnto Amyline, and made him lorde of the whole Realme of Maca-DON in two dayes: and this doth feeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all AEmilia doings vnto his good fortune. And furely, the maruelous fortune he happened on in the cittle of Amphipolis, doth confirme it muche, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the godds. For one daye beginning to doe sacrifice, lightning fell from hear uen, and fet all the wodde a fire apon the aulter, & fanctified the facrifice, But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after Perfess had loft the battell, & that

TAN Archedamus & TOLIAN , and Neo BOEOTIAN, And as for the meane fouldiers, there

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into the cittle of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the cittle of ALEPSE, and that the feare

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with him, and that was, auarice and miferie. For he made his complainte vnto those that were

the cittle of Pellawas taken, as the people of Rome were at the liftes or showe place, seing horses ronne for games : sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the News games were, how Amylius had wonne a great battell of king Perfeus, and had conquered all bringle to MACADON. This newes was rife straight in enery mans mouthe, and there followed vpon it a Macedin in maruelousioye and great cheere in euery corner, with showtes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittle of ROMB. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, Atmyllia of how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine authour could be knowen, and euery man and no man faved they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that force knews some for a time, But shortely after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder they come. more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it i which B could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We doe reade also of abattell that was fought in ITALIE, nere vnto the river of SAGRA, wheref newes was brought the very fame daye vnto PELOPONNES VS. And of another also in like manner that was fought in Asia against the Madas, before the cittle of Mycalathe news whereof came the same daye vnto the campe of the GRE CHANS; lying before the cittle of PLAT OEBS. And in that

great iorney where the ROMAINES ouerthrewe the Tarquines, and the armie of the LATINES: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they fawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to Rome, and they judged they were Castor and Pollux. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white some stolde them: that he wondred howe they could fo quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softely by the beard with both their handes, and even in the market place his heare being blacke before,

was presently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleeue the reporte the man made, who euer after was called AEnobarbus, as you would faye, bearded as yellowe as golde. Ano- AEnobarbus ther like matter that happened in our time, maketh all suche newes credible. For when An- why so called. tonius rebelled against the emperour Domitian, the cittle of Rome was in a maruelous perplexitie, bicause they looked for great warres towards GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grewe asodaine rumour of victorie, and it went currantly through Rome, that Amonius him selse was flaine, and all his armie ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumour was so rise, that many of the chiefest men of Rome beleeved it, and dyd facrifice thereupon vnto the goddes. D geging them thankes for the victorie. But when the matter came to fifting, who was the first authour of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it ouer still to another, and dyed so in the ende amongest the people, as in a bottomles matter, for they could neuer boult out any

no man can tell howe. Notwithstanding, Domitian holding on his iorney to make this warre, met with postes that brought him letters for the certen victorie; and remembring the rumour of the victorie that ranne before in Rome, he founde it true, that it was on the very fame daye the victorie was gotten, and the distaunce betweene Rome & the place where the field was wonne, was aboue twenty thousand furloges of. Euery man in our time knoweth this tobe true. But againe to our historie. Cn. Offauius, lieutenant of the armie of AEmylius by fea, cn offanius, E came to ancker vnder the Ile of Samo THRACIA, where he would not take Perfess by force Mempliss out of the fanctuarie where he was, for the reuerence he dyd beare vnto the goddes Catter by fea. and Pollux: but he dyd besiege him in suche sorte, as he could not scape him, nor slye by sea

certen grounde of it: but euen as it came flying into Rome, fo went it flying awaye againe;

out of the Ilande. Yet he had secretly practised with one Oroandes a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prife with him for a fumme of money to conuey him awaye by night: but the CRETAN served him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taken a borde by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of golde and silver, he sent him worde that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of Ceres, with his wife, his children and feruauntes, where in deede was no possibilitie to take (hipping: but The missrathe next night following he hoyfed faile, and got him awaye. It was a pittiefull thing that Per-

F few was driven to doe and fuffer at that time . For he came downe in the night by ropes yout from the range of a little straight windowe vpon the walles, and not only him self, but his wife and little babes, by the craft who neuer knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous of acresan.

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common weale about all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his comming againe, he happely returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familliars only, all bloudied with new bloude (like a fwift running greyhown) fleshed with the bloude of the hare) having pursued very farre for ioye of the victorie. It is that Senio which afterwards destroyed both the citties of CARTHAGE and NUMANTIVE. who was the greatest man of warre, and valliantest captaine of the Romaines in his time. and of the greatest authoritie and reputation emong them. Thus fortune deferring till and ther time the execution of her spite, which she dyd beare to so noble an exployte, suffered Emplies for that time to take his ful pleasure of that noble victorie. And as for Perseus heffel first from the cittie of Pydne, vnto the cittie of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in manner all faued. Whereupon the footemen that faued them felues by flying, meeting them, by the wave, called them traitours, cowards, and villanes: & worfe then that, they turned them of their horse backes, and fought it out lustely with them. Perseus seeing that, and searing least this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the highe waye, and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing leaft the should knowe him by these tokens: and bicause he might more easely speake with his frience

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should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of Ceres, with

horses ronne for games : sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the News games were, how Amylius had wonne a great battell of king Perfeus, and had conquered all bringh to Macadon. This newes was rife straight in enery mans mouthe, and there followed vpon it a Rome cut of Macadon in maruelousioye and great cheere in enery corner, with showtes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittle of ROME. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, Aunylius of how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine authour could be knowen, and every man and no man faved they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that sorte knowe house for a time. But shortely after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder they came.

his wife, his children and feruauntes, where in deede was no possibilitie to take (hipping : but The miferathe next night following he hoyled faile, and got him awaye. It was a pittiefull thing that Per- fem was F few was driven to doe and fuffer at that time . For he came downe in the night by ropes yout brought vinto, of a litle straight windowe vpon the walles, and not only him self, but his wife and litle babes, by the craft who never knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grienous of acres and

278 bitter fighe, when one tolde him on the peere, that he fawe Oroandes the CRETAN vnderfalle in the mayne seas. Then daye beginning to breake, and seeing him selfe voyde of all hope, he ranne with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the fanctuarie again, before the ROMATHES that fawe him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had geuen them him felfe into the hands of one Ion, whom before he had maruelously loued, and who then dyd traiterously betrave him: for he deliuered his children vnto the Romaines. Which parte was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will followe her little ones being taken from her) to yeld him felfe into their hands that had his children. Now he had a special confidence in Scipio Nalica, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeld him felfe; but it was ann.

King Perfe' Cneus Octa-

Perfeus un princely behaniour unto AEmylius, gration unto Perfeus pri-

AEmylius oching formere and her vn-

fivered him, that he was not there. Then he beganne to lament his hard and miserable for tune every waye. And in the ende, confidering howe necessitie enforced him, he yelded him felfe into the hands of Cneus Octauius, wherein he shewed plainely, that he had another vicein him more vinmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a fainte harte, and feare to dye. But hereby felf in Samo he depriued him felf of others pittie & compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot denie and take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have a noble harte. For he made request they would bring him vnto the general! Æmyline, who rose from his chayer when he fawe him come, and went to mete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to mete a great King, by fortune of warre, and by the will of the goddes, fallen into that most lamentable facte. But he to the contrarie, vnmanly, and shamefully behaued him selfe. For he fell downe at his seete, and embraced his knees, and vttered such evincomely speache and vile requestes, as AEmylius selfe could not abide to heare them: but knittinghis c browes against him, being hartely offended, he spake thus vnto him. Alas poore ma, why does thou discharge fortune of this faulte, where thou mightest justly charge and accuse her to the " discharge, doing things, for the which every one judgeth thou hast deserved thy present mile-" rie, & art vnworthie also of thy former honour? why dost thou defame my victorie, & blemsh " the glory of my doings, thewing thy felf to base a ma, as my honour is not great, to ouercome » fo vnworthie an enemie? The Romaines haue euer esteemed magnanimitie, euen in their , greatest enemies: but dastardlines, though it be fortunate, yet is it hated of euery bodie. Notwithstanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hande, gaue him into the custodie of Alius Tubero. Then AEmylius went into his tent, & caried his fonnes, & fonnes in law with him & other men of qualitie, and specially the youngerforte. And being set downe, he continued a great space very pensiue with him self, not speaking a word: in so much as all the standers by, wondered much at the matter. In the ende, he beganne to enter into discourse & talke of fortune, & the vnconstancy of these worldly things, & sayed vnto them. Is there any man living, my friends, who having fortune at will, thould therefore boaft and glorie in the prosperitie of confiancie. , his doings, for that he hath coquered a contrie, cittie, or Realme: & not rather to feare the vnconstancie of fortune? who laying before our eyes, & all those that professe armes at this pre-" fent, so notable an example of the comon frayeltie of men, doth plainely teache vs to thincke. that there is nothing coltant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men maye thinke them felues affured, confidering that when they have ouercome others, then are they driven to mistrust fortune most, & to mingle feare & mistrust, with ioye of victorie: if they will wisely E consider the comon course of fatall destenie that altereth daylie, somtime fauoring one, otherwhile throwing down another?you see, that in an howers space we have trode vnder our feete, the house of Alexander the great: who hath bene the mightiest & most redouted prince of the world. You fee a King, that not log fince was followed & accopanied, with many thousand fouldiers of horsemen & footemen: brought at this present into such miserable extremitie, that he " is inforced to receive his meate & drinke daylie at the hands of his enemies . Should we have ,, any better hope then, that fortune will allwayes fauour our doings, more the she doth his now, at this present? no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter well, you young men I saye, , be not to bragge nor foolish prowde, of this conquest & noble victorie: but thinke what maye , happe hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuie of this our present prospe F , ritie, Such were Amylius words to these young men, as it is reported, bridling by these &cfuch " like perfuafions, the lufty brauery of this youth, even as with the bit & bridle of reason. AfterA wardes he put his armie into garrisons to refreshe them: and wenthim selfe in persone in the meane time to visite G B. E. C. E, making it an honorable progresse, and also a commendable. For ashe paffed through their citties, he releued the people, reformed the gouernment of their prografic in flate, and euer gaue them some gifte or present. Vnto some he gaue corne, which king Perseus Grace. had gathered for the warres: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with so great store of prouision, that he rather lacked people to geue it vnto, to receyue it at his handes, then wanring to geue, there was so much. As he passed by the cittle of DELPHES, he sawe there a great piller, four efquare, of white stone, which they had set vp, to put king Perseus image of gold ypon it. Whereupon he commaunded them to fet vp his in that place, faying it was reason the conquered should geue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the cittie of OLYM-B PLA, visiting the temple of Impiter Olympian, he spake this openly, which euer fince hath bene

remembred: that Phidias had rightly made Iupiter, as Homer had described him . Afterwardes the realme of MACEDON, he redeliuered the MACEDONIAN'S their countrie and townes a- AEmilia

when the tenne ambaffadours were arrived that were fent from Rome to establish with him gaine, to line at libertie, according to their lawes, paying yerely to the Romaines for tribute, Janub Maahundred talents: where before they were wont to paye vnto their Kings tenne times as flage. muche. And he made playes and games of all fortes, and dyd celebrate fumptuous facrifices

vnto the goddes. He kept open courte to all commers, and made noble feastes, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure Perseus had gathered together, sparing for no coste. But through his care and foresight there was suche a speciall good order taken, euery C man so curteously receyued and welcommed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling: that the GRECIANS wondred to see him so carefull in mat-

ters of sporte and pleasure: and that he tooke as great paynes in his owne persone, to see that small matters should be ordered as they ought: as he tooke great regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a maruelous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous fightes prepared to shewe pleasure to the persones inuited, no fight nor stately shewe dydio delight them, as to enjoye the fight and company of his persone. So he told them, that AEmilius

feemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters: that to order a feast well, re- worder about quired as great judgement and discretion, as to fet a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friendes. But men esteemed his bountie and magna-D nimitie for his best vertue and qualitie. For he dyd not only refuse to see the Kings wonderful treasure of golde and filuer, but caused it to be told, and delinered to the custodie of the treaabfilience. furers, to carie to the coffers of store in Rome: and only suffered his sonnes that were lear-

ned to take the bookes of the Kings librarie. When he dyd rewarde the fouldiers for their valliant service in this battell, he gave his sonne in lawe Amylius Tubero a cuppe, talents. It is the fame Tubero we tolde you of before, who lived with fixteene of kynne all in one house, and of the only reuenue they had of a litle farme in the countrie. Some saye, that cuppe was the first pece of plate that euer came into the house of the Alians, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither them felues, nor

their wines, would ener haue, or weare, any gold or filuer. After he had wery well ordered E and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leave of the GRECIANS, and counselled the MA-CEDONIANS to remember the libertie the ROMAINES had geuen them, and that they should be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernment and concorde together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iorney towardes the countrie of EPIRVS, having receyued commission from the Senate of Rome, to suffer his souldiers who had done service in the battell,

and ouerthrowe of king Perseus, to spoyle all the citties of that countrie. Wherefore that he might furprise them on a sodaine, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the citties that they should send him by a certaine daye, tenne of the chiefest men of every cittie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to goe and bring him by fuche a daye, all the golde and filuer they had within their citties, aswell in their private houses, as in their

F temples and churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had bene only to have receased and searched for the gold and silver he demaunded, But when the daye appointed was come, the fouldiers in divers places (and all at one time)

paye ransome every man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made slaves in one

daye, a hundred and fittie thousand persones, and three score and tenne citties spoyled and

facked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the spoyle of this generall destruction

of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euery fouldiers parte, aboue eleuen filuer

Drachmes a pece. Which made every one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terrour

of the warres, to see the wealthe and riches of so great a Realme, to amounte to so line

for every mans thare. When AEmylius had done this facte against his owne nature, which

was very gentle and curteous: he went vnto the sea syde to the citty of ORICA, and there im-

barked with his armie bounde for ITALIE. Where when he was arrived, he went up the

a fide, richely fet out with the armour of the prisoners, riche clothes of purple culler, and

other fuche spoyles of the enemies: so that the ROMAINES ronning out of ROMB in multi-

tudes of people to see this galley, and going side by side by her as they rowed softely, Azm.

liss tooke as great pleafure in it, as in any open games or feaftes, or triumphe that had bene

shewed in deede. But when the fouldiers fawe, that the golde and filuer of king Perfess trea-

fure was not deuided amongest them according vnto promise, and that they had a great

deale leffe then they looked for, they were marueloufly offended, and inwardly grudged

AEmylius in their hartes. Neuertheles they durst not speake it openly, but dyd accuse him,

that he had bene to straight vnto them in this warre, and therefore they dyd shewe no great

among the fouldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more against him . Moreover, he craved

a daye of the Tribunes of the people, to have respit to bring forth suche matter as they de-

AEmyline. cruell acte Spirling of Epirus.

orica, and re- river of Tyber against the streame, in king Perseus chief galley, which had sixteene owers on R

The enuie of defire, nor forwardnes, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which Servius Galba vn. C. Servine Gal- derstanding, that had bene an olde enemie of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men under him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, howe Amylius had not deferued the honour of triumphe, and fowed feditious wordes against him

La trumphe. Would

termined to object against him: saying the time then was farre spent, the sunne being but foure howers highe, and that it would require lenger time and leyfure. The Tribunes made him aunswer, that he should speake then what he had to saye against him, or otherwise they would not graunte him audience. Hereupon he beganne to make a long oration in his difpraise, full of railing wordes, and spent all the rest of the daye in that rayling oration. After n wardes when night came on, the Tribunes brake up the affembly, and the next morning the fouldiers being incoraged by Galbaes oration, and having confedered together, dyd flocke about Alba, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had genen warning they c their affembly. Now being broade daye, AEmylius triumphe was referred to umber of voyces of the people, and the first tribe flattly dyd denie his triumphe. The Senate, and the refidue of the people hearing that, were very forie to fee they dyd Æmylius so open wrong and iniurie. The common people sayed nothing to it, but seemed to be very forie, howbeit they fought no redreffe. The lordes of the Senate cried out apon them, & fayd it was to much shame, and exhorted one another to bridell the insolencie and boldnes of these souldiers, who would growe in the ende to such tumulte and disorder, that they E would commit all mischief and wickednes, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, seeing they dyd so openly stand against their generall, seeking to depriue him of the honour of his triumphe and victorie. So they affembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would staye to take the voyces of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with fuch needefull matter, as they had to open Servillus ora- vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and filence was made. Then Marcus Servillus, who had bene Conful, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne of AEmyliu persone, and had allwayes slaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man; rose " vp, and spake in fauour of AEmylius in this manner. I knowe now (fayed he) better then be-" fore, how noble and worthie a captaine Paulus AEmylius is, who hath atchieued fuch glorie F " and honorable victorie, with fo dishonorable and disobedient fouldiers. And I can but won-" der, that the people not long fince reioyced, and made great accompt, of the victories and triumphes

PAVLVS ÆMYLIVS. riumphes wonne apon the ILLTRIANS and other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they " should for spite enuic his glorie (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDO- " NEAN king aliue in a triumphe, and to thewe the glorie and greatnes of king Philip and Ale: " render the great; subdued by the ROMAINES force and power. What reason have ye, that not " long fince, apon a flying rumour that AEmyline had wonne the battell against Perfess you " fraight made facrifices to the goddes with great joye, praying them, that you might be with " neffes of the trothe thereof: and now that the persone him selfe whom you made generall " is returned home, and doth deliuer you most affured victorie, you doe frustrate the goddes " most solemne thankes and honour due to them, and doe depriue your selues also of your " wonted glorie in fuch a case? as if you were afeard to see the greatnes of your prosperitie.or " B that you ment to pardone a King, your flaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more " reason to hinder the triumphe, as pittying the King: then enuying your captaine. But the ma- " lice of the wicked, through your pacience is growen to fuche an infolent audacitie and holdnes that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went fro the smoke of the chimney, " nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at homelike women & housedowes: " and yet they are so impudent and shameles, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces, " to prate of the office and duety of a generall of an armie, and of the defert of triumphe, be- "

fore you I fave, who by experience of many a fore cut and wounde apon your bodies in the " warres, haue learned to knowe a good and valliant captaine, from a vile and cowardly persone. « And speaking these wordes, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all, the infinite " c fearres and cuttes he had receyued vpon his breft: and then turning him behinde, shewed all " fuche places as were not fitte to be seene openly, and so turned him againe to Galba, and saved " vnto him. Thou mockest me for that I shewe thee: but I rejoyce before my countrie men and " cittizens: that for feruing my cotrie night & daye a horse backe, I have these wounds apon me " which thou feeft. Now get thee about thy busines, & receive their voyces: & I wil come after; " noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull cittizens, who like to be foothed with flatterie; " and not flowtely commaunded, as behough a generall in the warre. These wordes so reined. the harde headed fouldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one.

and graunted Æmylius triumphe: the order and solemnitie whereof was performed in this forte. First, the people having set vp sundrie scaffoldes, aswel in the listes & field called Circos Anorable de-D by the LATINES) where the games and common running of horses and charrets are made, as AEmplies also about the market place, and in other streetes of the cittie, through the which, the shewe wimphe. of the triumphe should passe: they all presented them selues in their best gownes to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the goddes also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within; and there were fet through all the quar-

ters of the cittle numbers of fergeaunts and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands to order the stragling people, and to keepe them vp in corners and lanes endes, that they should not peffer the streetes, & hinder the triumphe. Furthermore, the fight of this triumphe was to continue three dayes, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images; tables, & pictures, & statues of wonderfull bignes, all wonne and gotten of their enemies, and E drawen in the (howe, ypon two hundred & fiftie charrets, The second days, there were carried vpon a number of cartes, all the fairest and richest armour of the MACE DOMEANS, aswell of copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistering bright, being newly furbished, and arteficially layed in order (and yet in fuch forte, as if they had bene caft in heapes one voon another, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) faver burganers vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corfelets, vpon greaues; rounde targets of the CREA TANS, and lauelings of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongeft the armed pykes: all this armour and carriage, being bound one to another fo trimly (neither being to dole, nor to straight) that one hitting against another, as they drue them woon the cartes through the cittie they made fuche a found and noyfe, as it was fearefull to heare it: fo that the only fight of thefe

F spoyles of the captives being overcome, made the fight so muche more terrible to behold it. After these carries loden with armour, there followed three thousand men, which carried the ready money in feuen hundred & fiftie veffels, which wayed about three talets a pece, & euery

one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bowles of filmer A cuppes & goblets facioned like hornes, & other pottes to drinke in, goodly to behold, aswelfor their bignes, as for their great & fingular imboffed workes about it. The third day early in the morning, the trupets beganne to found & fet forwardes, founding no marche nor fwete note to be a wrifte triumphe with all: but they blewe out the braue alarom they found at an affant. to geue the fouldiers corage for to fight. After them followed fixe score goodly fat oxen, bauing all their hornes gylte, & garlands of flowers & nofegayes about their heads, & there we by them certaine yong men, with aprons of nedle worke, girt about their midle, who led them to the facrifice, & young boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & filter, to cast & sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these stollowed those that carried all covnes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, & every one of them waying three talents as they h dyd before, that carried the great holy cuppe, which Emplies had caused to be made of math gold, fet full of precious flones, waying the weight of tenne talents, to make an offering vnto the godds. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made & wrought after antike facion, & notable cuppes of the auncient kings of MACED ON: as the cuppe called Antigonus & another Seleucus: & to be shorte, all the whole cubberd of plate of gold & filuer of king Perseu. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king Perfew harnefle, & his royall bande (they call a Diademe) upon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, fol-Perfess thit-lowed next the Kings children, whom they led prifoners, with the traine of their schoolemafters & other officers, & their feruaunts, weeping & lamenting: who held up their hands you the people that looked apon them, & taught the Kings young children to doe the like, to aske (mercie & grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and daughter amongest them, whose tender yeres and lacke of understanding, made them (poore foules) they could not feele their present miserie, which made the people so muche more to pittie them, when they faw the poore litle infants, that they knew not the chauge of their hard fortune: fo that for the copassion they had of the, they almost let the father passe without losking vpon him Many peoples harts did melt for very pittie, that the teares ranne downe their cheekes, fo as this fight brought both pleasure & forow, together to the lookers on, vntill they were past & gone a good way out of fight. King Perfeus the father, followed after his children & their traine, & he was clothed in a blacke gowne, wearing a payer of flippers on his feete after his contrie maner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled minde, oppress with foron D of his most miserable state & fortune. He was followed with his kinsefolks, his familliar frends, his officers & household servants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lameting teares & forowfull eyes cast apon their vnfortunate master how much they forowed & bewailed his most hard & curfed fortune, litle accopting of their own miserie. The voice goeth, that Perfew fent vnto Emplius to intreate him, that he should not be led through the cittle in the showe & sight of the triuphe. But Amylius mocking (as he deserved) his cowfounds Per. ardly faint hart, aunswered: as for that, it was before, & is now in him, to doe if he wil, Meaning few corad- to let him vinderstad thereby, that he might rather chuse to dye, then living to receive such ope shame. How beit his hart would not ferue him, he was so cowardly, & made so effeminate, by a certen vaine hope he knew not what, that he was cotented to make one amog his own fpoiles. E Four budged After all this, there followed 400, princely crownes of golde, which the citties and townes of GRECE had purposly sent by their ambassadours vnto Æmylim, to honour his victorie: & next vnto the, he came him felfe in his charret triuphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth by the civiles & adorned. It was a noble fight to behold: & yet the person of him self only was worth the looking on without all that great pope & magnificece. For he was apparelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, & caried in his right hand a lawrell boughe, as all his armie did belids: the which being deuided by bands & copanies, followed the triuphing charret of their captains, fome of the fouldiers finging fonges of victorie, which the ROMAINES vie to finge in like triumphes, mingling the with mery pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of the also dydfinge fongs of triuphe, in the honour & praise of Amylius noble coquest & victorie. He I was opely praifed, bleffed, & honored of every body, & neither hated nor enuied of honest me. Saving the ordinary vse of some god, whose propertie is allwayes to lessen or cut of some part

of mans exceding prosperitie & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence & feeling of good &euill together: bicause that no liuing persone should passe all his time of life, without some aduerlitie or misfortune, but that fuch (as Homer fayeth) should only thinke the selues happie, Alman to whom fortune hath equally forted the good with the cuill. And this I speake, bicause Amslius had 4. fonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoptio vnto the families of Scipio & of Fabius, as we have fayed before: & two other which he had by his fecod wife, be brought vp with him in his owne house, & were both yet very young. Of the which the one dyed, being 14. yeres of age fine dayes before his fathers triuphe: & the other dyed also, 3. dayes after the pompe of triumphe, at 12. yeres of age. When this sorowfull chance had befallen him, euery one in Roma did pittie him in their hartes: but fortunes spite & crueltie did more greue & feare them, to see R her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triuphe (full of honour & glorie, & of sacrifices & joye) fuch a pittiefull mourning, & mingling of forowes & lamétations of death, amogest such songs of triumple & victorie. Notwithstading this, Æmylim taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vie constacie & magnanimitie, against the sword & pike AEmplim man, thought that ne was not only to vie contacte & magnamintegy grant of the enemie: but a like also against all aduerstice and enmittee of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely fortune in the great adwaved & cosidered his present missortune, with his former prosperitie: & finding his missorrune coterpeased with felicitie, & his private grieues cut of with comon love, he gave no place to his forowes & mischaces, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triuphe & victorie. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sonnes, he lest not to make his triuphant en- AEmylin otrie, as you haue heard before. And his fecod fonne also being deceased after his triumphe, he ration in ble caused the people to assemble, & in face of the whole cittie he made an oration, not like a difcoforted man, but like one rather that dyd coforte his forowfull contrymen for his mischace. his children. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing dyd feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her chasige & incôstacy, & specially in the last warre, doubting for so great prosperitie as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable aduersitie, & simister chaunce. For as I went (sayed he) I passed ouer the gulse of the Adriatike lea, from BRINDES vnto CORFV in one daye. And from thence in fine dayes after, I arriued in the cittie of Delphes, where I dyd facrifice vnto Apollo. And within fine other dayes, I arriued in my cape, where I found mine armie in MACEDON. And after I had done the facrifice, & due ceremonies for purifying of the fame, I presently begane to followe the purpose & D cause of my coming: so as in 15, dayes after, I made an honorable ende of all those warres. But yes, miltrusting fortune allwayes, seing the prosperous course of my affaires, & cosidering that there were no other enemies, nor daugers I neded to feare: I feared forely the would chaunge at my returne, when I should be voon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an armie, with so many spoiles & so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arrived in the hauen, & feing all the cittie at my returne full of ioye, & of feastes & facrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that she vieth not to gratifie men fo franckly, nor to graunt them fo great things clearly, without some certen sparke of entile waiting on them. Neither dyd my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the comon wealth, thake of this feare behind me: but that I fawe, this home mithappe & miferie lighted vpo me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my tritiphe, to butie my two young fonnes one after another, which I only brought vp with me, for the fuecession of my name & house. Wherefore, me thinkes now I may saye, I am out of all dauger, at the least touching my chiefest & greatest misfortune: & doe beginne to stablish my selfe with this affured hope that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without " feare of other valueky or finister chaunce. For she hath sufficiently contervalled the fauorable victorie the gaue you, with the enuious mishappe wherewith the hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the coquerour & triupher, as noble an exaple of mans miserie & weaknes, as the party coquered, that had bene led in triuphe. Sauing that Perfess yet, conquered as he is, hath this coforte left him to fee his childre living, & that the coquerour Amylius hath loft his. And F this was the fumme of Amylius notable oration he made vinto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble & honorable disposed minde, And though it pittied him in his harte to see the straunge chaunge of king Perseus fortune, and that he hartely desired to helpe him, and to doe

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goodes what

they came to.

him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but only to remoue him from the common prisone (which the Romaines call Career) into a more clenly and sweter house The death of where being straitly garded and looked vnto, he killed him selfe by abstinence from meate, as king Persent. the most parte of historiographers doe write. Yet some writers tell a maruelous straumge tale. and manner of his death . For they fave the fouldiers that garded him, kept him from fleepe

watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye Mining watching him itraigntly when neepe took into a many and the word with him bird of death. liddes (only apon malice they dyd beare him, bicaufe they could not otherwife hurte him)

keeping him awake by force, not fuffering him to take reft: vntill fuche time as nature being forced to gene ouer, he gane up the ghoste. Two of his sonnes dyed also: but the third called Alexander, became an excellent turner and joyner, and was learned, and could speake the

The flate of ROMAINE tongue very well, and dyd write it fo trimly, that afterwards he was chauncelour to a Perleus the magistrates of Rome, and dyd wisely and discretly behaue him selfe in his office. Furtherfonnes.

more, they doe adde to this goodly conquest of the realme of MACEDON, that Amylius con-By AEmplin quered another speciall good thing, that made him maruelously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so muche gold and filuer vnto the treasurie store of Rome, as no more studies. the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very

time and yere that Hircius and Pansa were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first warres of Augustus and Antonius. And yet Amylius had one singular good gift in him: that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this dyd Appius afterwards cast in his sonnes teethe, Scipio Africa. new. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenfor: Appine had about him to fauour his fute, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the Appians had ever held on their parte. And Scipio Africanus, though he was a great man of him felfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when Approx fawe him come into the market place, followed with men of small qualitie and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skilfully handle suche practises, bring the people together, and by oponunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obteine what they would in the affemblies of the cittie: he spake out alowde, and sayed . O Paulus AEmylius, now hast thou good cause to h D

fighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyeft (if the dead doe know what we doe here on

earth) to fee AEmylius a common fergeant, and Licinius a pratting fellowe, howe they bring

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common people, bicause he dyd fauour them in all things . But AEmylius also, although he

tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people,

then those that allwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them:

which the common people did witnesse, aswell by other honours & offices they offred him, as in the dignitie of the Cenfor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of all other at

the Cenfor.

that time, and of greatest power and authoritie, specially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Cenfor, had authoritie to put any Senatour of the counsell, and to difgrade him, if he dyd not worthely behaue him selfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the place againe. Moreover, they might by their authorine take from licentious young men, their horse which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the feffours of the people, and the muster masters, keping books of the number of persones at every mustering. So there appeared numbred in the register booke : AEmylius made then of them, three hundred, seuen and thirtie thousand foure hundred, and two and fiftie men, and Marcus AEmylius Lepidus named prefident of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and dyd put of the counsell three Senatours, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he & his companion, Martime Philippus kept, vpon viewe and muster taken of the Romaine horsemen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell sicke of a dificknes.

feafe that at the beginning feemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, fauing that it was a lingring difease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsell of phisitians, who willed him to goe to a cittie in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke sea, and went AEmpliuse. thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasaunt houses upon the sea side, mosted from quietly and out of all noyfe. But during this time of his absence, the Romaines wished for does in the him many a time and ofte. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to fee city of Vella. the playes and sportes, they cried out diners times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great defire to fee him againe. Time being come about when they yied to make a folemne verely facrifice, and Emylius finding him felfe also in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the facrifice with the other priestes, all the people of Rome gathering about him, rejoycing muche to fee him. The next daye after, he made ano-

ther particular facrifice, to gene thankes vnto the goddes for reconerie of his healthe. After the facrifice was ended, he went home to his house, & fate him downe to dinner: he sodainly fell into a rauing (without any perseuerance of ficknes spied in him before, or any chaunge or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in suche sorte, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no necessarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy Rome. in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funeralles, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, filuer, nor iuorie, nor with other fuche Armyliu sumptuousnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the love and good will of the people, funeralles. all of them confessing his vertue and well doing; and this dyd not only his naturall country men performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in Rome by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of Spayne, from Genva, or out of Ma-CEDON, all those that were young and strong, dyd willingly put them selues under the coffin

their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and gracioufly, whom he had fubdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleasure them, and to set forwardes their causes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinsemen. The inuentorie of all his goodes after his death, dyd scant amounte vnto the summe of three hundred, three score, and tenne thousand silver Drachmes, which his two sonnes dyd inherite. But Scipio being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother Fabius, bicause he was adopted into a very riche house, which was the house of the great Scipio Africanus. Suche they faye was Paulus Æmylius conditions and life.

where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the churche: and the olde men followed

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time and vere that Hircius and Panfa were Confuls, which was about the beginning of the first warres of August us and Antonius. And yet Amylius had one singular good gift in him. that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people in flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobi-cl litie and good men. And this dyd Appins afterwards cast in his sonnes teethe, Scipio Africe mus. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenfor: Appine had about him to fauour his fure, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the Appians had ever held on their parte. And Seinin Africanus, though he was a great man of him felfe, yet he was in all times favoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when Appine fawe him come into the market place, followed with men of small qualitie and base condition, that had bene slaues before but

otherwise could skilfully handle suche practises, bring the people together, and by oponunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obteine what they would in the affembles of the cittie: he spake out alowde, and sayed . O Paulus AEmylius, now hast thou good cause we fighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyest (if the dead doe know what we doe hereon earth) to fee AEmylius a common fergeant, and Licinius a pratting fellowe, howe they bring thy some vnto the dignitie of a Censor. And as for scipio, he was allwayes beloued of the common people, bicause he dyd fauour them in all things . But AEmylius also, although he tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people. then those that allwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them which the common people did witnesse, aswell by other honours & offices they offred him, as

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that time, and of greatest power and authoritie, specially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Cenfor, had authoritie to put any Senatour E of the counsell, and to difgrade him, if he dyd not worthely behaue him selfe according to

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R ROME gathering about him, rejoycing muche to fee him. The next daye after, he made another particular facrifice, to geue thankes vnto the goddes for recouerie of his healthe. After the factifice was ended he went home to his house. & sate him downe to dinner; he sodainly fell into a rauing (without any perfeuerance of ficknes fpied in him before, or any chaunge or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in suche sorte, that he dyed within three The death of daves after, lacking no necessarie thing that an earthly man could have, to make him happy Rome. in this world. For he was even honoured at his funeralles, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, filuer, nor juorie, nor with other fuche Aemylius fumptuousnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people. funeralles. all of them confessing his vertue and well doing: and this dyd not only his naturall country C men performe in memoric of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in Rome by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of Spayne, from Genva, or out of Ma-CHOON, all those that were young and strong, dyd willingly put them selues vnder the cossin

where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the churche: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompany the fame, calling Amylius the benefactour, fauiour, and father of their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued but all his life time he was ever ready to pleasure them, and to set forwardes their causes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinsemen. The inuentorie of all his goodes after his death, dyd scant amounte vnto the summe of three hundred, three score, and tenne thousand silver Drachmes, which his two fonnes dyd inherite. But Scipio being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother Fabius, bicause he was ado-

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THE LIFE



the Syracufas before Timoleens coming.

DEFORE Timoleon was fent into Sicile, thus stoode the state of A the SYRACVSANS. After that Dion had driven out the tyranne Dinmysius, he him selfe after was slaine immediatly by treason: and those that ayded him to restore the SYRACYSANS to their libertie, fell out, and were at diffention among them felues . By reason whereof, the cittle of SYRACVSA chaunging continually newe tyrannes, was to troubled and turmoiled with all forte of euills, that it was left in manner desolate, and without inhabitants. The rest of Sicile in like case

was vtterly destroyed, and no citties in manner left standing, by reason of the long warres: and those fewe that remained, were most inhabited of forreine souldiers& straungers (a company of lose men gathered together that tooke paye of no prince nor cittie) } all the dominions of the same being easely vsurped, and as easie to chaunge their lorde. In so muche, Dionysius the tyranne, tenne yeres after Dion had driven him out of Sicile, having gathered a certen number of fouldiers together againe, and through their helpe driven out Niseus, that raigned at that time in Syrac vs A: he recouered the Realme againe, and made him felfe King. So, if he was straungely expulsed by a small power out of the greatest Kingdome that ever was in the worlde: likewise he more straungely recovered it againe, being banished and very poore, making him selfe King ouer them, who before had driven him out Thus were the inhabitants of the cittie compelled, to serue this tyranne: who besides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor civill, he was now growen to be farre more dogged and cruell, by reason of the extreme miserie and missortune he had endured. But the no- C blest cittizens repaired vnto leetes, who at that time as lorde ruled the cittie of the LEON-TINES, and they chose him for their generall in these warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrannes, but bicause they had no other to repaire vnto at that time, & they trusted him best, for that he was borne (as them selues) within the cittie of SYRACVSA,&

bicause also he had men of warre about him, to make head against this tyranne. But in the

meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great armie, and inua-

ded the countrie. The SYRACYSANS being afrayed of them, determined to fend ambassa-

NEIANS, Timoleon ferued as a private fouldier amongest the footemen: and Timophanes his brother, having charge of horsemen, was in great daunger of being cast away, if present helpe had not bene . For his horse being hurte, threwe him on the grounde in the middest of his enemies. Whereupon parte of those that were about him, were affrayed, and dispersed them selues here and there: and those that remained with him, being fewe in number, and having many enemies to fight withall, dyd hardly withstand their force and charge. But his brother Timoleon feeing him in fuche inftant daunger a farre of, ranne with all speede possible to helpe him, and clapping his target before his brother Timophanes, that laye on the grounde, received uing many woundes on his bodie with fworde and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulfed F the enemies, and faued his owne and his brothers life. Now the CORINTHIAN'S fearing the Timoleon falike matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to lofe their cittle ned his break through default of their friends helpe: they resolved in counsell, to entertaine in paye conti-

TIMOLEON A dours into GRECE vinto the Corinthians, to praye ayde of them against the barbatous people, having better hope of them, then of any other of the GRECIANS. And that not altogether bicause they were lineally descended from them, and that they had received in times pass many pleasures at their handes: but also for that they knewe that CORINTHE was a cittle. that in all ages and times, dyd euer loue libertie, and hate tyrannes, and that had allwayes made their greatest warres, not for ambition of Kingdomes, nor of couctous defire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and mainteine the libertie of the GRECIANS. But leetes in another contrarie forte, he tooke apon him to be generall, with a minde to make him felfe king of Sx+ RACVS A. For he had secretly practifed with the CARTHAGINIANS, and openly notwithstanding in words he commended the counsell and determination of the SYRACYS ANS, and fent ambassadours from him selse also with theirs, vnto Peloponnesvs: not that he was desirous any ayde should come from them to Syracvsa, but bicause he hoped if the CORINTHIANS refused to fend them ayde (as it was very likely they would, for the warres and troubles that were in GR ECE) that he might more easely turne all over to the CARTHAGINIANS, and vie them as his friendes, to ayde him against the SYRAGVSANS, or the tyrante Dionysius, And that this was his full purpose, and intent, it appeared plainely sone after. Now when their ambassadours arrived at CORINTHE, & had delivered their meffage, the CORINTHIANS, who had euer bene carefull to defend fuch citties as had fought vnto them, & specially Syrac vs a: very willingly determined in counfaill to fend them ayde, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, having warres with none of the GRECIANS. So their only flave reflect, pon chooling of a generall to leade their armie. Now as the magistrates and gouernours of the cittie were naming fuche cittizens, as willingly offred their feruice, defirous to addiaunce

mon weale: and was allwayes gentle and curteous to all men, fauing that he mortally hated

D tyrantes and wicked men . Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for warres and for

friendes, and by certen fouldiers gathered together, which he had allwayes about him. And

bicaule he was very hotte and forward in warres, his cittizens tooke him for a noble captaine,

& a man of good feruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein

Timoleon dyd helpe him muche to hide his faulte he committed, or at the least made them

feeme leffe, & lighter then they were, still increasing that small good gifte that nature brought

forth in him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had against the ARGIVES and the CLEO.

them felues: there ftept vp a meane commoner, who named Timoleon, Timodemus fonne, a man that untill that time was neuer called on for feruice, neither looked for any fuche prefarment. By what voice And truely it is to be thought it was the fecret working of the gods, that directed the thought Timoleon of this meane commoner to name Timoleon: whose election fortune fauored very much, and generall. ioyned to his valliantnes and vertue, maruelous good successe in all his doings afterwardes.

This Timoleon was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called Timoleons Timodemus, and his mother Demareta. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrie and com-

paynes: he was wife in his grenest youth in all things he tooke in hande, and in his age he thewed him felfe very valliant. He had an elder brother called Timophanes, who was nothing Timophanes, like to him in condition: for he was a rashe harebraynd man, & had a greedy desire to reigne, brother, what being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that bare him in hande they were his he was

TIMOLEON.

The Corinthians enterfiraunaers, de made Timophanes cap-taine of them to keepe their Timechanes

nually foure hundred fouldiers that were straungers, whom they affigned ouer to Timophais. charge. Who, abandoning all honestie and regarde of the trust reposed in him, dyd presents practife all the waves he could to make him felfe lorde of the cittie; and having put diversity the chiefest cittizens to death without order of lawe, in the ende, he openly proclaimed him felfe King. Timoleon being very forie for this, and taking his brothers wickednes would be the very highe wave to his fall and destruction: sought first to winne him with all the good work and perfusion he could to move him to leave his ambitious defire to reigne, and to faluer at neere as might be) his harde dealing with the cittizens. Timophanes fet light by his brother cruelty, to v. perfugions, and would geue no eare vnto them. Thereupon Timoleon then went vnto one the kingdom. AE (chylus his friend, and brother vnto Timop hanes wife, and to one Satyrus a foothefaver (** Theopompus the historiographer calleth him, and Ephorus calleth him Orthagorus) with whom !

Claine by his brothers procsacment.

and grew into great choller with them. Timoleon feeing that, went a litle a tofide, and couring his face fell a weeping: and in the meane feafon, the other two drawing out their fwordes flue Timophanes in the place. This murder was straight blowen abroade through the cittie, and the better forte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate Timoleon bare against the tyrante confidering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, dyd notwithstanding regard the benefit of his countrie, before the naturall affection to his brother, and preferred duery and justice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had faued his brothers life, fighting (for defence of his countrie: and now in feeking to make him felfe King, and to rule the fame. he made him to be flaine. Suche then as misliked popular gouernment and libertie, and all waves followed the Nobilitie: they fet a good face of the matter, as though they had beneglad of the tyrantes death. Yet still reprouing Timoleon for the horrible murder he had committed against his brother, declaring howe detestable it was both to the gods and men: they so hand led him, that it grieved him to the harte he had done it, But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruelous euill, and that the pronounced horrible curfes against him, and game out terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her; howbeit she could neuer abide to fee him, but allwayes thut her doore againft him. Then he being wounded to the harte with forowe, tooke a conceit fodainly to kill him felfe by absteining from meate: but his] friends would neuer forfake him in this defpaire, and vrged him fo farre by intreaty and perfuafion, that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he refolued thenceforth to give him felf ouer to a folitarie life in the countrie, fecluding him felfe from all companie and dealings so as at the beginning, he dyd not only refuse to repaire vnto the cittie, and all accesse of companie, but wandring vp and downe in most solitarie places, confumed him selfe and his time

with melancholie. And thus we fee, that counfells and judgements are lightly caried awaye

likerous mowthed men, who as they defire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are some

weary, disliking the same: even so we do soddenly repent our actions, grounded upon a weak

he came againe another time vnto his brother; and they three comming to him instantly be

fought him to believe good counfell, and to leave the Kingdome. Timophanes at the first day

but laughe them to fcorne, and sported at their persuasions: but afterwards he waxed warme

(by prayle or disprayle) if they be not shored vp with rule of reason, and philosophie, and reft confounded in them felues. And therefore it is very requifite and necessarie, that not only the acte be good and honest of it selfe, but that the resolution thereof be also constant, and not fubiect vnto chaunge: to the ende we maye doe all things confideratly. Left we be like vnto

imagination, of the honestie that moved vs thereunto. For repentaunce maketh the acte which before was good, naught, But determination, grounded upon certaine knowledge and truthe of reason, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterprised, have not allways happy successe. And therefore Phocion the ATHENIAN having resisted (as muche as in him laye) certen things which the generall Leosthenes dyd, and which contrarie to his minde took good effect: and perceyuing the ATHENIANS dyd open facrifice vnto the goddes, to gent them thankes for the same, and muche rejoyce at the victorie they had obteined. I would have reioyced to (fayed he) if I had done this : but fo would I not for any thing , but I had gener ! the counsell. And after that forte, but more sharpely dyd Aristides Lockian (a very friend and companion of Platoes) aunswer Dionysius the elder, tyrante of Syrac vsa: who asked his

A goodwill to marye one of his daughters. I had rather fee my daughter deade (fayde he) then maried vnto a tyranne. And within a certayne tyme after, the tyranne put all his sonnes to deathe: and then he asked him in derision, to greeue him the more, if he were still of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very forye, (fayed he) with all my harte, for that thou hast done: but yet I doe not repent me of that I have sayed. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe to Timoleon. Whether that inwarde forowe strooke him to the harte for the deathe of his brother, or that shame did so hashhim, as he durst not abide his mother: twenty yeares after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that shoulde be Timole chofentinto Sicile, the people having willingly chosen and accepted of him: Teleslides, who sengenced to

was chiefe gouernor at that time in the citie of Corint HE, standing vppon his feete before go into Sitile. the people, spake vnto Timoleon, and did exhorte him to behaue him selfe like an honest man, and valiant Captaine in his charge. For, sayd he, if you handle your selfe well, we will thinke you have killed a tyranne: but if you doe order your selfe otherwise then well, we will judge you have killed your brother . Nowe Timoleon being bufie in leavying of men gand preparing him felfe: letters came to the CORINTHIAN'S from Icetes, whereby plainely appeared, Icetes pran that letter had caried two faces in one hoode, and that he was become a traytor. For he had sine surgion no sooner dispatched his Ambassadors vnto them, but he straight tooke the CARTHAGE

selfeking of Syracysa. But fearing least the Coring Hians would sendayde before he

that they shoulde not neede nowe to put them selues to any charge or daunger for comming

into Sicile, and specially, bicause the CARTHAGINIANS were very angrie, and did also

lyein wayte in the way as they should come, with a great fleete of shippes to meete with their

armie: and that for him selfe, bicause he sawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie

with them, against the tyranne Dionysius. When they had red his letters, if any of the Corr

THIANS were before but coldely affected to this iorney, choller did then fo warme them a-

gainst Icetes, that they franckly graunted Timoleon what he would aske, and did helpe to fur-

nishe him to set him out. When the shippes were ready rigged, and that the souldiers were

furnished of all thinges necessary for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddesse Proferpina

fayed, they fawe a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesses and Proferpina did ap-

peare vnto them, apparrelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they woulde

goe with Timoleon into Sicile. Aponthis speache onely, the Corinthians rigged a

galley, they called, the galley of Ceres and Proferpina: and Timoleon him felfe before he would

C. had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the Corinthians, fending them worde.

NIANS parte, and dealt openly for them, intending to drive out Dionysius, and to make him

take the feas, went into the citie of DELPHES, where he made facrifice vnto Apollo. And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the aunsweres of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull figne vnto him. For amongest the vowes and offerings that are Afgue happened a hanged vppe vppon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vppon Ti- moleon. moleons heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: so that it seemed Apollo

fent him already crowned, before he had let out one foote towardes the iorney. He tooke Timoleon E shippe, and sayled with seuen gallyes of CORINTHE, two of CORPHYE, and tenne the LEVCADIANS did set out. When he was launched out in the mayne sea, having a francke

gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and thatout Abining

of the same there came a maruelous great bright light ouer his shippe, and it was much like tothe appear to a torche burning, when they showe the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torche ment unto did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the endeit vanished away, and Timoleon. feemed to fall downe vppon the coast of ITALYE, where the Shippemasters had deter-

Ceres dreamed, and that the goddesses fauoring this iorney, had shewed them the wayer, by fending of this light from heaven: bicause that the Ile of Sicila'is consecrated vnto the goddesse Proserpina, and specially for that they reporte her rauishement was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was affigned vnto her for her joynter, at the day of her mariage.

mined to arrive. The wife mens opinions being asked what this might fignifie: they aun-

swered. That this wonderfull fight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddesse

Phocient faying. AriFlides deliuer them also affured hope, who sayled with all possible speede they coulde: vntill such

time, as having croffed the feas, they arrived vpon the coast of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstoode from SICILE put Timoleon in great perplexitie, and did maruelously discourage the souldiers he brought with him. For Icetes having overthrowe the battell of the tyranne DIONY SIV s, and possessed the greatest parte of the citie of SYRACE. sa: he did befeege him within the caftell, and within that parte of the citie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him up, and inclosed him in with walles rounde about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe The moleon from landing in SICILE, to the ende that by preuenting that ayde, they might easily

deuide Sicila betwene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS follow- B ing his request, sent twenty of their gallyes vnto RHEOIO, amonge which Iceres Ambassa testes fendeth dors were fent to Timoleon, with testimonie of his doinges: for they were fayer flattering Ambassadors wordes, to cloke his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed Timoleon he shoulde goe him selse alone (if he thought good) vnto leetes, to counsell him, and to accompanie him in all his doinges, which were nowe fo farre onwardes in good towardnes, as he hadalmost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, he shoulde send backehis shippes and fouldiers to CORINTHE agayne, considering that the warre was nowe brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS woulde in no case that his men should passe into Sicile, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORINTHIANS at their arrivall into the citie of RHEGIO, finding there C these Ambassadors, and seeing the seete of the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, which did ryde at ancker not farre of from them: it spyted them on the one side to see they were thus mocked and abused by Icetes. For every one of them were marvelous angrye with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore SICILIANS, whome to playnely they fawe left a praye vnto leetes for rewarde of his treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyrannie, which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side they thought it impossible to concouer the shippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which laye in wayte for them, and so neare vnto them: confidering they were twyse as many in number as they and hard for them to subdue the armie also that was in the handes of Icetes in Sicile, confidering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenaunce of the warres, Not-D

withstanding, Timoleon spake very curteously vnto those Ambassadors, and captaynes of the sierthen the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, letting them vnderstande that he would doe as much as they would have him: and to fay truely, if he woulde have done otherwife, he could have wome nothing by it. Neuertheles he defired for his discharge, they woulde say that openly, in the presence of the people of RHEGIO, (being acitie of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secrete: and that done, he would departe incomnently, alledging that it stoode him very much vppon for the safetie of his discharge, and that they them selves also should more faithfully keepe that they promised vnto him touching the SYRACVS ANS, when they had agreed vponit, and promised it, before all the people of RHEo I o, who should be witnes of it. Now, all this was but a fetche and policie deliuered by him, E to shadowe his departure, which the Captaines and gouerners of RHEGIO did fauor, and feeme to helpe him in: bicause they wished SICILE should fall into the handes of the Co-RINTHIANS, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they commaunded a generall assembly of all the people, during which tyme, they caused the gates of the citie to be shut: geuing it out, that it was bicause the Citizens should not goe about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were affembled they beganne to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leaving alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of to the ende they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the Co-RINTHIANS were departed. And staying the CARTHAGINIANS also in this affemblye, they mistrusted nothing, bicause they sawe Timoleon present: who made a countenaunce, F as though he wouldery se to say something. But in the meane tyme, some one did secretely aduertife Timoleon, that the other gallyes were vnder fayle, and gone their wave, and that

there was but one galley left, which taried for him in the hauen. Thereupon he fodainly stale away through the prease, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayer where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hove fed faile alfo. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all fafe together to lande at the Timoleon /2citie of TAVROMENION, which is in SICILE: there they were very well received by Andromachus who long before had fent for them for he gouerned this citie, as if he had bene Lorde sieile, thereof. He was the father of Timaus the Historiographer, the honestest man of all those that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens, in all inflice and equitie, Time us he and did alwaies shew him selfe an open enemy of tyrans. And following his affection therein, Historiograhe lent his citie at that time vnto Timoleon, to gather people together, and perferaded his Citient of the citi rensto enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them, to deliver SICILE in of Tairie from bondage, and to restore it agains to libertie. But the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS menion that were at RHB GIO, when they knewe that Timoleon was vnder fayle and gone, after the affemblie of the counfell was broken uppe: they were ready to eate their fingers for fpyte, to fee them selues thus finely mocked and deceived. The RHEGIANS on the other side, were mery at the matter, to see howe the Phenicians stormed at it, that they had such a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the ende, they determined to fend an Ambassador vnto T a v-ROMENION, in one of their gallyes. This Ambassadorspake very boldely, and barbarously The Carthe vnto Andromachus, and in a choller: and last of all, he shewed him first the palme of his giman Amhande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his citie shoulde be so turned threatens of Couer hand, if he did not quickly fend away the CORINTHIANS. Andromachus fell a laugh-define the ciing at him, and did turne his hande uppe and downe as the Ambaffador had done, and bad the of Tamos. him that he should get him going, and that with speede out of his citie, if he would not see the keele of his galley turned vpward . Icetes nowe vnderstanding of Timoleons comming, and dromach the being affrayed, fent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the palme and backe of his SYRACVS ANS beganne to despayre veterly, when they sawe their hauen full of the CAR- hand THAG INI ANS galleyes, the best parte of their citie kept by Icetes, and the castell by the tyran Dionysius. And on thother side, that Timoleon was not yet comen but to a litle corner of SICILE, having no more but the litle citie of TAVROMENION, with a small power, and

Sicil at libertie, and to drive out the tyrans: and yet nevertheles they had done so much

hurte vnto the poore SICILIANS, that the miferie and calamitie which they had fuffered

under the tyrans, feemedall to be golde unto them, in respect of that which the Captaines

had made them to abyde. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly sub-

mitted them felues vnto the voke of feruitude: then those which they sawe restored, and see

atlibertie. Therefore perswading them selves, that this CORINTHIAN woulde be no bet-

ter vnto them, then the other had bene before, but supposing they were the selfe same

former craftes, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayer wordes, which they had tafted

of before, to drawe them to accept newe tyrans: they did fore suspectit, and rejected all

to Timoleon. So it fortuned, that bothe the one and the other, making all the possible

speede they coulde, who shoulde come first: arrived bothe in manner at one selfe tyme.

leetes had about five thowfande fouldiers. Timoleon had not in all, aboue twelve hundred

men, with the which he departed to goe towards the citie of ADRANYS, distant from TAV-

ROMENION, about three hundred and fortiefurlonges. For the first dayes iorney, he went

leffe hope: bicaufe there was not aboue athowfand footemen in all, to furnishe these warres. D neither prouision of vittells, nor so much money as woulde serue to entertayne and pay them. Besides also, that the other cities of Sigila did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extorcions they had alate suffered, they hated all Captaines and leaders of men of warre to the deathe, and specially for the tretcherie of Calippus and Pharax, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDEMONIAN. Both of them fayed they came to fet

the CORINTHIANS perswasions. Sauing the ADRANITANS onely, whose little citie being confecrated to the god Adranus, (and greatly honored and reverenced through all The god A

Sicile) was then in differtion one against an other: in so muche as one parte of them dramme tooke parte with Icetes, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and an other side of them fent yn-

TIMOLEON. 292 no great way, but lodged betymes: but the next morning he marched very haftely, & had man, A uelous ill way. When night was come, and day light shut in, he had newes that Isetes did ber newly arrive before ADRANY s, where he encamped. When the private captaines vnderstood this they caused the voward to stay, to eate & repose a litle, that they might be the lustier, & the

stronger to fight. But Timoleon did fet still forwards, & prayed them not to stay, but to goe on with all the speede they could possible, that they might take their enemies out of order (asir was likely they (hould) being but newly arrived, & troubled with making their cabbons, & preparing for supper. Therewithall as he spake these wordes, he tooke his target on his arme, and

marched him felfe the formost man, as brauely and coragiously as if he had gon to a most assu-

red victorie. The fouldiers feeing him marche with that life; they followed at his heeles with like corage. So they had not passing thirty furlonges to goe, which when they had ouercomen, they straight set apontheir enemies, whome they found all out of order, and began to five, fo made him five foone as they faw they were vpon their backes before they were aware. By this meanes there were not about three hundred men flayne, and twife as many moe taken prisoners, and so their whole campe was possessed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yelded vnto Timeto Timoleon.

Timoleon otes armie,& from Adranus tans yeld un-

leon, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no leffe wonder, how at the very time when he gaue charge apon the enemies, the dores of the temple of their god opened of them felues it that the laueling which the Image of their god did hold in his hand, did shake at the very ende where the iron head was, and how all his face was seene to sweate. This (in my opinion) did not

onely fignifie the victorie he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploytes he did afterwardes, vnto the which, this first encounter gaue a happye beginning. For immediate of after, many cities fent vnto Timoleon, to ioyne in league with him. And Mamercus, thery.

ran of CATANA, a fouldier, and very full of money, did also seeke his friendship. Furthermore, Dionysius the tyran of Syracvsa, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding him felfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuaunce of feige: made no more reckoning of Icetes, when he knewe that he was to shamefully ouerthrowen. And contrariwife, much esteeming Timoleons valiantnes, he sent to advertise him, that he was contented to

velde him felfe and the castell into the handes of the CORINTHIANS. Timoleon being glad of this good happe vnlooked for, fent Euclides and Telemachus, two Captaines of the Co-

RINTHIANS, to take possession of the castell, with sowre hundred men, not all at a tyme. deth him felfe nor openly (for it was unpossible, the enemies lying in wayte in the hauen) but by small com-n and the castell panies, and by stellhe, he conveyed them all into the castell. So the souldiers possessed the

castell, and the tyrans pallace, with all the moueables and municion of warres within the unto Timotefame. There were a great number of horse of service, great store of staues and weapons of fensive of all fortes, and engynes of batterie to shoote farre of, and fundry other weapons of defence, that had bene gathered together of long tyme, to arme threefcore and tenne thowfand men. Moreouer, besides all this, there were two thowsand souldiers, whome withall the other thinges rehearled, Dionysius deliuered vp into the handes of Timoleon: and he him felfe, with his money and a few of his friendes, went his way by fea, Icetes not knowing it, and

so came to Timoleons campe. This was the first tyme that ever they sawe Dionysius a private man, in base and meane estate. And yet within sewe dayes after, Timoleon sent him from E tyran of Sy-racufa fens to thence vnto Corinthia fhippe, with litle flore of money. Who was borne and brought vp in the greatest and most famous tyrannie, and kingdome, conquered by force, that ener was in the world: and which him felfe had kept by the space of tenne yeares after the death of his father. Since Dion draue him out, he had bene marueloufly turmoyled in warres, by the space of twelve yeares: in which time, although he had done much emischiese, yet he had

fuffered also a great deale more. For he sawe the death of his sonnes when they were men growen, and able to ferue and cary armor. He faw his daughters rauished by force, & deflow-& calamities of Dionyfiue red of their virginitie. He faw his owne fifter (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, & cruelly handled in her person, with the greatest villanies & most vile partes done vnto her, that his enemies could deuise: & afterwards horribly murdered with his childre, & their bodies in the I a rogo fee him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his querthrow, as if Dionystus

they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowen, so bitterly did Gorindia. they hate him. Other pittiyng him in their heartes, to fee fo great a chaunge, did behold him as it were with a certaine compassion, considering what great power, secret and divine causes

haue ouer mens weakenes and frailtie, and those thinges that daily passeth ouer our heades. For the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand fo wonderful. as was this of fortune. Who made the world fee a man, that before was in maner Lorde and The Incom-King of all Sicile, fit then commonly in the cittie of CORINTHE, talking with a virailer, or flancie of for-

firring a whole day in a perfumers shoppe, or commonly drinking in some celler or tauerne; or to brawle and scolde in the middest of the streetes, with common whores in face of the world or els to teach common minftrels in euery lane & alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony & musike, of the songs they sang in the THEAT BRS. Now fome fay he did this, bicaufe he knew not els how he should drive the time away, for that in dede he was of a base mynde, and an effeminate person, given over to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinio, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare lest the Corinthians (hould have him in gealouzy and sufficient, Imagining that he did take the chaunge and state of his lyfe in grieuous part, and that he should yet looke backe, hoping for a tyme to recouer his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many thinges against his nature, feeming to be a starke nideotte, to see him do those thinges he did. Some not withstanding have gathered together certaine of his answers, which doe testifie that he did not all these thinges of a base brutish mynde, but to fitte himselfe onely to his present misery and mis-

fortune. For when he came to LEVCADES, an auncient cittle built by the CORINTHIANS, as was also the citty of Syracvs'a: he told the inhabitants of the same, that he was like to yong Motable Say boyes that had done a fault. For as they flye from their fathers being ashamed to come in their mysus sy. better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTHE our head citty. Another tyme, being at CORINTHE, a stranger was very busie with him, (knowing how familiar Dionysius was with

fight, & are gladder to be with their brethre: eue fo is it with me, faid he: for it would please me racusan. learned men and Philosophers, while he raigned in Syracvs a) and asked him in the ende in derision: what benefite he got by Platoes wisedome and knowledge? he answered him againe: how thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, whe thou seest me beare so paciently this change D offortune? Aristoxenus a musician, and other, asking him what offence Plato had done vnto The benefite him: he answered. That tyransstate is ever vnfortunate, and subject to many euills: but yet no of Philosoeuill in their state was comparable to this. That none of all those they take to be their most familiars, dare once tell them truely any thing: and that through their fault, he left Platoes com- flate unfor-

pany. Another tyme there commeth a pleasaunt fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him "mate. finely, as he entred into his chamber, he shooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come with Alfon to tyrans, to shewe that they have no weapons under their gownes. But Dionysius encountred worder to So. him as pleafantly, faying to him: do that whe thou goest hece, to se if thou hast stolle nothing. shed him so And again, Philip King of MACEDON, at his table one day disceding into talke of songs, verse, ming so prin and tragedies, which Dionysius his father had made, making as though he wondred at the how ces, to please F. possibly he could have leisure to do them: he answered him very trimly, and to good purpose. come nere. He didthem even at fuch tymes (quod he) as you and I, and all other great Lordes whom they them. recken happy, are disposed to be drunke, & play the sooles. Now for Plato, he neuer faw Diomy- Life, and his fins at CORINTHE. But Diogenes Sinopian, the first tyme that euer he met with Dionyfins, fayd anter to vnto him. O how vnworthy art thou of this state. Dionysius stayed sodainely, and replied: Tru-

ly I thanke thee (Diogenes) that thou hast compassion of my misery. Why sayd Diogenes againe : Doest thou thinke I pitty thee ? Nay it spiteth me rather to see such a slaue as thou Dimpsiu the (worthy to dye in the wicked state of a tyrant like thy father) to lyue in such securitie, and idle prane. lyfe, as thou leadest amongst vs. When I came to compare these wordes of Diogenes, with Philistus wordes the Historiographer, bewailing the harde fortune of the daughters of the F LEPTINES, faying that they were brought from the toppe of all worldly felicity, honor, and goodes, (whereof tyrannicall state aboundeth) vnto a base, private, and humble life: me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that foroweth for the loffe of her BB iii

end throwen into the fea, as we have more amply declared in the life of Dion. Now when Diomysim was arryued in the cittle of CORINTHE, every GRECIAN was wonderfull desirous

boxes of painting cullers or for her purple gownes, or for other fuche prety fine trimmes of a

golde, as women vie to weare. So, me thinkes these things I have intermingled concerning Dionylius, are not impartinent to the description of our lines, neither are they troublesom nor ynprofitable to the hearers, oneles they have other hafty busines to let or trouble them. But now if the tyraunt Dionylius wretched state seeme straunge, Timoleons prosperitie then was no leffe wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had fet foote in Sicile, he had the caffel of SYRACY SA in his possession, and sent Dionysius as an exile to CORINTHE. This did set the Co. RINTHIANS in suchea iollitie, that they fent him a supply of two thousand footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were appointed to land in ITALIE, in the countrie of the Thy. RIANS. And percevuing that they could not possible goe from thence into Sicile, bicause the CARTHAGINIANS kept the leas with a great naule of thippes, and that thereby they were n compelled to flave for better oportunitie: in the meane time they bestowed their leylure in

doing a notable good acte. For the THYRIANS, being in warres at that time with the BRY.

drawen in his hande, and recoursed the toppe of a higher rocke. The other fouldier that came

with him, and that was not hurte, got holde of a corner of the aulter, and befought pardone

of Timoleon, and told him he would discouer the treason practised against him. Timoleon there-

upon pardoned him. Then he tolde him howe his companion that was flaine, and him felfe.

were both hiered, and fent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him also that had taken h

the rocke, who cried out alowde, he had done no more then he should doe; for he had killed

him that had flaine his owne father before, in the cittie of the LEONTINES. And to justifie

this to be true, certaine that stoode by dyd affirme, it was so in deede, Whereat they wondred

TIANS, they dyd put their cittle into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly. as it had bene their owne native countrie. Icetes all this while dvd beliege the castell of Synta c v s Apprecianting all he could possible that there should come no corne by sea vnto the Co-

RINTHIANS that kept within the castell: and he had hiered two straunge fouldiers, which he fent ynto the cittle of Aprany s. to kill Timoleon by treafon, who kept no garde about his perto fouldier fone, and continued amongeft the ADRANITANS, mistrusting nothing in the world, for the to kill Timo- trust and confidence he had in the safegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. These souldiers leon at Adrabeing fent to do this murther, were by chaunce enformed that Timoleon should one day do facrifice vnto this god. So apon this, they came into the temple, having daggers under their gownes, & by litle and litle thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the aulter. But at the present time as one encoraged another to dispatche the matter, a third pertone they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his sworde, thathe fell to the grounde. The man that had hurte him thus, fled straight vpon it, with his sworde

The weafen discourred to Timoleon by one of the

The wonderfull worke of

greatly to confider the maruelous working of fortune, howe she doth bring one thing to passe by meanes of another, & gathereth all things together, howe farre a fonder focuer they be& linketh them together, though they feeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likenes or conjunction between them, making the ende of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that flue the fouldier with his sworde, a crowne of the value of tenne minas, bicause that by meanes, of his iuste anger, he had done good service to the God that had preserved Timoleon. And furthermore, this good happe dyd not only ferue the prefent turne, but was to good purpofe & uer after. For those that sawe it, were putte in better hope, and had thenceforth more care

geth Mago Carshaginian with a great

and regard vnto Timoleons persone, bicause he was a holy man, one that loued the goddes, and that was purposely sent to deliuer Sicile from captilitie. But Icetes having missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daylie drawen to Timoleons denotion: he was mad with him self, that having fo great an armie of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commaundement, he tooke but a fewe of them to ferue his turne, as if he had bene ashamed of his facte, and hadvfed their frendshippe by stelth. So he sent hereupon for Mago their generall, with all his fleete. Mago at his request brought an huge army to see to, of a hundred and fiftie sayle, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed three fcore thousand men, whom he F lodged enery man within the cittle of Syracvsa. Then enery man imagined the time was now come, which olde men had threatned SICILE with many yeres before, and that conti-

TIMOLEON. A nually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warresthe CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the countrie of SICILE, they could neuer come to take the cittle of Syrac vsa: and then through Icetes treason, who had receyned them, they were seene encamped there. On thother side, the Corinth ins that were within the castell, founde them selues in great distresse, bicause their vittells waxed scant, and the hauen was fo straightly kept. Moreouer, they were driven to be armed continually to defend the walles, which the enemies battered, and affaulted in fundry places, with all kyndes of engines of batterie, and fundry fortes of deutled instruments and inventions to take citties: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to deuide them selues into many companies. Neuertheles. Timoleon without gaue them all the ayde he could possible: sending them come B from CATANA, in litle fisher botes and small crayers, which got into the castell many times. but specially in storme and fowle weather, passing by the gallyes of the barbarous people, that lave scatteringly one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billowes of the lea. But Mago and Icetes finding this, determined to goe take the cittie of CATANA, from

diers of all their armie, they departed from Syracvsa, and fayled towardes Catana. Nowe in the meane space, Leon CORINTHIAN, captaine of all those that were within the castell, Leon captains perceyning the enemies within the cittle kept but flender warde: made a fodaine falle out of the comapon them, and taking them vnwares, flue a great number at the first charge, and draue awaye the castell. the other. So by this occasion he wanne a quarter of the cittie, which they call ACRADINA, Leon wanne and was the best parte of the cittie, that had receyued least hurte. For the cittie of Syracys A Acradina. feemeth to be built of many townes joyned together. So having found there great plenty of come, golde, and filuer, he would not for fake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into

the castell: but fortifying with all diligence the compasse and precinct of the same, and ioy-

ning it vnto the castell with certen fortifications he built vp in haste, he determined to keepe

both the one and the other. Now were Mago and Icetes very neere vnto CATANA, when a post

ouertookethem, purposely sent from Syracvsavnto them: who brought them newes, that

highe many dayes together, and was allwayes in storme and tempest: in the ende, they ventu-

red to goe through the countrie of the BRVTIANS. And partly with their good will but rather

by force) they got through, and recoursed the cittie of RHEGIO, the sea being yet maruelous

highe and rough . Hanno the admiral of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for

they thought to passe by the coast of ITALIE into SICILE, flattering them selves, that this dyd

muche discorage those that were besieged. But whilest he sported thus with his fonde deuise.

the two thousand Corinthians being arrived through the countrie of the BRYTIANS in

the citie of R HE G I O, perceyuing the coaste cleare, and that the passage by sea was not kept, &

f that the raging feas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpofe calme for them: they tooke

feas forthwith in fuch fither boates & paffengers as they found readie, in the which they went

into SICILE, in suche good safety, as they drue their horse (holding them by the raynes) alon-

whence those of the castell of & YRACVSA were vittelled: and taking with them the best soul-

the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned backe againe with all speede possible (having failed of their purpose they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their handes. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it vnto D wisedome and valliancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opi- comemion of nion, is altogether to be ascribed with fortune. And this it is. The two thousand sootemen and forme and two hundred horsemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the cittle of the THVRIANS. Valliancie.

partly for feare of the gallyes of the CARTHAGINIANS that laye in wayte for them as they should passe, Hanno being their admirall: and partly also for that the sea was very rough and

their passage, thought with him selfe that he had deuised a maruelous fine policie, to deceyue E the enemies. Thereuppon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumphe vpon their heades, and therewithall also made them dreffe vp, and fet forth his gallyes, with targets, The firstecorfelets, and brigantines after the GRECIANS facion. So in this brauery he returned backe Hanno the againe, failing towards Syracvs a, & came in with force of owers, rowing under the castells admiral of fide of Syracvsa, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out alowde to them the Carthagithat were in the castell, that he had ouerthrowen their ayde which came from Corint HE, as

gest their boates with them. When they were all passed ouer, Timoleon having received them, A went immediatly to take MESSINA, and marching thence in battell raye, tooke his way tocheth to Syra- wards Syra-cv sa, trusting better to his good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not about foure thowfand fighting men, Notwithstanding, Mago hearing of his comming, quaked for feare, & dowted the more vpon this occasion. About Syracvsa

are certeyne marishes, that receive great quantitie of sweete fresh water, aswell of sountaines and springes, as also of litle ronning brookes, lakes, & rivers, which ronne that wayes towards the sea: and therefore there are great store of eeles in that place, and the fishing is great there

at all tymes, but specially for such as delite to take celes. Whereuppon the GRECIANS that tooke paye on both fides, when they had leyfure, and that all was quiet betwene them, they intended fishing. Now, they being all contrey men, and of one language, had no private quarrell one with an other: but when tyme was to fight, they did their duties, and in tyme of peace also frequented familiarly togither, and one spake with an other, and specially when they

were bufie fishing for celes: faying, that they maruelled at the scituacion of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they stoode so pleasauntly and commodious apon the sea side. So one of the fouldiers that ferued vnder the CORINTHIANS, chaunced to fay vnto them Is it possible that you that be GRECIANS borne, and have so goodly a citie of your owne, & full of so many goodly commodities: that ye will give it vppe vnto these barbarous people, the vile CAR-THAG INIAN s, and most cruell murderers of the worlde? where you should rather wishe that there were many Sicilies betwixt them and Greece. Haue ye so litle consideration or iudgement to thinke, that they have affembled an armie out of all A FRICKE, vnto Hercules (pillers, and to the fea ATLANTICKE, to come hether to fight to stablish leetes tyrannie? who,

if he had bene a wife and skilfull Captaine, would not have cast out his auncestors & founders. to bringe into his contrye the auncient enemies of the fame: but might have received such honor and authoritie of the CORINTHIANS and Timoleon, as he could reasonably have desired, and that with all their fauor and good wil. The fouldiers that heard this tale, reported it against in their campe: Infomuch they made Mago suspect there was treason in hand, and so sought fome culler to be gon. But hereuppon, not with standing that Icetes prayed him all he could to

tary, declaring vnto him how much they were stronger then their enemies, and that Timoleon did rather preuayle by his hardines and good fortune, then exceede him in number of men: yet he hoysed sayle, and returned with shame enough into A FRICKE, letting slyppe the con-D quest of all Sicile out of his handes, without any fight of reason or cause at all. The next day after he was gone, Timoleon presented battell before the citie, when the GRECIANS and he vnderstoode that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they saw the hauen ryd of all the shippes: and then beganne to least at Magoes cowardlines, and in derision proclaymed in the citie, that they would give him a good reward that could bringe them newes, whether the ar-

mie of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, Icetes was bent to fight, & wouldenot

leaue the spoyle he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had possessed, at the fwordes poynt, trusting to the strength and scituacion of the places, which were hardly to be approached. Timoleon perceyuing that, deuided his armie, and he with one parte thereof did fett vpon that fide which was the hardest to approache, and did stand vpon the river of ANA-E P v s: then he appoynted an other part of his armie to affault all at one time, the fide of ACRA-DINA, whereof Ilias CORINTHIAN had the leading. The thirde parte of his armie that came last from CORINTHE, which Dinarchus and Demaratus led: he appoynted to affault the quatter called Epipo LES. Thus, affault being given on all fides at one time, Icetes bandes of men

were broken, and rannetheir way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by affault, and come to neth the citie fod aynely to the handes of Timoleon, and the enemies being fled: it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantnes of the fouldiers, and the captaines great wisedom. But where there was not one Corinthian flayne, nor hurt in this affault: fure me thinkes herein, it was onely the worke and deede of fortune, that did fauor and protect Timoleon, to contende against his valiantnes. To the ende that those which should hereafter heare of his doings, should have more to occasion to wonder at his good happe: then to prayle and commend his valiantnes. For the fame of this great exployte, did in few dayes not onely ronnethrough all ITALYE, but also

through

through all GREECE. Infomuch as the CORINTHIANS, (who could frant beleeve their men were passed with safetie into SICILB) understoode withall that they were safely arrived there. and had gotten the victorie of their enemies: so prosperous was their iorney, & fortune so spedely did fauor his noble actes. Timoleon having now the castellof S TRACVS ain his hands did not followe Dian. For he spared not the castell for the beawtie and stately building thereof, but anovding the suspicion that caused Dion first to be accused, and lastly to be slaying: he caused it tobe proclaymed by trompett, that any SYRACVSAN whatfoever, should come with crowes

fewedayes; and made all playne: Timoleon at the fute of the Citizens, made counfell halls, and

where so many tyrans had reigned. Timoleon thereuppon seeing this desolation, and also so

fewe SYRACVSANS borne that hadescaped, thought good, and all his Captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to fend people out of GREECE to inhabite the citie of SYRACVSA 2-

gayne. For otherwise the contrye would growe barren and unprofitable, if the grounde were

the CORINTHIANS did not gredily defire to be Lordes of fo goodly and great a citie, but first proclaymed by the trompett in all the affemblies, folemne feaftes, and common playes of

GREECE, that the CORINTHIANS having destroyed the tirannie that was in the citie of Sy-

RACVS A, and driven out the tyrannes, did call the SYRACVS ANS that were fugitives out of

their contrye, home againe, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedom and libertie, with promife to make just and equall division of the landes a-

mong them, the one to have as much as the other. Moreover they fent out postes and messen-

gers into Asia, and into all the Ilands where they understoode the banished Syracy sans

remayned: to perswade and intreat them to come to CORINTHE, and that the CORINTHE

ANS would give them shippes, Captaines, and meanes to conduct them safely vnto S x R A C v-

SA, at their owne proper costes and charges. In recompence whereof, the citie of CORINTHE

receased every mans most noble praise and blessing, aswell for delivering Sicilia in that forte

ofiron and mattocks to helpe to digge downe and ouerthrow the forte of the tyrans. There Timelenes was not a man in all the citie of S YRAC V S X, but went thither ftraight, and thought that pro- wenterough clamacion and day to be a most happy beginning, of the recourrie of their libertie. So they did she castell of notonely overthrowe the castell, but the pallace also, and the tombes: and generally all that ferued in any respect for the memorie of any of the tyrans. And having cleared the place in

places of inflice to be built there: and did by this meanes stablish a free state and popular gonernment, and did suppresse all tyrannicall power. Nowe, when he sawe he had wonne a citie Timoleon that had no inhabitants, which warres before had confumed, and feare of tyrannic had emptied so as graffe grewe so highe and rancke in the great markett place of SYRACVSA, as they sapopular grased their horses there, and the horsekeepers laye downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities, a fewe excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, so that men ble flate of

geuen to delite in hunting, hauing leyfure, might finde game many tymes within the fuburbes Sielle. C and towne dytches, hard by the walles: and that fuch as dwelt in castells and stronge holdes in the contrye, would not leave them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growen so stowie, and did so hate and detest assemblies of counsell, orations, and order of gouernment,

not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of A FRICKE being aduertised that the CARTHAGINIAN'S had honge up the body of Mago their general upon a croffe (who Mago flut hadflayne him felfe for that he could not aunswere the dishonor layed to his charge) and that him felfe, be-D they did leavy another great mightie armie, to return e againe the next yere following, to make ing called to warres in Sicile. Thefe letters of Timoleon being brought vnto Corinthe, and the Embal- department sadors of Syracvs a being arrived with them also, who befought the people to take care and of sicile. protection ouer their poore citie, and that they would once againe be founders of the same;

from the bondage of tyrannes: as also for keeping it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and restored the naturall Syracvs ans, and Sicilians, to their home and contryeagaine. Neuertheles, such Sicilians asrepayred to Corinthe aponthis proclamacion (them scheeng but a small number to inhabite the contrye) besought the CORINTHIANS to Figure to them some other inhabitantes, aswell of Corinth itselfe, as out of the rest of GREECE: the which was performed. For they gathered together about tenne thow fand perfons, whom they shipped, and sent to S x R A C V & A. Where there were already a great number

of Sytacufa.

ans repleni-shed she citie of Syracusa, wwith three fand inhabi-

The Commission of other comen vinto Timoleon, as well out of SICILE it felf, as out of all I ALIE besides for the the whole number (as Athania writeth) came to three score thowsand persons. Amongst them he deuided the whole control and fold them houses of the citie, vnto the value of a thousand ralents. And bicause he would leave the olde SYRACV SANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to have money in common, to defraye the common charges of the citie as also their expences in time of warres: the statues or images were solde and the people by most voyces did condemne them. For they were folemly indited, accused arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the STRA. CVS ANS did referee the statue of Gelon, an auncient tyranne of their citie, honoring his me morie. bicause of a great victorie he had wonne of the CARTHAGINIAN s, neare the cities

HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of energy corner of the citie, and to B

be fold. Thus beganne the citie of S Y R A C V S A to replenishe againe, and by litle and litle to re-

couer it selfe, many people comming thither from all partes to dwell there. Thereupon Time

teon thought to fet all other cities at libertie also, and vtterly to roote out all the tyrans of S1.

CILE and to obtevne his purpose, he went to make warres with them at their owne dores. The

first he went against, was leetes: whome he compelled to forsake the league of the CARTHA.

ordinaunces for their common weale. And now in the meane time, bicause the souldiers had a

minde to get fome thing of their enemies, and to auoyd idlenes: he fent them out abroadeto

a contrye lubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, under the charge of Dimarchus, and Demaratus.

Where they made many litle townes rebell against the barbarous people, and did not onely

liue in all aboundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to mainteyne the

Warres. The CARTHAGINIANS on thother fide, while they were bufy about the matters, came D

downe into LILYBEA, with an armie of three score and tenne thow sand men, two hundred gal-

GINIAN s, and to promise also that he would rase all the fortresses he kept, and to live like a priuate man within the citie of the LEONT INES. Leptines in like maner, that was tyran of the van of Apolcitie of APOLLONI A and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he faw him felfein

daunger to be taken by force, did yeld him felfe. Whereupon Timoleon faued his life, and fent him vnto CORINTHE: thinking it honorable for his contrye, that the other GR & CIANAC should see the tyrans of Sicila in their chiefe citie of fame, living meanely and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, he returned forthwith to SY RACVSA about the stablishment of the common weale, affisting Cephalus and Dionysius, two notable men fent from CORINTHE to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to stablishe the goodliest

Shippes of the against Timoleo, Afdra car being ge-

with 6000. the Carthagi-Crimefus fl.

lyes, and a thowfand other shippes and vessells that caried engines of batterie, cartes, vittells, municion, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting warresno more, but at once to drive all the GR ECIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For in deede it was an able armie to ouercome all the Sicilians, if they had bene whole of them selves, and not divided. Now they being advertised that the Sicilian's had invaded their contrye, they went towards them in great furie, led by Adrubal & Amilear, generalls of the armie. This news was straight brought to Synac vs a, and the inhabitants were so striken with feare of thereport of their armie: that being a maruelous great number of them within the citie, cant three thowfand of them had the hartes to armethem selves, and to goe to the fielde with Timoleon. Now the straungers that tooke pay, were not about four thowsand in all: & of them, a thowfand of their hartes fayled, and left him in midd way, and returned home againe. Saying, that Timoleon was out of his wittes, and more rashe then his yeares required, to vndertake with fine thow fand footemen. & a thow fand horse, to goe against threescore and tenne thow fand men and befides to cary that small force he had to defend him felfe withal eight great dayes jorney from S Y R A C V S A. So, that if it chaunced they were compelled to flye, they had no place whe ther they might retyre them selues vnto with safetie, nor man that woulde take care to burve them, when they were flavne. Neuertheles, Timoleon was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, having incoraged those that remayned with him, he made them marche with speede towards the river of CRIMBSVS, where he vnderstoode he should F meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpo a litle hil, from whence he might fe the campe of the enemies on the other fide: by chaunce, certen moyles fell apon his armie, loden

1. with finallage. The fouldiers tooke a conceyt at the first apon sight of it, and thought it was a Smallage in noken of ill lucke: bicause it is a maner we vie, to hange garlands of this erbe; about the tombes 14 fgme. of the dead . Hereof came the common prouerbe they vie to speake, when one lyeth a paf- Prounte, fing in his bed: he lacketh but finallage. Afmuch to fay, he is but a dead man. But Timeleon to draw them from this foolish superstition, & discorage they tooke, stayed the armie. And when he had vied certen perswassions vnto them, according to the time, his leysure, and occasion: he rold them that the garland of it felfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, fayd he, the CORINTHIANS doe crowne them that winne the IST MIAN games (which are celebrated in

as you have heard before: he first of all tooke of this smallage, and made him selfe a garland,&

out it on his head. When they fawe that the Captaines and all the fouldiers also tooke of the

fame, and made them selues the like. The sooth sayers in like maner at the very same time, per-

ceivied two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a fnake in her talents, which

he pearced through and through, and the other as the flewe, gaue a terrible cry. So they flew-

ed them both vnto the fouldiers, who did then all together with one voyce callypon the gods

forhelpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the formmer, and towards the later ende

of Maye, the funne drawing towards the folltyce of the fommer: when there rose a great myst

out of the river, that covered all the feilds over, so as they could not see the enemies campe,

but onely heard a maruelous confuled noyle of mens voyces, as it had come from a great ar-

mie, and rifing up to the toppe of the hil, they layed their targets downe on the grownd totake

a little breathe : and the funne having drawen and fucked vp all the moyft vapours of the myfte

vnto the toppe of the hills, the ayer began to be fo thicke, that the toppes of the mountaynes

were all concred oner with clowdes, and contrarily, the valley underneath was all cleare and

their contrye) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also even in the solemne 13TMIAN Garlander of games, they vied the garland of smallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this present it is also vsed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp. that they have vsed braunches of pyne appletrees in the Istmian games. Now Timoleon had thus incoraged his men,

fayer, that they might easily see the riner of CRIMES V s, and the enemies also, how they passed itouer in this fort. First, they had put their cartes of warre foremost, which were very hotly ar- Theorder of medand well appoynted. Next vnto them there followed tenne thowfand footemen, armed the Carthago

with white targets vpon their armes: whom they feeing a farre of fo well appoynted, they coneftured by their stately marche and good order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS them selues. After them, divers other nations followed confusedly one with an other, and so they thronged ouer with great disorder. There Timoleon considering the river gave him oportunity totake them before they were halfe past ouer, and to servoon what number he would: after he hadshewed his men with his finger, how the battel of their enemies was deuided in two partes by meanes of the river, some of them being already passed ouer, & the other to passe: He commaunded Demaratus with his horsemen, to gene a charge on the voward, to keepe them from Timolon ge-

putting them selues in order of battell. And him selfe comming downethe hill also with all his with charge

footemen into the valley, he gaue to the Sicilians the two winges of his battell, mingling aponthe car-

with them some straungers that served voder him: and placed with him selse in the middest, they came or E the Syracus an s, with all the choyce & best liked straungers. So he taried not long to joyne, My the timer when he saw the small good his horsemen did. For he perceyued they could not come to geue alusty charge apon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, bicause they were paled in with Thesenice of thefearmed carres, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled the amen to wheele about continually, (onles they would have put them felues in daunger to have bene vtterly ouerthrowen) and in their returnes to geue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherefore Timoleon taking his target on his arme, cried out allowed to his footemen, to follow him coragiously, se to feare nothing. Those that heard his voyce, thought it more then Timoleons

the voyce of a man, whether the furie of his defire to fight did so strayne it beyonde ordinary marnelous course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voyce to cry out so lowde & biggs voyce.

fensibly. His souldiers aunswered him againe with the like voyce: & prayed him to leade them without lenger delay. Then he made his horsemen understand, that they should draw on the tonefide from the cartes, and that they should charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flanckes: der and fight.

and after he did fet the formost rancke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, com.

maunding the trumpets withall to found. Thus with great furie he went to gene a charges.

A marue lous shunder light ning,rayne, winde, and hayle,full in forethe barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindefold their eyes, and continual. ly tormented them with the rayne that came full apon them with the winde, & the lightnings mans faces as

they fought.

Timoleons

the Cartlingi

pon them, who valiantly received the first charge, their bodies being armed with good arm corfelets, and their heades with fayer murrions of copper, befides the great targetts they had alfo, which did eafily receyue the force of their dartes, and the thrust of the pyke. But when they came to handle their fwordes, where agilitie was more requifite then force: a feareful tempest of thunder. & flashing lightning withall, came from the mountagnes. After that came darke thicke clowdes also (gathered together from the toppe of the hilles) and fell vppon the valley, where the battell was fought, with a maruelous extreame shower of rayne, fiercevin lentwindes, and hayle withall. All this tempest was upon the GRECIANS backes, and full be

to ofte flathing amongest them, that one vinderstoode not another of them. Which did mar-

ueloufly trouble them, and specially those that were but freshe water souldiers, by reason of the

terrible thunderclapps, and the noyle, the boysterous winde and hayle made uppon their haz.

nes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreouer, the dur

did as much annoye the CARTHAGINIANS, bicaufe they were not nimble in their armor, him

heauely armed as we have told you: and besides that also, when the playtes of their coars were through wett with water, they did lode and hinder them so muche the more, that they couldnot fight with any case. This stoode the GRECIANS to great purpose, to throwe them downe the easier. Thus when they were tombling in the durte with their heavy armor, yo they could rife no more. Furthermore, the river of CRIMESVS being rifen highe through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouerit, did ouerslowe theval ley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was straight all drowned ouer, and filled with many ronning streames, that ranne ouerthwart the feild, without any certen channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters. they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the florme that still did beate apon them, and the GRECIANS having slayne of their men at the first onfet to the number of foure hundred of their choycest men, who made the first fronte of their battell: all the rest of their armie turned their backes immediatly, and sled for life. Infomuch fome of them being followed very neare, were put to the fworde in the middeft of the valley: other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the middeft of the river as they palfed ouer, were caried downe the streame and drowned, with the swiftnes and violence of the river. But the greatest number did thinke by footemanship to recover the hilles thereabour. who were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the fworde enery man. They faye, that of tenne thow fande which were flayne in this battell, three thow fande of them were meete natural citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very forowfull and greenous loffe tothe city. For they were of the nobleft, the richeft, the lustieft, & valiantest men of all CARTHAGE For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former warres at any tyme before, wherether dyed so many of CARTHAGE at one feild and battell, as were flaynear that present tyme. For before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the FIBYANS, the SPANYARDS, and the No. MAD E S, in all their warres: fo as when they loft any battell, the loffe lighted not on them, but the straungers payed for it. The men of accompt also that were slayne, were easily knowenby their spoyles. For they that spoyled them, stoode not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, bicause they found gold and filuer enoughe. For the battell being wonne, the Gas-CIANS passed ouer the river, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their canages and bagage. And as for ptherifoners, the fouldiers stole many of them away, and set them going: but of them that came to short to make common division of the spoyle among them, they were about flue thow fand men, and two hundred cartes of warre that were taken befides. Oh, it was anoble fight to behold the tent of Timoleon their generall, how they enuyroned it all about with heapes of spoyles of every forte: amongest which there were a thowards braue corfelets guylt, and grauen, with maruelous curious workes, and brought thither with them also tenne thowsand targets. So the conquerours being but a small number, to take the

froile of a multitude that were flaine they filled their puries even to the toppe. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battel, they fet vp a marke or token of their victorie. The Timoleon fent vnto Corint H, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the fairest armors that were gotten in the spoyle: bicause he would make his countrie & natiue citie spokenof & commeded through the world about al the other cities of GREBEE. For that at Co-RINTH only, their chief teples were fet forth & adorned, not with spoiles of the GREBCIANS. nor offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their ownenation & contrie: (which to fay truely. are unpleasant memories) but with the spoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies. with inferriptions witnessing the valliancie & inflice of those also, who by victorie had obteined the. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS & their captaine Timoleon, (having delivered the GREECIANS dwelling in SICILE from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had geven those offerings vnto the gods, to geue thanks for their victory. That done, Timoleon leaving the ftraungers he had in pay, in the contrie subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoile & destroy ithe retorned with the reft of his army vnto Syracvsa. Whereat his first coming home, he Timoleon bahanished the thow sand souldiers that had for saken him in his iorney, with expresse charge that thow sad ires they should departe the cittle before sunne sette. So these thowsand cowardly and murinous trous souldifouldiers passed ouer into I T A L I B, where, vnder promise of the countrie, they were al vnfortus errous of Sinately flayne by the BRVTIANS: fuch was the inflice of the goddes to paie their infle rewarde

for they neuer gaue the pay vntil that present time, when they thought them to be men inuin-

that Timoleon had fent vnto them: & in the territories subject vnto the CARTHAG INIANS,

nere vnto a place they call H I ER ES, there was another ambush layd for Euthimus LEVCADT

AN, so as him felf & al his fouldiers were cut in peces. Howbeit the loffe of the made Timoleons

doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were euen those that had forcibly entred the

teple of Apollo in the cittie of DELPHES, with Philodemus P HOCI AN & with Onomarchus, who

With backlers potlyd like, wwhich of no value wvere)

All gorgoously waith golde, and the with Inorye,

and a new wee have these goodly targets aboune, so richly trymmed here

with purple cullers finely vurgueht, and delt with Ehonye.

of their treason. Afterwards, Mamereus the tyranne of C AT ANA, Icetes (whether it was for the enuie they did beare to Timoleons famous dedes, or for that they were affrayde of him) perceiuing tyrannes could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the CARTHA-GIN IAN S, and wrote viito them that they should fend another armie and captaine fodainely. if they would not veterly be drive out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS fent Gifco thither Gifco limited

with threefore & tenne faile, who at his first comming tooke a certen number of GRECIAN 70 fails mis fouldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their service: sidis.

cible, and the best souldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitantes of the territorie of Mas-SINA, hauing made a secret conspiracie amongest them selves, did slay source hundred men Timoleonia

were partakers of their facriledge. Moreouer, they were lose people & abiectes, that were abhorred of euerie body, who vacabondlike wandred up & downe the contry of PELOPONNE svs, when Timoleon for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into Sr-CILE, they alwaies ouercame in al battells they fought, whilest they were in his company. But in the ende, when the furie of warres was pacified, Timoleon fending them about some speciall feruice to the ayde of some of his; they were cast away every man of them: and not all together, but at divers times. So as it feemed that Goddes inflice, in favor of Timoleon, did feparate them from the rest; when he was determined to plague them for their wicked desertes, searing least good men frould fuffer hurr by punithing of the euill. And fo was the grace & goodwill of the goddes wonderful towards Timoleon, not onely in matters againft him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding the common people of Synac v sa tooke the ieas fting wordes and writings of the tyrans against them, in maruelous euill part. For Mamercus a: Mamercus a mongest other, thinking well of him selfe, bicause lie could make verses & tragedies, having in verse, brains certen battels gotten the better hand of the straugers, which the SYRACVS ANS gave pay vn. to, he gloried very much. And when he offred up the targets he had gotten of them, in the te-

ples of the godds; he fet vp also these cutting verses, in derilion of them that were vanquished. Listana . ಆನರ ಭರ ಮಾ I'm deon. Firm the

These thinges done, Timoleon led his armie before the citie of CALAVRIA, & Isetes there we of stille

. av bers⇔

aid sort of

while entred the cofines of the S Y R AC YS AN S with a maine army, & caried away a maruelons a great spoile. And after he had done great hurt, & spoiled the contry, he returned backe againe & came by C A L A V R I A, to despite Timoleon, knowing well enough he had at that time but few men about him. Timoleon suffered him to passe by, but followed him afterwards with his horse. men & lightest armed footeme. Jeetes understanding that, passed ouer the river called Dans.

captaines for

passing ower

Timoleon dewife to vácifie the firife.

kesh Icetes,& Eupolemius his fonne aline, and did put them to death.

Iceses wines and children put to death.

The crueltie of Icetes towards Dion and his. Mamercus uercome in basel. Abolus.fl. Timoleon ma

kesh peace with the Car-Lyon ft.

MIAN'S against Timoleon, and the Syracvsans. But they that were in his company, returned backe againe with their gallies in the myd ways and when they were returned into Sie 113, Catanayeld ed up unso Timoleon.

Hippon the

strained to saue him selfe, and to slye vnto Massina, to Hippon the tyranne thereof . But I Timoleon followed him, and befored the cittie both by fea and by lande . Whereat Hippon quaked for feare, and thought to flye by taking shippe, but he was taken starting.

R IA S,& fo staied on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the swift roning of the river, and the height of the bankes on either fide of the same. Now the captaines of Timoleum bands fell out maruelously amongest them selues, striuing for honor of this seruice, which was cause of delaying the battel. For none would willingly come behind, but every man desired to lead the voward, for honor to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going one one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherfore Timoleon fell to drawing of loss

which of them should passe ouer first, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, and cast them all within the lappe of his cloke: to rolling them together, by chaunce he pluckt one at the first, wheron was grauen the markes & tokens of a triumph. The young Captaines seeing that, gaue a shoute of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lottes, they began enery man to passe the river as quickly as they could, & to let apo the enemies as fodainely. But they being not able to abide their force, ranne their wayes, and were faine to cast their armor away to make more hast: howbeit there were a thowsand of them lay dead in the feilde. And within few daies after, Timoleon leading his armie to the citie of the LEONTINES, tooke leetes alive there, with his fonne Eupolemus, and the generall of his horsemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his owne fouldiers. So Icetes & his fonne were put to death, like the traitors & tyrannes: and fo was o

Euthydemus also, who though he was a valliant fouldier, had no better mercie shewed him, then the father & the sonne, bicause they did burden him with certaine iniurious words he spakesgainst the Corint Hians. For they say, that when the Corint Hians came first out of their contrie into Sicila to make wars against the tyrannes: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, faid amogest other things: that they should not neede to be afraide, if The vvomen of Corinthe vvere come out of their contrie. Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, then put vp injurious words: & do pardone theire

nemies, though they reuenge by deds, bicause they can do no lesse. But as for injurious words they seme to proceed of a deadly hate, & of a cancred malice. Furthermore, whe Timoleon was returned agains to Syracvs a, the Syracvs ans arrained the wives of leetes, and his formen and their daughters: who being arrained, were also condemned to die by the judgement of the people. Of althe actes Timoleon did, this of al other (in my opinion) was the fowlest dede: for if

he had lifted, he might have faued the poore wome from death. But he paffed not for them, & so left them to the wrath of the cittizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the injuries that were done to Dion, after he had driven out the tyranne Dionysius. For it was Icetes that caused Arete, the wife of Dion, to be cast into the sea, his fister Aristomache, and his sonne that was yeta

fucking child, as we have written in another place in the life of Dion. That done, he wet to Ca-TANA against Mamercus, who taried him by the river of A BOLVS, where Mamercus was overthrowen in battel, & aboue two thowsand men flaine, the greatest part wherof were the Car-THA GINIANS, who Gifco had fent for his reliefe. Afterwards he grafited peace to the CARTHE E GINIANS, vpon earnest sute made vnto him, with conditio, that they should kepe on thother fide of the river of Lycvs, & that it should be lawful for any of thinhabitats there that would to come & dwel in the territory of the STRACVS ANS, & to bring away with the their goodes, their wives & their children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS fhould renounce al league, cofederacy, & alliance with the tyrannes. Wherupon Mamercus has uing no hope of good successe in his doings, he would goe into ITALYE to stirvy the Lyca

they deliuered up the cittie of CATANA into the handes of Timoleon, so as Mamercus was con-

And the MESSENIANS having him in their hands, made all the childre come from the schola to the THEATER, to fee one of the goodlieft fightes that they could devile to wit to fee the tyran punished, who was openly whipped, & afterwards put to death. Now for Mamercus he did Hippon pus 10 weld him felf vnto Timoleon, to be judged by the Syracvs ans, fo that Timoleon might not be death.

his accuser. So he was brought vnto S Y R A C V S A, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But feeing that the people cryed out, and made a great noyle, bicause they would not heare him, and that there was no likelyhoode they would pardone him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATER, and knocked his head as hard as he could drive, vpon one of the degrees whereon they fate there to fee the foortes, thinking to hane dashed out his braynes, & haue rid him self sodainely out of his paine. But he was not happy to die fo, for he was taken straight being yet aliue, & putto death as theues & murderers Memoritis

are. Thus did Timoleon roote all tyrans out of SICILE, & make an end of all warres there. And the tyranne wheras he found the whole ile, wilde, fauage, & hated of the natural contry men & inhabitants purto death, of the fame, for the extreme calamities & miseries they suffred the brought it to be so civil, and Timoles out fo much defired of straungers, that they came farre & neare to dwell there, wherethe riaturall, such all si-GRIA two great cities did witnesse this which after the warres of the ATHENIAN s. had bene vtterly for faken and destroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. Theone, by Megellus and Pheristus, two Captaines that came from ELBA: and the other by

inhabitants of the contry felfe before were glad to flye and for fake it. For A a x 1 Q E N T V.M. and. cite. Gorgos, who came from the ile of CEO. And as nere as they could they gathered against together the first auncient Citizens and inhabitants of the same: whom Timoleon did not onely affure of peace and fafetie to live there, to fettle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them besides, with all other thinges necessary, to his vitermost meane and abilitie, for which they loued and honored him as their father and founder. And this his good loue & fauor, was common also to all other people of Sicile whatsoever. So that in all Sicile there was no truce taken in warres, nor lawes established, nor landes deutided, nor institucion of any policie or government thought good or avayleable, if Timoleons devise had not bene in it, as chiefe director of fuch matters: which gaue him a fingular grace to be acceptable to the goddes, and generally to be beloued of al me. For in those dayes, there were other famous men in GRECE, Timoleon that did maruelous great thinges: amongest whom were these, Timotheus, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, compared will and Epaminondas, which Epaminondas Timoleon fought to follow in all thinges, as neare as he me of Grace. could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great Captaines, their glorie

was alway mingled with violence, payne, & labor: fo as fome of them have bene touched with

with trothe (as Timeus fayd) proclayme the faying of Sophocles: Oh mightie goddes of heaven, what Venus stately dame, or Cupid, (god) have thus yout, their handes voto this same? And like as Antimachus verles, and Dionysius paynting, both Colophonians, are ful of sy-

reproche, and other with repentaunce. Whereas contrarywise, in all Timoleons doinges (that

onely excepted, which he was forced to doe to his brother) there was nothing but they might

newes & strength, & yet at this present we se they are things greatly labored, & trauelled with much payne: & that contrariwise in Nicomachus tables, and Homers verses, besides the passing workmalhip & singular grace in the a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made. & without great payne. Euen so in like manner, who so euer will compare the paynefull bloudy warres & battels of Epaminondas, & Agesilaus, with the warres of Timoleon, in the which, besides equitie & inflice, there is also great eale & quietnes: he shall finde, waying things indifferently, that they have not bene fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble & fortunat misuses had corage. Yet he him felf doth wifely impute it vnto his good happe. & fauorable fortune. For in good successed his letters he wrote vnto his familiar frendes at Corin THE, & in some other oratios he made and fortune to the people of STRACVSA: he spake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleased the to saue & deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes & service, & to gene

him the honor & dignitic of the name. And having builded a temple in his house, he did dedi- Timelon

cate it vnto fortune, & furthermore did consecrate his whole house vnto her. For he dwelt in a with the street house the Syracv sans kept for him & gaue him in recompence of the good service he had wifer.

done them in the warres, with a maruelous faire pleasaunt house in the contricalso, wherehe A

kept most whe he was at leisur. For he neuer after returned vnto C OR I NT HE againe, but sere for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer delt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongest the GREECIANS, nether did make him selfe to be enuied of the cittizensis

mischiefe that most governors and captains do fal into, through their vnsatiable defire of he nor & authoritie:) but lived al the rest of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thowsands of people happy by his meanes But bicause it is an ordinary matter, and of necessitie, (as Simonides saith) that not only allarke

faying. Timoleons ac enfers.

Simonides

great praise.

have a tuft vpon their heades, but also that in all citties there be accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at S YRAC VSA, that continually made orations to the people. who did accuse Timoleon, the one called Laphystius, and the other Demanetus . So this Laphysti.

me appointing Timoleon a certen day to come & aunswere to his accusation before the people. thinking to conuince him: the cittizens began to mutine, & wold not in any case suffer the day of adiornement to take place. But Timoleon did pacific them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreame paines & labor he had done, and had passed so many daungers, bicante euery cittizen & inhabitant of Syrac vs A, might franckly vie the libertie of their lawes. And another time Demanetus, in open affembly of the people, reprouing many thinges Timolega did when he was generall: Timoleon aunswered neuera word, but onely said vnto the people. that he thanked the goddes they had graunted him the thing he had so oft requested of them in his praiers, which was, that he might once fee the SYRACV SANS have full power and ji-

bertie to fay what they would. Now Timoleon in all mens opinion, had done the nobleft actes c

that euer GREECIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboue deserved the fame and glow

of all the noble exploytes, whiche the rethoricians with all their eloquent orations perswaded

the GREECIANS vnto in the open affemblies, and common feaftes and plaies of GREECE.

out of the which fortune delivered him fafe and found before the trouble of the civill warres that followed fone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valliancie and knowledge in warres, against the barbarous people and tyrannes, and had shewed him selfe also a just and merciful man vnto al his frendes, and generally to al the GREECIANS. And furthermore, feeing he wonne the most part of all his victories & triumphes, with out the sheading of anyone teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and also ryd all Sicile of all the miseries and calamities raigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeeres space: he beyong Timoleon in nowe growen olde, his fight first beginning a litle to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogehis age left his ther. This happened not through any cause or occasion of sicknesse that came vnto him, nor that fortune had cafually done him that injurie: but it was in my opinion, a difease inheritable to him by his paretes, which by time came to laie hold on him also. For the voyce wet tharms-

ny of his kin in like case had also lost their fight, which by litle & litle with age, was cleane rate from the Howbeit Athanis the Historiographer writeth, that during the warres he had against Mamercus & Hippon, as he was in his campe at M YL LES, there came a white fpott in his eyes, that dimmed his fight formwhat: fo that every man perceived that he should lose his fight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his seige, but continued his enterprise, vntill he tooke both the tyrans at last: & so soone as he returned to Syracy sa againe, he did put him felf out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, then-

ther bicause things were brought to so good passe, as they them selves could desire. Now, that he paciently tooke this miffortune to be blind altogether, peraduenture men may fomewhat maruel at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the Syrac vsans after he was blind, did so much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done the, that they went them cufans did felues to visite him oft, and brought straungers (that were trauellers) to his house in the city, ing blind. & also in the contry, to make them see their benefactor, rejoycing and thinking the selues happy, that he had chofe to end his life with the, & that for this cause he had despised the glorious retorne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great & happy victories he had wone

in SICILE. But amongest many other thinges the SYRACV SANS did, & ordeyned to honor F Alecoremade him with this of all other me thinketh was the chiefest that they made a perpetual lawe, so oft as they should have warres agaynst forreyne people, & not agaynst their owne contrymen, meleon.

A that they should ever choose a Corinthian for their generall, It was a goodly thing also to fee how they did honor him in the affemblies of their councell. For if any trifling matter fell in question among them, they dispatched it of them selves : but if it were a thing that required great counfaill and aduise, they caused Timoleon to be sent for . So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the affembly of the people was, and carved in even fo in his litter as he fate: and then the people dyd all falute him with one vovce, and he them in lyke case. And after he had pawfed a while to heare the praises and bleffinges the whole affembly gaue him, they dyd propounde the matter doubtfull to him, and he delinered his opinion vpon the fame : which being passed by the voyces of the people, his feruauntes caryed him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens dvd wayte on him a litle way with cryes of ioye, and clapping of handes, and that done, they dvd repayre to dispatche common causes by them selves as they dyd before. So his olde age being thus entertayned with fuche honour, and with the love and good wyll of every man. The death of

nilhed and fet forth, whereon his body laye, and fo dyd conney him through the place,

where the Palyce and Castell of the tyranne Dionysius had been, which then was rased to the

grounde. There accompanied his body also, many thowsandes of people, all crowned with

garlandes of flowers, and apparreled in their best apparell: so as it seemed it had been the

procession of some solemne feast, and all their woordes were praisinges and bleffinges of

fumme of two hundred MINAS, & hath honored his memorie with playes and games of mu-

ficke, with ronning of horses, and with other exercises of the bodie, whiche shalbe cele-

brated yeerely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, bicause he dyd drine

the tyrannes out of Sicile, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and bi-

cause he replenished many great cities with inhabitantes againe, which the

warres had left desolate and vnhabited: & lastly, for that he had restored

the Sicilians againe to their libertie, & to live after their

owne lawes . And afterwards, his tombe was built in the

market place, about the which a certen time after they builded...

certen cloysters and gallaries to exercise the youth

in, with exercise of their bodyes, and the places so wal-

led in, was called Timoleontium: and follong as they

dyd obserue the lawes, and civill policie he

stablished amongest them, they lived long tyme ingreat continuall

prosperitie.

in plant CC iii ii

as of a common father to them al in the ende a ficknesse tooke him by the backe, whereof he dved. So the Syracvs ans had a certen tyme appointed them to prepare for his funeralles, & their neighbours also therabouts to come vnto it. By reaso wherof his funeral was so funeralles,

much more honorably performed in al thinges, & specially for that the people apoynted the noblest younge gentelmen of the citie to carrie his coffyn vpon their shoulders, rychely fur-

the dead, with teares ronnyng downe their cheekes . which was a good testimonie they dydnot this as men that were glad to be discharged of the honor they dyd him, neither for that it was so ordayned: but for the just sorowe and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hartie good loue they dyd beare him . And lastly, the coffin being put vppon thestacke of wood where it should be burnt, Demetrius one of the heralds that had the lowdest voyce, proclaymed the decree that was ordeined by the people, the effect whereof was this. Syracufair for The people of Syracvs a hath ordained, that this present body of Timoleon CORINTHI- the mimorie AN, the sonne of Timodemus, should be buried at the charges of the common weale, vnto the of Timoleon.

> Timoleone sombe buils in the market

THE COMPARISON



The coperifon of Timoleon AEmylisu for sie vvarres.

Ythe these two men were suche as the Historiographers have described A them to be : it is certayne, that comparing the one with the other, we shall fynde no great oddes nor difference betweene them . For fyrst of all, the warres they made, have been agaynst great and famous enemies: the oneagainst the Macedonians, and the other agaynst the CARTHAGINI-

ANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, whiche he tooke from the seuenth kyng that raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, since the tyme of the great Antigonus and the other draue al the tyrannes out of Sicile, and restored the whole Ile & Cities therin, vnto their former libertie. Vnles some wil alledge perhappes that there was this difference betweene them, that AEmylius fought agaynst kyng Perseus, when he had all his powerwhole ! and entier, and had fought with the ROMANS many tymes before, and had the better of them in all conflictes: where Timoleon set uppon Dionysius, when he was in greatest dispayre, and in maner vtterly cast away. On the contrarie syde, it may be objected for Timoleon, that he outcame manie tyrannes, and a myghtie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with aveile small number of men, and yet men of all fortes: not as AEmylius with a great armie of well trayned and expert fouldiers in warres, but with men gathered togeather at aduenture of all fortes, being mercenarie hierlings, and fighting men for paie, lose people, and men vnrulyin warres, that woulde doo but what they lifted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we must confesse that the praise is due vnto the generall. Bothe the one and the other kept their handes cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke (vpon them. But it seemeth that AEmylius came so facioned and prepared, by the good civil lawe, and moral disciplyne of his countrie: and that Timoleon came rawly thither, and afterwards facioned him felfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued for that al the Romains in that time were so civilly brought vp, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the lawer of their countrie. Where to the cotrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GRECIANS that came then, or were sent into Sicilia, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foote in Sicile, Dion onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine suspicion of him, that he aspired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to stablishe a certaine Empire at SIRA CVSA, like vnto that of LACEDAEMON. TI MAEVS the Historiographer writeth, that the SI-RACVSANS fent Gilippus with shame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnsaciable greedy D couetouines, and for his great theftes, and bribes taken in his charge. Divers other have also Writte the great treasons & falsehoddes Pharax Spartan, & Calippus A THENIAN did comit, both of them feeking to make them felues lordes of SIRACVS A: and yet what men were they, and what meanes had they to have suche a foolishe vaine hope & fancie in their heades? Confidering that the one dydfolowe and ferue Dionysius, after that he was driven out of SIRAC vsa: and the other also was but a private captaine of a bande of sootemen, of those that came in with Dion. Timoleon in contrary maner was fent, to be generall of the SIRACV SANS, vpon their great instance and sute. And he having no neede to seeke or hunte after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they dyd willingly put into his handes: fo foone as he had defroved and overthrowen all fuche as woulde vniuftly vsurpe the government, he dyd immediately of his owne good wyll, franckly religne up his office and charge. And fure, so is this a notable thyng to be commended, and estemed in Paulus AEmylius: who having conquered so great and riche a realine, hencuer increased his goodes the value of one farthing, nether dyd

fee nor handle any mony at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I The wooderful meane not in speaking this to vpbrayde or detect Timoleon, for that he accepted a fayre house continued the SIRACV SANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly mannor also in the countrie: for in such from bribes. I cases there is no dishonesty in receiuing, but so is it greater honesty to refuse, then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singuler, where we see they will receive nor take nothing, though they have justly deserved it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger & better coposided, which mended

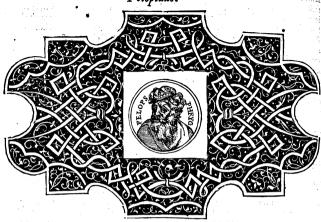
best abideth chaunge of parching heate, and nipping cold: and that the mynde is much more ftronger and stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperitie, nor drowpeth for sorowe in aductifitie. Then it appeareth, that AEmylius vertue was fo much more perfect, in that he shewed him selfe of no lesse graue and constant a mynde, in the pacience he endured for his losse 'Empline Constant a mynde, in the pacience he endured for his losse 'Empline Constant a mynde, in the pacience he endured for his losse 'Constant is far

and forowe happened vnto him: (losyng at one tyme in manner, both his children) then he exceeded c had done before, in al his triumphe and greatest felicitie. VVhere Timoleon to the contrarye, Timoleons. having done a worthie act against his brother, could with no reasone suppresse the griefe and forowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentaunce, continued the space of twentie yeeres togeather, and neuer durst once only shewe his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the common weale. Truely, for a man to beware to doo euil, and to shonne from euil, it is a verie good and comely thyng: fo alfo to be forie, and a fearde of euerye reproche, and ill opinion of the worlde, it sheweth a simplenesse of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly corage.

The ende of Timoleonslife.

CC iii

HE LIFE Pelopidas.



not good.

Ato the elder, aunswered certaine on a time, that maruelously commended a bolde, a venturous, and desperate man for the warres that there was great oddes, to esteeme manhodde so muche, and lyseso litle. And furely it was wifely spoken of him. The report goeth, that king Antigonus gaue paye to a fouldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a noughtie fickly bodye. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be so pale, and cuill cullered? The fouldier told him, he had a fecret difease vpon him, that he might not tell him with reverence. The king hearing him fay fo,

commaunded his Phisitions and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they should heale him with all possible speede: and so they dyd. After the souldier had his health B againe, he would venter no more fo desperately in the warres, as he dyd before. Insomuch, king Antigonus selfe perceiuing his slacknes, and drawing backe, rebuked him, and said vnto The sumfrere him: that he wondred to fee so great a chaunge and alteration in him. The souldier neuer shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your selfe, and it please your maiestie, is cause of my cowardlynes now, by healing my disease, that made my life lothsome to me. Much like were a SIBARITANS wordes, towching the life and manner of the LACED & MONIANS. That it was no maruaill they had fuch a defire to die in the warres, feeing they did it to ridde ons of life & them selves of their troubles, and most miserable and straight life. But we must not wonder

though the SYBARITANS, being womanish men, and altogeather genen to pleasure, didso

good, and goodwill they had to doo their duetie. Which was contrarie in the LACED ARMO-

NIANS. For they were of opinion, that to line and die willingly, was a vertue: as these func-

thinke: that those men hated their lives, who seared not death, for the desire they had to doo (

rall verses doo witnesse. The dead wwhich here doe rest, did not in life esteeme, that life or death were (of them (elues) or good or bad to deme. But even as life did end, or death was brought to paffe, fo life or death, was good or bad this their opinion was.

And in deede to flye death, is no shame, so it proceede not of a cowardly hart mether to defiredeath is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reason why Homer faith, the valliantest men are ever best armed, when they come to battaile. The lawe who the Greemakers among the GREECIANS, doo ever punishe him that castes away his target, but ne- cians do punerhim that casteth away his sworde or lawnce. For every man must first thinke to defende nith him that him selfe, before he seeke to hurt his enimie, and specially such as haue the whole state of a his target. realme in their handes, and be generalles of the feeld. For if the comparison be true, that Tobicrates the ATHENIAN Captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horseme resem-

whose liues depende vpon his saftie. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne person, cannot but be carefull of his fouldiers that ferue vnder him . Therefore Callicratidas a LACED E-NON I AN captaine, and a woorthie man otherwife, did vnwifely aunswere a soothsaier that had him take hede to him felfe: for the fignes and tokens of the facrifices did threaten his

minde. For he being redie to geue battell by sea, about the Ile of ANDRO'S, madea better C aunswer to one that said vnto him: his enemies had moe shippes then him selse. For how many (hippes does thou recken then my selfe, said he? Therein he did wisely to make great accompt of the worthines of a generall, specially when it is ioyned with hardines, and experience. For the chiefest poynte of seruice, is to saue him, that saueth all other. For when Chareson a time shewed the Athensans openly, the fundrie woundes and cuttes he had recei-

D him selfe in daunger: then he should put him selfe forwarde, and occupie both handes and

body without respect, not regarding their wordes that say, a good wife captaine shoulde die

for age, or at the least old. But where there is small honor to be woone by very good successe,

and contrariewise muche losse and distruction by great missortune: no man of wisedome or iudgement would wish a generall, to fight as a private souldier, to hazard the losse of a gene-

rall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the lines of Pelopidas, and of Mar-

contrie stoode in greatest neede of suche men and captaines, as they were. This is the cause,

THEBES, as Epaminondas did. He being brought up in great wealth, his father lefthim heire

È being geuen to ouermuche pleasures. So riche men became slaues all their life time, some to

pleasure, other to profit . Now, al Pelopidas other frendes woulde be beholding to him, and

take very thanckfully his curtefie and liberalitie towardes them. But Epaminondas could neuer

ble the handes, the men of armes the feete, the battaill of footementhe stomake & brest, Iphicante the captaine, the head of a mans body: it feemeth then, that the venturous captaine putting an armit of him selfe in daunger with out cause, is not onely careles of his owne life, but also of all theirs men.

death. Sparta, faid he, standeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by sea or by land man for man, Callicratidas was but one man of him selfe: but as captaine or lieuetenaunt ge- of an amie nerall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his person. For he was not a man must be care-

alone, when so manie mens lives were lost with his. Now olde Antigonus was of a contrary him selfe.

ued apo his body, & his target also thrust through with many piks: Timotheus straight said vnto Timotheus him, Chares, I am not of thy minde. For when I did befege the citie of Samos, I was asham- faying.

ed to see a darte throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I shewed my selfe a rashe young man, and more venturous then became a generall of fo great an armie. For when it ftandeth much apon the whole armie, and that it is necessarie the generall thereof doo put

cellus, both which were woorthie men, and died otherwise then they shoulde. For they both were valliant fouldiers in the fielde, and did both of them honor their contrie with famous Pelopidas & victories, and specially against great and dreadfull enemies . For the one was the first (as they Marcellum faie) that ouerthrewe Hanniball, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other lines by to E also ouercame the LACEDEMONIANS in battell, that ruled al GREECE at that time both by much venue fea and by land. Yet they both carelesly lost their lines, by venturing to boldely: when their ring.

why we following the refemblaunce that was between them, have compared their lives to- Pelopida gether . Pelopidas, the sonne of Hippoclus, came of one of the noblest houses of the citie of fock & libe-

of all his landes and goodes, being but a young man. So he straight shewed him selfe willing to doo good with his monie, to those that needed helpe, and were worthie to let the worlde ing of rick fee, that his monie was not his maister. For as Aristotle saith, of these rich men, the most part men, of them do not vie their goods, for extreame couetouines: other againe doo abuse them, as

310

be brought to any thing at his handes . Howbeit Pelopidas felfe followed Epaminondas maner. A for he tooke a pride and pleasure to goe simply appareled, to fare meanely, to labor willingly and to make warres openly as he did. He was even fuch another, as Euripides the Poet defend bed Capaness to be: when he said of him:

He rich and vvelthie vvas yet vvas he therevvithall, no veight that purchast vevorldly hate nor insolent at all.

For he would have been ashamed, that the poorest man of the cittie of THEBES, shoulde have worne meaner apparell apon his backe, then him felfe. As for Epaminondas, his pouertie was not daintie to him, bicause his parentes were euer poore: and yet for all that he paffed it ouer more eafely, by studie of Philosophie, which he gaue him selfevnto, and for that from his youth he liked to leade a spare life without excesse. Where Pelopidas matched B in a noble house, and maryed highly, and had two children by his wife: neuerthelesse he had no minde to keepe or increase his goodes the more for that, but gaue him selfe altogeather to ferue the common weale as long as he lived. By reason whereof his wealth decaied, and his best frendes grewe angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more recks. ning of a thing that was fo necessarie, as to have goodes. And he auniwered them: In dede they are necessarie, I doo confesseit, but yet for suche a one, as this poore, lame, and blynd man that standeth by . They both were a like borne to all vertue, saving that Pelopidas tooke most pleasure in exercise of his body and strength, and Epaminondas in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the pastyme eche of them tooke when they were at leasure, was that the one delighted to wrastle, and to hunte, and liked any kinde of exercise of his body: and C the other to heare, to studie, and alwaies to learne something of Philosophie. But among all the excellent giftes and good partes in either of them, and that most wanne them honor and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and singularly noted of wife men, for the perfect love and frendshippe that was ever inuvolably kept between them, vntil their deathes: having been joyned togeather in fo many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and gouernment. For if a man will consider, and looke into the doinges of Ariftides, Themistocles, and Cimon, of Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades, howfull of diffentions, enuies, & fuspicions they were one against another in gouerning the common weale: and againe will confider the loue, honour, and kindnesse, that continued alwaies betwext Pelopidas and Epaminondas: no doubt they will faie these two are more worthie to be D called brethren in warre, (as they faie) and companions in gouernment, then any of them we haue named before, whose care and studie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another then to ouercome their enemies, and the onely cause thereof was their vertue. For their actes shewed they did not seeke glorie, nor riches for them selues (the couetousnes whereof doth allwaies breede quarrelles and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in love with an other, with a great kindenes and estimation of them selues, to see their contries to rishe, and growe to great honor through their seruice, and in their time: and so they reckoned all the good exploytes both of the one and the other, that tended to that ende, as their owne. The most part of writers thinke, this great and earnest loue thone did beare to another, did growe first betwene them, in a iorney they made togeather vnto MANTINIA, to F. ayde the LACED EMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both fet in battell raye, one hard by another among the footmen, against the Arcadians that stoode before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACED E-MONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determining to die rather then to flye, stoode close together, and fought with the enemies that came apon them: vntyll fuch time as Pelopidas being hurt in feuen places before, fell downe at the last vpon a heape of dead bodies, aswell of their owne fouldiers, as of their enemies, euen one apon an other. Then Epaminondas thinking he had ben flaine, stept notwithstanding before him to defend his body & armor, & he alone fought against many, being willing to die rather then to forfake Pelopidas lying amongest the dead bodies: vntyl him selle ; being thrust into the brest with a pyke, and sore cut on his arme with a swoorde, was even ready to gene ouer, when Agesipolis (king of the LACED & MONIANS,) came with the other

frendshippe betwixt Pelo-

A poynt of the battell in happie howre, who faued both their lives past all hope. Now after this harrell, the LACED & MONIAN'S both in wordes and deedes did curteoully intreate the THE-BANS, as their frendes, and confederates. Notwithstanding, in troth they beganne to feare the power and great corage of that cittie, and specially the faction and associates Ismenias 82 Androclidas had fet vp, whereof Pelopidas also was a copanion : bicause they thought it was -populer, and inclined muche to defire libertie . VV hereupon Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, al three great welthie men of the cittie of THEBES, and milliking to be equall with other cittizens:did perswade Phabidas, a captaine of the LACED & MONIANS, that going and comming through the contrieof B OR OTIA with an armie, he would one day affaie to take the castell of THEBES called CADMEA, and driving those out of the cittie that would resist him, he would B nutthe gouernment of the state into the hands of a sewe of the noblest persones, who would best alone by heat the deuotion of the LACED & MONIANS, & obey them in all thinges. Phabidas brought Phabidas it to passe, and did worcke his feate before the THEB ANS mistrusted any thing, apon a holy the Laceden day called THE SMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the castell, he apprehended Ismenias, and monianu. fent him to LACED & MON, where shortly after they put him to death. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Imenios Androclidas, with many other, faued them selues by slying, and were banished THEBES by founde of Trompet. Epaminondas taried still in THEBES, and no man tutched him, for they made small accompt of him, bicause he was altogether geuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had ferued him to have done some feate, his povertie made him vnable to doo any Pelopidas. thing. The LACEDEMONIANS understanding of the taking of the castel, did straight put Pherenicus thing. The LACEDAMONIANS vinderitaining of the taking of the childs out of his charge, and feta fine of a hundred thow fand DRACHMES apon his head: clidar, banishbut yet they kept still the castell of CADMBA in their handes with a great garrison. All the edfrom Theother citties and people of GREECE did wonder much at it, that they should allowe the fact, bea and punishe notwithstanding the doer. So the THEBANS having lost their auncient libertie, and being made subject by both these, Archias, and Leontidas, so as all hope was taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, seing it was maintained and defended by the LACED & MONIANS, and that they could not possibly take from them all the seigniorie and dominion they had throughout GREECE, as well by sea as by lande: Leontidas and his followers notwithstanding, when they understoode that they who Leontidas,gowere banished fro Thebes, were very wel received & entertained of the people at Athens, werens of and much made of also of the nobilitie, they sought secretly by treason to have them kylled. Thebes, and the made of also of the nobilitie, they sought secretly by treason to have them kylled. To do this feate, they fent certaine men vnknowen vnto ATHENS, who by treason flue An-monians. droelidas, howbeit they missed the kylling of the other. Furthermore, the LACEDE MONI-ANS Wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they should not receive suche as were banished from Androciidan THERES, nor that they shouldefauor them, but drive them out of their cittie, as thosewhich by their allyes were Iustly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwithstanding, being men alwaies civilly geuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very defyrous besides to requite the Theban's curtefy, who had bene the chiefest meanes and doers in restoring agains the populer state and government The thankat ATHENS: they would by no meanes offer the THEBANS any fuch injurie, feing they had fulnes of the flablished a lawe and decree, that if any ATHENIAN passing to and fro through the contrie of the through the BOROT 1 A, did beare armor against the thirtietyrannes, that were gouernors and oppressors of Thebana the libertie of ATHENS, there should no BOBOTIAN seeme to see, or knowe any thing therof. In the meane time Pelopidas, though he were of the younger fort, did procure still every one that was banished, to seeke the libertie of his contrie, and openly made an oration to them the libertie of all, declaring, that it were not onely a cowardly part, but also a wicked offencero the goddes, the Thebana if they would fuffer their contrie to remaine foin cotinual bondage, & straungers to inhabite it with a garrison, to make them subject to the yoke: and they in the meane time to be conteted to faue the felues, to live delicately and idely at ATHEN s, to studie to doe what shal please the ATHENIANS to commaund the, & to be affraide of the orators, & those which through F. eloquence can perswade the common people to doo what they lust. Therefore he perswaded them that they (hould hazard all, being a matter of fo great weight, and take example of

Thrasphulus noble corage and hardynes: who departing from THESES, did drincout the ty-

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meth into

Thebes dif-

rannes that did oppresse ATHENS: and even so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeken A deliuer Thebes also from bodage. When he had by these perswasions drawen them to his oni nion, they fecretely fent vnto their frendes that remayned still in Thebe s, to let them vnder. fland their minde and determination; who all lyked very well of their purpose. Infomuche. CHARON that was the chiefest man among them, promised to lende them his house to ak femble in . Philidas also founde meanes to be secretarie to Philip and Archias, who were go. uerners & captaines of the city at that time for the LACED & MONIANS. Epaminondas on tho. ther fide making no shewe of any thing, had of longe time practised to styrre vp the corageof the youngemen of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exercises of bodye, he woulde euer procure them to wrastle with the LACED EMONIANS. And after he sawe them rejoyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them b & tell them they might be ashamed, for lacke of corage, to suffer the L ACED EMONIANS to hold their nofes to the gryndstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the conconfirmete a. federates appointed a day certen, to breake the ife of their pretended enterprise, & agreed that gainst the La- Pherenicus, with other that were banished, shoulde tarie at the village of THRIASIVM, and for the libertie that they should sende the valliauntest and lustest young men before, to gene the venter to enter the cittie: adding this therewithall, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise them, all the other of the conspiracie joyntly togeather, should be ready to gene order, that their fathers, mothers, and children, should lacke nothing necessarie for them. Pelopidas was the first man offered him selfe to vndertake the enterprise: & after him Melon, Damoclidas, & Theopompu, all three, men of the greatest houses of Thebes, who loued maruelously togeather, and for no C respect would ever offend one another, although from the beginning there was ever emulation among them for honor & glory, by striuing who should exceede other in vertue & valliantnes. Now they were twelve of them, who taking leave of the rest, sent a foote post before to Charon, to advertise him of their comming : and they them selues went on their iorney cast. ing litle thort clokes apon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters staues in their handes, bicause their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters vp and downe the feildes for their pleasure. So, whe their messenger they sent came to the cittie, and had tolde Charon that they were comming he neuer shronke from his worde, though the daunger towarde was great, but like a stowt and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and tolde him they should be most hartely wel. I com to his house. But another man called Hipposthenidas, very honest otherwise, & one thatloued his contry and the preservation thereof, and a good frend of those also that were banished fainting straight apon the sodaine report of these newes, and his minde was troubled, and his hart fayled him fo, as his note fell a bleeding, to thinke apon the greatnes of the instant damger he was like to fal into, having neuer cast before with him selfe, how by this enterprise they Thoulde put all the empire of the LACED & MONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and laye a plat befides to ouerthrowe all their owne common weale and state, by laying al their hope apon a fewe banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon, to fone as he was come home, he fecretly dispatched a messenger, one of his familiar frends, vnto Melon & Pelopidas, to will them they should deferre their enterprise for better oportunit tie. & fo to returne backe again to A THENS. Chlidon was the man helent of this mellage, who prefently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife setche him the brydell quickly. The brydell not being readily to be founde, the told him the had lest it out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to fowle wordes, and lastely his wife fell a curfing of him, and prayed the goddeshe might have ill lucke in his iorney, and those that sent him . Chlidon having spent the most part of the day, chiding and brawling with his wife about the brydell, and furthermore milliang the tokens of his wives curling and banning of him: he determined not to goe a foote outer the dores of that arrant, and fo went about some other busines. Thus had this noblectness prise in manner bene altogeather dashed, before it was fully begonne. Now those that were in Pelopidas companie, chaunged apparell with the contrie men, bicause they would cloynes appa not be knowen, and did deuide them selves, for that they would not come into the cittle

PELOPIDAS.

A together, but at divers gates, beinge day light. At that time it was a meruelous winde and great fnowe, and the weather was so boysterous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the cittie. So their frendes and confederates within the citie receased them as they came, and brought them to Charons house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persones only. Now for the tyrans, thus stoode the matter with them. Philidas their secretary was of the conspiracy, as we have told you before, and he knewe all the practife. Wherefore he creater to the had longe before solemnely bidden Archias and his companie, to supper to his house that verie man. night, to be mery together, & had promifed to entertaine them with women to welcome them with all: of purpose, that when they had in their full cuppes, and were in the middest of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then vie them as they woulde. So they beinge sette at table before they were sped of their cuppes, one came to them, and told them truely of the treason (not the particularities, neither as a thinge certaine, but of a rumor onely that ranne abroade in the towne) howe the banished men were hidden in Charons house. Philidas woulde haue passed the matter ouer. Howbeit Archias would nedes sende one of his garde straight for Charon, to commaunde him to come to him presently. It was within night, and Pelopidas and his company pre- Pelopidas pared themselues to worke their seate, being armed every man, and their swords in their hands. damger. when apon a fodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house runninge straight to the gate, came backe againe afearde to tell them that it was one of Archias garde that came for Charon, to come immediatly to the gouernours. Then were they in doubt that their practife

C was discouered, & that they were all cast away, before they coulde make any proofe of their valliantnes:notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that Charon should obey the message, & that he should present himselfe before the gouernors, to take away all suspition from them, Charon of him selse was a stout man, very constant, & resolute in daunger for his owne persone; yet it greued him much at that time, for feare the confederates shoulde suspect him he hadde bewrayed the if fo many honest citizens whom he had lent his house vnto, should vnfortunately miscarie. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his wives chamber to fetch his sonne. that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to Pelopidas, and prayed him, if hevnderstoode that he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they shoulde then vse his sonne as an enemie, without any compassion towardes him. D When the cofederates faw the good zeale & true noble mind of Charon, they all fell a weping. and were angrie with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint harted, or timerous for any daunger coulde come to them, that they shoulde suspect or accuse him for any thinge : and therewith all they prayed him, not to leave the boye with them, but rather to convey him into

some place out of the tyrans daunger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be

reuenged of the wrong & injurie they had done to them, and to their contrie. Charon auniwered

them, he woulde not take him away, & that he faw no life nor health more happy for him, then

to dye with his father without infamy, and with fo many honest men his frends. So after he had

befought the goddes to prosper them, and hadde encouraged and embraced euerie one of the confederators one after an other. He went to the gouernors, and studied by the way lo to frame E his wordes and countenance, as though he shoulde seeme to thinke of any thinge else, then of that he purposed to do. When he came to Philidas dore that made the feast, Archias and Philidas him selfe came vnto him, and asked him: Charon, what are they (fayd they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certaine citizens that do accompany them? Charon was fomewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: what men bethey? who are they that hides them in the citie? But when he perceived that Archias coulde tell nothinge of certaintie, then he thought straight that some man hadde informed them that was not privile to the practife, but hadde hearde some thinge of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heede it was no false alarome, to make them afrayed: neuerthelesse (faydhe) I will enquire surther of its for at all aduenture it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure, Philidas aunswered him,

F he faid truely and fo he brought Archia backe againe into the hall where he made him drinke deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. Charon returning home againe, found all the cofederats ready to attept their enterprise, not as men that reckened of their lines, nor that had any hope to prenaile: but as those that were determined in

Archias Bi-

Waighty morrow. Pros. Pelopidaskilleth she sy-

dve valliantly, and to fell their liues dearly. Now he truely tolde vnto Pelopidas onely, what was faid vnto him & the rest:he told that Archias had sent for him to speake with him, of other mar. ters. The storme of the former daunger was scant blowen ouer, but fortune sent them an other For immediatly uppon talke had with Charen at the first, came a messenger from ATHENS, that brought a letter to the same Archias, written by the Bishop of ATHENS at that time, called Archias also as him selfe, & was his old hoste & frende: wherein he wrote not of simple conjecture nor furmised suspition, but the plaine conspiracy in euery degree, as afterwards it fellout. So the reasons Ar- messenger was brought to Archias that was dronke, and deliueringe him the letter, he said vom him. Sir, he that sendethyou this letter, straightly charged me to telyou, that you should present ly read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. Archias laughing fayd vnto him:waighty matters to morow. So he tooke the letter and put it vp, & then fell againe to his tale he had begonne with Philidas. But euerafter, the GRECIANS made this a common prouerbe among them: waighty matters to morrow. Now when the cospirators spied their time to go about their businesse, they deuided them selves in two companies. Pelopidas and Damoelidas went with one company, to fette vpon Leontidas and Hypates, because they dwelt nere together: Charon and Melon with the rest, went against Archias and Philip, beinge disguised in wo. mens apparell they had put vpon their priny cotes, & wearing garlands of pyne apple and fone trees on their heads, that couered all their faces. So when they came to shew them selues at the hall dore where the bancket was made, they that were in the hall at the first fight, thinking they had beene the women they looked for , beganne to showte, and made great noyse for ioye. But C when the conspirators cast their eyes rounde about the hall to knowe those which were at the table, they drew out their fwordes, and fet uppon Archias and Philip ouerthwart the table: then they shewed them selues what they were. Then Phidias bad his guestes he hadde bidden to the bancket with them, that they shoulde not stirre, for they shoulde have no hurt: so some of them fate still. But the greatest nomber of them woulde needes from the borde, to defende their gouernours. Howebeit bicause they were so dronke that they knewe not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now Pelopidas enterprise was not so easie. For they went against Leons das, that was a fober discrete man, and withall, hardy of his handes: and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were thut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that hearde them rappe so hard, with much a do came to open the dore in but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they pushed it from them with fuch a force apon him altogether, that they layed him on the grounde, and went straight to his maisters chamber. Leontidas hearinge the noyse of them that ranne vppeto him in such hast, presently mistrusted the matter and leaping out of his bed, tooke his sworde in his hande, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they hadde beene out, they might eafily have hurt one an other in the darke. But the lampes givinge cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue Cephifodorus, the first man that preffed to enter apon him, such a blowe with his sword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauinge slaine the first man, he dealt with the seconde that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard between them two, bothe for that the chamber dore was verie g straight, as also for that Cephisodorus body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithstandinge, Pelopidas ouercame him in the ende, and slue him: and went from thence with his companie, straight to Hypates house, where they got in, as they did into Leon tidas house before. But Hypates knewe presently what it was, and thought to faue him selfein his neighbours houses. Howbeit the conspirators followed him so harde, that they cutte him of before he coulde recouer their houses. Then they gathered together, and joyned with Melons company, and fent immediatly with all possible speede to ATHENS, to the banished THEBANS there, & cried through the city, liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to them, with the armor & spoyles of their enemies, that were hanged up in common vawtes, & armorers shops about Charons house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other F fide, Epaminondas, and Goreidas, came to ioyne with them, with a company of young men & honest olde men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole citie

A was straight in an viprore & tumult, & euery house was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet affemble together, but euery one being amazed, musing at this stur, not vnderstäding the troth, staied vntill day came on, that they might call a counsell. But truely herein, me thinkes the Captaines of the garrison of the L ACE-DEMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not sturre betimes, & set woon the incontinently: consideringe they were xv. hundred souldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after an other to take their partes. But the great noyle they heard, made them afeard & to fee lights in every mans house, & the people running vp & down the streets in great multitudes to & fro: wherupon they stirred not, but only kept the within the castel of CADMEA. The next morninge by breake of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS VERY welarmed, & al the people of THEBES drew together in counfail. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas, & his coforts, & presented the before the people, copassed about with priests & the professed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, & they praied the assembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, & their contrie. Al the people that were present, whe they saw them, rose vp, & stoode on their feete, & with great showtes & clapping of hands received the, as their fauiours, that had delivered their contry fro bondage, & reflored them again to liberty: & therupon, before them al, euen in the market place, by the whole voice & confent of the people, they choic Pelopidas, Melon, & Charon, gouernors & captaines of all BOE OT IA. Pelopidas then immediatly made them befrege the castell of CAD ME A about, with

rrenches, & force of wod, doing al he could possible to winne it, & to expulse the LACEDEMO- Pelopidari-HERICIPS, COLOR OF THE STATE AND THE STATE AND THE STATE AND STATE CEDEMONIA, they found Cleombrotus king of SPARTA in the contry of MEGARA, comming to- position.

wards the with a great army to help the. Afterward, of the three captaines which had charge of their garrison that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condened two of them to death: Hermippidas, & Arciffus, were presently executed: & the third captaine, Dyfaoridas, they set so greenous a fyne on his head, that he wet out of PELOPONES VS. This enterprise being attented, & executed with

the like valiantnes, & the fame dauger & trouble, that Thrasybulus practise was, whe he deliucted ATHENS from the flauery of the thirty gouernors & tyrans, & having the like fortune, & happy ende: the GRECIANS termed it cofyn german to Thrafybulus act. And in deede it were a harde D matter to find two other fuch, besides the two, that with so few me ouercame their enemies, being many moe in nober then the selues, or that with so small help did ouercome those that were

of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their only valiantnes & wisedo, & were cause besides of so great bleffing & benefit to their contry, as Pelopidas & Thras bulus attept was. But the great chauge & alteracion of the state afterwards, did make their actes farre more noble & famous, For the warre that ouerthrew the maiestie of Spart A, & that tooke away all the seigniorie & rule of the LACED EMONIANS bothe by fea & by land, beganne the very fame night, feigniorie of when Pelopidas him felf making the twelut person, & entring into a private house, (taking nether the Laceds-

citie, nor castel, nor stronge hold) to tel truly by figurative speach, did breake & cut in sonder the linkes & chaynes that lincked straight together, & stregthened the LACED & MONIANS whole empire & monarchie ouer al GRECE: who vitil that presettime were thought so strong, as no possibilitie could breake or sonder them. Now the LACED EMONIANS fortuning afterwards to inuade the cotry of BOBOTIA with a mighty army: the ATHENIANS trebling for feare of their great power, did ytterly leaue to protect the, & renownced the league & alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did straightly prosecute law against those, that were accused to take part with the BOBOTIAN s: wherof some of the were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, & the rest condened in great summes of money. To be short, every man fayd the THEBANS were but vndone, confidering they had no help, & were beloued besides of none. At that preset time it fel out Pelopidas & Gorgidas were generals ouer al B OBO TIA for that

to make the square, they vsed this policie. There was a captaine of the LAGED & MONIANS cal- licy to make led Sphodrias, a valliat ma, but else of final capacity, & vainly giue, having a certe fond ambitio & the Athenians humor, perswading him selfe he had done some notable good service in his time. This Sphodrias fall one against was left in the city of THESPIES, with a great band of fouldiers, to recease & fauor al the Bos o- cedemoniance

yere, who deuting to throw abone betwixt the ATHENIANS & the LACED EMONIANS again, Pelopidas per

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the Thebans

restored.

PELOPIDAS. TIAN S. that had a minde to revolte fro the THEBANS. Pelopidas of him selfe sent a marchaine. (a very frende of his) vnto Sphodrias, with a great some of money from him; and certaine perfers fions withall, which prevailed more then the money, withinge him to attempt fome greater matter, & to feke to winne the hauen of PIRAEA: a thing foone wonne, if he came to affault it on the sodaine, & the rather, for that the Athenians mistruste nothinge, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might affure himselfe, nothinge coulde be better welcome to the lords of LACED & MONIA, the to make them lords of the city of ATHENS also. And againe the the Thebans, being at deadly foode with the Athenians, for that they had betraied & forfale them in their nede, would not aide nor fuccor the in any respect. Sphodrias giving to light earem this vaine perswassion, tooke the souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night, entred the realme of ATTICA, & wet on to the city of ELEVSIN: but whe he came thither, his fouldier ? were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpose beinge discouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, having raifed fuch a warre to the LACED EMONIANS, as fel out to beofm small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the Athenians sough league & amity againe with the THEBANS, & did aide them very louingly: & moreouer, putting them selues to sea, they failed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all such, as were willing to rebell against the LACED & MONIAN SISE the THEBAN'S besides, had many prety skir. mishes with the LACED & MONIANS in the meane time, in their own cotry of BOE OTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was such a great learning & cotinual training of themin marshall discipline, as the THEBANS still increased in corage & valliantnes, & waxed stronger &

BANS, who like good wod me in choosing their game, could skilfully choose both time & place

to give their enemies battel, & make the retire again with fafety, after they had bin fleshed, giving

the a little tast of the frutes & comodity of victory: but among the, Pelopidas was he that desented

most honor and glory. For, since the first time they gaue him charge of men of warre, they neutr

failed, but chose him continually enery yeare, either Captaine of the holy bande, or gouetnored

BOEOTIA folong as heliued: fo that Pelopidas only did the most things in this warre. The Laca-

exercifein

better fouldiers: for by those skirmithes they grewe not onely expert fouldiers, but waxed more C skilfull in vfing their weapons, then before. As we read, that Antalcidas a SPARTAN faid one day to king Azesilaus, cominge home fore hurt fro Bob ot 1 A: furely the THEBANS have given your worthy reward, for teaching the to be fould iours against their wils. But to fay truly, Agesilauwa not their maister to teache the to make wars, but they were the good & wise leaders of the THE

The victory of the Thebans against

DEMONIANS were ouerthrowe in fundry iorneis, that they were diffressed by the cities of Pie

TEES,& of THES PIES, where Phabidas himselfe (that had before taken the castell of CADMEA) was flaine amongst other. An other great power of theirs also was ouerthrowen nere to the city of TANAGRA, where Panthoidas gouernor of the fame, was also slaine. Now all these victories. though they much encoraged the hearts of the conquerors, & made the hardy yet did they not therby altogether coquer the mindes of the vanquished. For the LACEDE MONIANS were not ouercome in any pitched field, nor fet battel, where they had their whole army together butther were light rodes, & skirmishes properly laid of purpofe, where fortime flying; somtime driving Pelopidas vi- the againe, they bickered very oft, & put the to the worft. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a florish & profeto the journey of LEVCT RE s, wan Pelopidas great honor. For he had no co-F And at the base panió to chalege any part of his glory & victory, neither did he leave his enemies any lawfules. raile of Togy- cuse, to shadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he spied al occasio he might possible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACED & MONIANS, and had received two enfignes of footemen of theirs to kepe it. Pelopidas being aduertifed one day, that the garrifonof ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the contrey of the LOCRIDES, hoping he shuld finde O R CHO MENE without garrison:he marched thither with his holy band, & certains nüber of horseme. But whe he drew neere the city, he had intelligece there was another garrison coming fro Sparta, to supply the place of the garrison that was abroad wherupo he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for he could have passed no other way, but to have turned down by the foote of the montaine. For al the valley that lay between both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the river of M BLAS, which eve fro his very hed carieth ever fuch bredth withit, as it maketh the marishes nauigable, so as it is vnpassable for any shallow it hath. Not far fro these marishes, stadeth the teple of Apollo TEGYRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left of at

A this day, & had never long continuance, but only vntill the time of the warres of the Ma Das when Echearates was maister and chiefe priest there. And some holde opinion that Apollowas home there: for they cal the next mountaine to it, D a r o startlie foote wherof the marithes of the river of META'S doo end, and behinde the temple are two goodly fpringes, from whence commeth great aboundance of good weete water: whereof the one of them is called to brought to this day the Palme, and the other the Olive. And some say also, that the goddesse Latons was bed between not brought to bed between two trees, but between thele two springes. For mowners on the state of the springer is hard by it also, from whence the wildebore came on a sodaine that flighted her . And the Palme and tale that is tolde of the serpent Pytho, and of the gyaunt Tityus, doo both confirme it that the Uline. Apollo was borne in the fame place. I passe ouer manie other conjectures confirming the fame, for that we doo not believe in oure contrie that spolle is among the nomber of thole; who from mortall menne haue bene translated to immortall goddes, as are Hercules and Bacchus, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put of mortalitie, and tooke immotrality apon them: but we rather take him for one of thidle that neuer had beginninge nor generation, at the least if those thinges be to be credited, which so many grave and auncient writers have left in writing to vs, touching fo great and holy things. The THEBANS TOTUTING backefrom ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDEMONIANS on the other fide returning also from LOCRIDE, both at one time, they fortuned both armies to mete about the citty of Tingy RA. Now, fo fone as the THEBANS had discourred the LACEDEMONIANS passing the straite. one of them ranne fodainely to Pelopidas, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the handes of the LACED & MONIAN'S. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, anniwered Relovidus againe? with these wordes, he commaunded his horsemen that were in the rerewards to come before, and fett apon them: and him felfe in the meane time put his footemen immediately into a pretie foundron close togeather, being in all, notaboue three hundred men. hoping when he should come to gene charge with his battell, he should make a lane through theenemies, though they were the greater nomber. For the LACEDEMONIANS demided them selves in two companies, and every company as Ephores writeth, had five hundred ment and as Calliftenes fayed, feuen hundred. Rolybine , and divers other authors faye, they were

nvne hundred men. So., Theopompus and Gorgolson, the Captaynes of the LACEDEMO-NIANS luftely marched agaynft the THE BAMS: and it fellour to that the first charge was geuen, where the chiefetaynes or generalles were of either fide, with great furie on eyther Pelopidas parte, fo as both the generalls of the LACED EMONIANS which fettyppon Pelopidate toge- victorie. ther, were flayne: They being flayne, and all that were about them, being either hurtor killedinthe fielde: the rest of the armie were so amased , that they denided in two , and made a laneon either side, for the THEBANS to passe through them if they would. But when they saw Pelovidas mene not to take the paffage they offered him, and that he came on ftill with his men to set apon those that were yet in battelraye, and slue all them that stoode before him: then they turned tayle, and tooke them to their legges. How beit the THEBANS did not chafe them farre, fearing the Or CHOMENIANS who were not farrefrom them, and the new garrison besides. that were come from LACED A MON not long before. And this was the cause they were contented that they had our comed them by force, and had passed through their armie in despite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen them. Sowhen he had fetyp markes of triumphe, and fpoyled their flayne enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obteyned vi-Cone. For in all the warres the LACED & MONIANS ever made, aswell with the GRECIANS, as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mencioned at any tryme a that their enemies being fo fewe, did ouercome them that were fo many, nor that they were ouercome also by any number equall in battell. Whereuppon they grewe so coragious and terrible, that no man durst once abyde them: for their onely fame did so terrifie their enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe as muche as they had done. But this battell of TEGYRA was the first that made both them and the other GREECIANS knows, thatit was not the ryuer of EVROTAS alone, nor the valley that lyeth betweene the squers of CNACION, and of BABY CB, that breedeth the valuant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places elfe, where they learne young

vible & so be holie bande.

what enemies men to be ashamed of dishonest and vyle thinges, and to venter their lives for honest causes a are most in-fearing more dishonorable reproche, then honorable daunger. These are the people most in be feared, & are most terrible also to their enemies. And for the holy bad we mecioned before The first infli- it is faide, Gorgidas was the first erector of the same. They were three hundred chosen men entertained by the state, and they alwaies kept within the castell of CADMEA, and the bande was called the townes bande : for at that time, and specially in that part of GREECE they called the castels and great holdes in citties, the townes. Other say it was a bandon fooremen that were in loue one with another. And therefore Pammenes pleafaunt words are noted, faiying, that Neftor coulde no skyll to fet an armie in battell raye, feeing he gaue the GREE CIANS counfell, in the ILIADES of HOMER, that they should set them in battel rave euery countrie and tribe by them felues: That by affections force, and lynkes of kyndly loue:

that one might alwaife helpe at hande that other to behove For, saide he, one frende should rather be set by another that loues togeather: bicausein daunger, men commonly do litle regarde their contrie men, or suche as are of their tribe. But

Men louing sogether, figh desperately against their

men that doo loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paffion of love that entertaineth eche others affection, for affection sake, dothe kepe them from forsaking one another. And those that are beloued, being ashamed to doo any vyle or dishonest thing before those that love them, for very love will sticke one by another to the death. And sure the reason is good, if it be true that louers doo in deede more regard them they love though they be absent: then other that be present. As appeareth by the example of hym,0 that being striken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his swoorde to kyll him, he praied him he woulde geue him his deathes wounde before, lest his frende that loued him, seeing

Hereales & a wounde on his backe, shoulde be ashamed of him. It is reported also, that lolaus being be-Iolaus lone.

Platoes faying of a louer.

loued of Hercules, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labors and quarrels, Whereupon Aristotle writeth, that vnto his time, such as loued hartily togeather, became sworne brethren one to another, apon Iolaus tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was first called the holy bande, by the selfe same reason that Plato calleth a louer, a diuine frendely goddes appointment. It is written also, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowen. before the battel of CHAERONEA: After that battel, Philip taking vewe of the flaine bodies he stayed in that place where the fourehundred men of that bande laye all dead on the grounde, h one harde by another, and all of them flayne and thrust through with pikes on their breftes. whereat he wondred muche: and being tolde him that it was the louers bande, he fel a weeping for pittie, faying. Wo be to them that thinke these men did, or suffered any envilor dishonest thing. And to be short, the missortune of Lains, that was slaine by his owne brother Oedipus, was not the first originall cause of this custome, that the THEBANS beganne to be in loue one with an other as the Poars write: but they were their first law makers, who perceiuing them to be a stout & sierce natio of nature, they sought euen fro their youthe to make

them gentell and civill, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, beinge highly estemed of them in those dayes. They brought in the vse also to make love, in the middest of all their youtheful g The Goddesse sportes & exercises of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring themto a ciuil lyfe. And therfore they had reaso that gaue the goddesse HARMONIA to the THEBANS, for defender and patronesse of their cittie, who was begotten (as they say) between Mars and Venus. For that geneth vs to understande, that where force and warlike corage is joyned with grace, to winne and perswade: all thinges by this vnion and accorde are brought, to a goodly, proffitable, and most perfect gouernment . Now, to return e againe to the matter of this holy bande of the THEBANS. Gorgidas deuiding it in the former ranckes, and placing it all alongest the fronte of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to doo of them selues, for that he brought them not all into one body: so as thereby they might see what seruice the whole companie coulde doo, being togeather, considering that it was f deuided and mingled amongest manie other, that were a great deale of lesse value then them schues. But Pelopidas that had made good proofe of their valliauntnes before, when they fought

about him of them selves, without others by them, at TEGYRA: woulde never after devide nor seperat them one fro the other, but keeping them together as one entier body that had al hismembers, he would alwaies beginne with them to geue a charge, in his most danneerous hattels. For, as we fee in running of coches at games, that horses being tyed all together in afronte, doo runne faster and stronger, then they doo when they are lose, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many togeather doo breake through the aver better, but for that the contention and enuy betweene them to outronne one another doth indede fet their hartes and stomakes a fyre. Euen so he thought, that valliaunt men geuing one another a defire and enuie to doo well, shoulde have the more corage, and woulde be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers fight. But the LACEDEMONIANS afterwardes being

at peace and league with all the other GRHECIANS, proclaymed open warres against the THEBANS onely: and kyng Cleombrotus went to inuade them with an army of tenne Cleombrotus thowsande footemen, and a thowsande horsemen. Wherupon, the THEBANS were not only king of the in the like daunger they stoode in before to lose their libertie, but the LACED EMONIANS did openly threaten they would veterly destroy them for ever; so that all the contrie of B of o-

TIA stoode in greater feare, then ever they did before. And one day as Pelopidas went out

of his house to goe to the warres, his wife bringing him out of the doores to takeher leave of him, weeping, the praied him hartely to looke well to him felfe. But he aunswered her Pelopidas againe my good wife, it is for private fouldiers to be carefull of them felues, but not for capraines, for they must have an eye to saue others lives. And when he came to the campe, he founde the captaines and the Lieuetenantes of the armie, in fundrie opinions; and he was

armie, but onely captaine of the holy bande: notwithstanding they had great affiance in him. & gaue him great authoritie in coulaile concerning their affaiers : fuch as became a man that hadmade fo good testimonie of his natural love & affection to his contrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in counfaile that they should geue the enemie battell, they all mustred together in the valley of LEVCTRES, where he had a vision in his dreame, that troubled him verie muche. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one Stedafus, whiche by reason of the place, they call the LEVCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defyled and rauished, by certaine guestes of the SPAR-TANS that laye in their house, trauayling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poore father of these defiled virgines, coulde neither haue justice, nor reuenge of the

LACED # MONIANS, and therefore after he had bande and curfed the LACED # MONIANS

the first that agreed with Epaminondas opinion, who thought it best they should goue battell

to the enemies. Pelopidas at that time was neither gouernor of Bono TIA, nor general of the

with most horrible and execrable raylinges and curses as might be possible, he kylled him selfe serbarpte. vpon the graves of his daughters. The LACED & MONIAN'S had many fundrie oracles, pro- guesfolione phecies & signes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede of the wrathe of the Leve- is denied. TRIDES: howbeit euerie man vnderstoode not the signification of this prophecie, but were deceived by the equivocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the

contrie of LACONIA, standing apon the sea, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCADIA also by the cittle of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the fame name. This miffortune chaunced longe before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then Pelopidas dreaming in his tente, thought he fawe in a vision the daughters of Scedasus weeping about their graves, and curfing the LACEDEMONIANS: and that he fawe their father also, commaunding him to Pelopide facrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they woulde obtaine the victorie. This commaundement at the first, seemed verie cruel and wicked: whereuppon when he rose, he went to fieldes of

the Prognosticators and generalles of the armie, and tolde them his dreame. So, some of Lentires. them faide, this was no matter to be lightly passed ouer, but to be considered of, alledging manie examples in the like cases . As of Menecius the sonne of Creon in olde time, and of

Macaria the daughter of Hercules. And yet of later memorie, the wife Pherceydes, whome the LACEDE MONIANS flue, and whose skynne their kynges doo keepe at this daye, by commaundement of an oracle. And Leonidas, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were facrifice him felfe, for the fafetie of GREECE. And furthermore, the younge boyes DDiiii

which Themistocles did facrifice to Bacchus Omestes (to fay, eating rawe fleshe) before the bands A

of Salamina. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the goddes, as the victories follow.

ing did plainely thewe it . In contrarie manner also king Agefilaus, comming from those years places, from whence king Agamemnon came in the time of thewarres of Trois, and going alle

against the same enemies: dreamed one night in the cittle of A V L I D E; he sawe the goddesse

Diana. afking him his daughter for facrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meaher

perfourme it: and thereupon was compelled to breake of his iorney, before he had executed

his enterprise, and departed with small honor. Other to the contrarie stoode to it stowers

and faide it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abhominable, and brutish a facrifice, could not

mit it were for they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that have no power at all

for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirite, when they have suche damnable and horrible de.

fires in them, and specially if they abide styll with them. Now, the generalles and heads of the

armie of the THEBANS being of fondry opinions, & Pelopidas being more afraid then before.

ther mares ronning and flynging through the campe, came to staye right against them. Then

enery man beganne to looke apon her, and to markewhat a faire fyllie it was, and red colo-

red every where, and what a pride the tooke with her felfe to heare her owne neving, Theoris C

twe then the foothefaver being amongest them, did beholde her, and knew ftraight what the fyllie ment, and so cried out foorthwith: O happie Pelopidas, loe here is the sacrifice thou

lookest for, seeke no other virgine for thysacrifice, but take this that God him selfe doth send

The enemies fynding Pelopidus intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and having mene-

nowe, ment to thruste out their right winge at length to compasse in Epaminondas. But Pe-

lopidas in the meane time fodainely preuented them, and ronning with great furie with his

squadron of three hundred men, he set apon Cleombrotus before he coulde disorder his men

AN S of all other men were the only captaines and most expert fouldiers in marshall discipling.

The filly faine thee. When Theorritus had faide so, they tooke the fyllie, and laide her apon the tombe of

Godly fayings be acceptable to any of the goddes, now to any god, better or mightier then ours confidence that they be no impressions in the ayre, nor gyants that rule the world, but the one onely migh, tie & eternal, God, father of gods, & men. And, to beleue that either goddes or demy goddes doo delite in murder, or sheading of mans blood, it is a meere mockery and folly. But, ad.

fidaine ande. by reason of their disagreement: a young mare colte, or syllie, breaking by channe from o

of facrificed. Scedalus days there, and put garlandes of flowers about her, as they handled other facrifices and then after their praiers made to the gods, they did facrifice her with great joye, and told Pelopidas vision in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the facrifice they had made also according to the fignification thereof. Moreover, when they came to joyne

battell, Epaminondas being generall, drew all his army on the left hande, bicause he would bring the right winge of the enemies army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS)

further from the other GREECIANS their frendes and allves, that were fet in the other wine of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to geue a charge vppen Cleombrotus their king (being in a corner by him felfe) might be diffressed or overthrowen.

The saule of to put furth the right winge, and ioyne them together againe. And so he founde the Lacethe oversity DEMONIANS notyetletled in their rankes, and brake them in this diforder, thrusting one in of the Lace- anothers place to put them selues againe in order: notwithstanding the LACED E MONE !

as men fo trained and practifed, that no fodaine altering, of forme or order in their rankes coulde either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne head or fide upon any fodaine occasion offered, and coulde fight and order them selves in battell every way alike. So Epaminondas going to geve thonfet apon them alone, with the whole force of his battaile togeather, not tarrying for others; and Pelopidas also with an incredible corage and readines, prefenting him felfe in battell before them, did put them into fuch a terrible feare, that they cleane forgotte their skill in fightinge, and their wonted courage fayled them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and their were moe LACEDARMORI-A resslaine that day then euer were before in any former battell. Pelopidas therefore, being nei-F ther gouernor of Box or 1 A, nor general of all the army, but onely captaine of the holy band: did notwithstanding winne as muche honor and glorie of this victorie, as Epaminondas, that

was gouernor of Bon o TIA, and generall of all the armie. In dede afterwardes they were both Pelopidat or sourmors of BOE OTIA together, when they inuaded the contrey of PELOPONNESVS: where Epaminond. s they made most parte of the cities & people rebell against the LACED & MONIANS, and take Pelsonnius. their parte. As the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the best parte of LACONIA being both felfe, notwithstandinge it was in the hart of winter, and in the shortest dayes of the yeare, and guarants of towardes the latter ende also of the last moneth of their yeares authority and rule, having not

many dayes to cotinew in office, being forced to leave their authority, apon paine of death if they did refuse, vnto other officers new chosen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Jame as The-Whereupon their other companions, & gouernors also of the contrie of Borotia, what for her, furtified ming up of feare to incurre the daunger of the lawe, as also to anoyde the trouble to lye in campe in the officer at the sharpest of winter: they did vrge and perswade them to bring the armie backe againe into their years and, contrie. But Pelopidas was the first that yeelded to Epaminondas opinion, and wanne the other THEBANS also to consent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to gene affault to the city felfe of Sparta. So, through their perswasion they passed ouer the river of Evrotas, and tooke many little townes of the LACEDAE MONIANS, & wasted &destroyed all the contricto Epanismond is the sea fide, leading under their ensignes an armie of threescore and ten thowsande fightinge went ouer the the leafinde, leading vinder their entires an armic of the twelfit parte of them. Now, the riter of Essential of the twelfit parte of them. Now, the riter of Essential of the twelfit parte of them. Now, the riter of Essential of the twelfit parte of them. Now, the riter of Essential of the twelfit parte of them.

honor and great reputacion of these two persones, Epaminondas and Felopidas, brought their thousand mi. frendes and confederates, that they followed them, without any refolution of counfell or publike order, and neuer opened their mouthes against them, but willingly marched under their conduction. And in my opinion, truely me thinkes it is the first and chiefest point in the lawe of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himselfe, should leane to one that is strong, and able to defende bothe. Euen much like to freshe water souldiers, and rawe sea men, that lying at fea in calme weather, & in fafe harber, are as lufty & bragge with the mafters & botefwaines as may be: and let a little ftorme of weather come apon them fodainely, and that they bein any daunger, then they looke on the masters, hoping for no life but at their handes. And euen in like maner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all affemblies of counsel they woulde ever iarre and strive with the Thebans, for honor and superioritie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherin they faw there was daunger, then their pecockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their generalles commaundement. In this iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to be in league with them, and tooke all the contrie of MESSENIA from the LACED AEMONIANS, which they peaceably enioved : and called home againe all the auncient inhabitantes of the fame, and restored them to their contrie, and replenished the citie of ITHOMB: Then returninge afterwardes into their contrie by the citie of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entringe into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, supposinge to have stopped their passage. Thus was the valliantnes of these two worthy men greatly commended and honored of euery body, for fo many notable exployts & victories as they had wonne, and The inequality their maruelous good successe greatly wondered at. But as their glory and renowne increased inde of the abroade, so did their contrie mens malice and enuie encrease against them at home: who had Thebans, soprepared fuch a welcome home for them, as was to bad and vile for so honorable service as day and Epathey had done. For Epaminondas and Pelopidas bothe, at their returne, were accused of treason. minondas. For there was a special law at THEBES, that commanded all such as should happen to be gouemors of Bor o TIA, to refigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the first moneth of the yeare, which in Bobo TiA they call Bov CATION and they had Boncaron

that we have fooke of before as well in the province of MESSENIA & of ARCADIA as also in

the contrie of LACONIA. Pelopidas was the first of the two that was called in by processe, ther-

and gouernment, is a great shew of force & magnanimitie. But Pelopidas being of a hotter na-

ture, and more chollericke, and fer on befides by fome of his friendes, did take this occasion to

kept it foure whole moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had done all

fore he stoode in the greater danger: howbeit in the end, they were both discharged again. As Epaminondas for Epaminondas, he tooke his accusatio & the attempt of his enemies (wherby they sought to passes. haue cast them both away) quietly enough: Iudging, that pacience to those that deale in state

uen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and mischieuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence

Pelopidas co- be reuenged. Meneclidas the orator was one of those that came into Charons house with Pelo A acometin Meneclides, a fepidas, and Melon, but notwithstanding the THEBANS did nothing honor him, as they did the ditious orator rest. He taking this ill at their handes, being maruelous eloquent of speeche, but vitiously ge-

fallely accusinge those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not beinge contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put Epaminondas one yeare from being gouernor of B OE OTIA, which he fued for: and moreouer he was euer against him in all

Our forefathere did paint and fet forth their bastailes.

Alexander the tran of Pheres.

matters of state hotooke in hande. But he coulde neuer bring Pelopidas out of fauour with the people: and therefore he fought to make bate betwixt him and Charon. For it is the common tricke of all spitefull persones, when they can not be thought so honest men as those whome they enuie: to go about to proue that they are not so honelt and meete men, as those whome R they preferre and commende. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended Charons noble actes and victories, and specially that victory about o ther, which the THEBANS wanne before the iorney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmith of horsemen, that was before the city of PLATERS, he havinge charge of the same: of the which he woulde leaue this memory. Androcydes a CYZICENIAN and painter, was at a price with the THEBANE to painte them some other battell in a table, and he did drawe this worke in the citie selfeof Thebes:but as he was in hand with all, the rebellion of the Thebans fell out against the La-CEDAEMONIANS, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereuppon the painter for fooke THEBES, leavinge his worke in manner done and perfitte. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this Meneclidas moued the people they woulde hange it vp in some temple or pu. C blicke place with an inscription aponit, sayinge thus. This was Charons victorie, of purpose to deface and obscure the glorie of Pelopidas and of Epaminondas. To vaine and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple ouerthrowe of Charon, in the which Gerandas, one of the meanest gentlemen of all Sparta was slayne, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. Pelopidas misliked Meneclidas motion, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of THEBES, which did expresly forbid that no private person should be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to all the peoplegenerally. In dede Pelopidas in all his orations did greatly praise and commend Charon, notwithstandinge, he made open proofe, howe Meneclidas was an enuious and fpitefull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes askinge the THEBANS; if they them D felues were worthy of no honor? fo as in the end he caused Meneclidas to be condemned in great fumme of money. But he finding him felfe vnable to pay it, beinge fo great a fumme:practifed afterwardes to alter the whole state and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large, bicause me thinkes it doth somewhat declare Pelopidas nature, and maners, what they were. Now about that time, Alexander, the tyran of Phenes, was at open warres with many people of THESSALIE, and did vse all policie he coulde, to bringe them all to his obedience, Whereupon the free cities sent their Ambassadors vnto Thebes, to pray them to send them a captaine, with an armie to aide them. Then Pelopidas seeinge Epaminondas occupied about the warres of Peloponnesus, did offer himselse to the Thessalian Ambassadors, beinge lothe to drowne his experience and fufficiency in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idlenes, knowing that in those partes where Epaminondas lay, there neded no other captaine. Now when he came with his armie into Thessalie the citie of Larissa yelded presently vnto him: where the tyran Alexander came to mete with him, and to pray him to treate a peacebetwixt him and the THESSALIANS. Pelopidas attempted to bring it to passe, seeking in steade of a tyran, to make him a gentle, just, and lawefull gouernor of THESSALIE. But when he saw no perswasions could take place with the tyran, and that he grewe more stubborne and vntractable, and woulde not heare reason: and moreouer that he heard many greuous complaintes of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruelous dissolute and vnruly perfon in all his doinges, and extreamely couctous besides: then he beganne to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyran thereupon stole away secretely from him, and F fled with his gard and fouldiers about him. So Pelopidas leauninge the The SSALIANS out of all feare and daunger of the tyran, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the oA ther, he went into MACED ON; where Ptolomy made warre at that time with Alexander, beinge kinge of MACEDON, they bothe having fent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and also to helpe him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them bothe, and restored the banished men of either side, to their landes and goodes againe. For affurance of the peace, he tooke the kinges brother in o- Philip of stage, whose name was Philip, and thirtie other children of the noblest mens sonnes of MACE- Macedon, denon, whom he brought away with him to Thebes, to let the Greecians fee, that the reputacion of the THEBANS power stretched farre, & the renowne also of their manner of gouern. Pelopidae. ment and inflice. It is the same Philip, that made warre afterwardes with the GREECIANS, to taketheir libertie fro them:howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THE-

BES in Pammenes house. And this is the cause, why some thought Philip did followe Epamimondas manner: and it might be paraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which in deede was but a peece of Epaminondas vertue. But as to the continency, inflice, magnanimitie, and clemencie, which were the speciall pointes that made Epaminondas of great fame: Philip coulde neither by nature, education, nor studie euer attaine vnto. The THE SSALIANS havinge fent afterwardes to THE BES, to complaine of Alexander the tyran of PHERES, that did againe molest and trouble the free cities of THESSALIE: Pelopidas was sene thither Ambassador with Ismenias, carying no power with him fro THEBES, little thinking he shoulde have needed to have made warres: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the contrie selfe, vppon the instant necessitie offered. At the very same time also, all MACBDON C was vp in armes. For Ptolomy had flaine the king, and vfurped the kingdom, and the feruaunts and frendes of the dead king called vpon Pelopidas for aide: who defitting to come even vppon the fact, and having brought no men of warre out of his owne contrie with him, did prefently

leauie certaine men where he was, and so marched forward with them against Ptolomy. Nowe Ptolomy when bothe their powers met, did corrupt the fouldiers Pelopidas had brought with money to take his parte. But notwithstandinge this policy he had practifed, yet he was afeard of the name onely, and greatnes of Pelopidas reputation: wherefore he went ynto Pelopidas as to a better man than him felfe, and making maruelous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promife, and bounde it by othe, that he would keepe the realme for the brethren of the dead king, and that he woulde take all those for his frendes or enemies, whom the THERANS n did either loue or hate. And for affurance of his promise, he gaue him his sonne Philoxenus in oftage, and fifty other of his frendes, all the which Pelopidas fent vnto THEBES. But in the

meane time, beinge marueloufly offended with the treason of the fouldiers against him, vnderstandinge that the most parte of their goodes, their wives and children, were in the citie of PHARSALE, he thought if he coulde winne that, it were a maruelous good way for him to be reuenged of the trechery of the fouldiers against him:whereupon he leauied certaine Trus-SALIANS, & went to that citie. Pelopidas was no fooner come thither, but Alexander the tyran arrived also with his armie. Pelopidas supposing he had come to instifie him felse, clearing the complaintes of the THESSALIANS made against him: went to him, though he knew him to be avery wicked man, and one that delited in murder and sheading of blood. Neuertheles, he ho-E ped he durst not have attempted any thing against him, for the authority and seigniories sake of THEBES, by whom he was fent thither, as also for his owne reputation. But the tyran feeing him flenderly accompanied, and without traine of fouldiers: tooke him priloner, and wanne

the city of PHARSALE at that present time. But this act of his put his subjects in a great feare, ken prisonner who seeing him commit so shamefull a deede against all equity, did thinke straight he ment to by the prant fpareno man, but would vie men, and all thinges elle that came in his handes, like a desperate Alexander of Phosphia. man, & one that reckned him felf call away. But when the THEBANS vinderstoode this newes, they were maruelous forie, and fraight fent an army thither appointing other Captaines then Epaminondas, bicaufe then they had some misliking of him. Alexander the tyran having

brought Pelopidas in the meane time to PHERES, did fuffer any man that woulde, at the first to come and see him, and speake with him: supposinge his imprisonment had killed his hart, and had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how Pelopidas did comforte Pelopidas the citizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good cheare, tellinge them the howerwas fountee

PELOPIDAS.

now come that the tyran should smarte for all the mischiefes he had done and that he sent him a word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did with fundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone. knowinge that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyran wondering at this great stomake of his, & at his maruelous constancy fearing nothing: asked what

wife of Ale

he ment to long for hasty death? Pelopidas beinge tolde what he sayd, aunswered him againe Mary, fayd he, bicause thow shouldest dye the sooner, beinge more odious to the goddes and men, then yet thou art. After this answere, the tyran would neuer suffer any man to come and speake with him againe. But Thebe, that was the daughter of the tyran lason deceased, and wife at that time of Alexander the tyran, hearinge reporte of Pelopidas noble minde and corage by his keepers : she hadde a meruelous desire to see him, and to speake with him. But when the came to fee him, like a woman the could not at the first different the greamesse of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, findinge him in fuch mifery; yet conjecturinge by exterior show, notinge his simple apparell, his heares and beard growen very long, & how poorely he was serued, and worse entertained: she thought with her selfe his case was to be pittied. and that he was in no state mete for the glory of his name, wherewith she fell a weepinge for compassion. Pelopidas that knewe not what she was, beganne to muse at the first: but when it was tolde him the was Iasons daughter, then he curteously faluted her for her father Iasons fake, who while he lived was his very good frend. So Thebe faid vnto him:my Lord Pelopidas. I

pittiethy poore Lady & wife, Truely fo do I pitty thee, quod Pelopidas againe to her: that thou

heart, who with great impacience did beare the cruelty, violence, and villany of the tyran her

husband: that befides all other infamous actes of his detestable life, committed Sodomy with

her youngest brother. So she oft visitinge Pelopidas, and boldly makinge her mone to him.

telling him closely all the injuries her husbande offered her:through Pelopidas talke with her,

by litle and litle the grew to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in heart against him, defining

reuenge of him. But now the Captaines of the THEBANS that were fent to deliver Pelopida.

beinge entred into THE SSALTE with their armie: (whether it was through default of igno-

beinge no prisoner, canst abide such a wicked Alexander. This aunswere tickled Thebe at the o

raunce, or their mishap) they returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home, condemned them euerie man in the fumme of tenne thou-The falle with

fande Drachmes, & fent Epaminondas thither agains with an other armie: at whose comming, D all THESSALIE role incontinently, for the reputation of fo great a captaine. And his fortune was fo good, that he had in a manner veterly ouerthrowen all the whole state of the tyran:his frends and captaines were fo much afraid, and his fubicates on the other fide fo well disposed to rebell, and maruelous glad for the hope they had, quickely to see the tyran have his defet ued hyer, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithstanding, Epaminonda preferring the deliuerie and lafety of Pelopidas, before the confideration of his owne honor glorie, and fearinge least Alexander seeinge him selfe in daunger to be turned out of all he had, falling in despayre like a bedlem beast, woulde bende all his desperation and fury against Pelopidas: he drew these warres out in length, compassinge him rounde about, but not fierces ly fetting apon him, with culler to prepare his way the better by delaying still, therby to soften E the cruell minde of this tyran, goinge on in this gentle force, and partely to cutte his combe and extreme pride, but specially to preserve Pelopidas, from the daunger and crueltie of his beaftly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruel man, and one that neither regarded reason, nor iustice in any forte, consideringe howe he made some man to be buried aliue, and others truelty of A- to be put in the skinnes of beares and wilde bores, and then to fet houndes apon them to teat them in peeces, or elfe him felfe for his pastime would kill them, with shootinge or throwinge of dartes at them. And in the cities of MELIEAA and of Scotvsa, bothe of them beingem league and frendshippe with him, he spying a time one day when the citizens were assembled in counfaill together, fodainely compafied them in with his gard and fouldiers, and put them euery one to the fivord, euen to the litle children. And he colecrated the darte allo whereith R

he had flaine his owne vncle Polyphron, and having put garlandes apon it, he did facrifice to it,

as to a god, and called it TY CHON, as one woulde fay, happy killer. And an other time being

A in a Theater, where the tragedy of Troades of Euripides was played, he went out of the Theater, and fent word to the players notwithstandinge, that they shoulde go on with their playe. as if he had bene still amonge them: faying, that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the play, but bicause he was alhamed his people shoulde see him weepe, to see the miseries of Hecuba and Andromacha played, and that they neuer saw him pity the death of any one man, of fo many of his citizens as he had caused to beslaine. The gilty conscience therefore of this cruell and heathen tyran, did make him tremble at the only name and reputacion of Epaminondas: and as the common prouerbe fayth:

He lett his vvinges downe fall, not much vnlike the cocke. which doth refuse the pit preparde and lyst not bide the shocke.

So he sent straight vnto Epaminondas to excuse him selfe. But Epaminondas woulde in no wife fuffer the THEBANS, through his meanes, to make league with fuch an hell hounde: only he velded to abstinece of armes for thirty daies, apon delivery of Pelopidas & Ilmenias into his handes, with whom he straight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBENS being advertised Ecominondas that the LACED EMONIANS & the ATHENIANS did sende Ambassadors to Artaxerxes the delivered mighty king of Per siasto make league with him: they fent to him Pelopidas for them also being wifely confidered of them to fende a man of such tame and reputacion. For Pelopidas pal- Arraxerxes fing first through contries subject to the kinge of PERSIA, his fame was such where he came, king of Per-

that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the reporte of the famous battells he had wonne Pelopidas of the LACED EMONIANS, was not only carried into the next regions and contries of Asia; fens ambaf-C but fince the first newes of the iourney of Lever nes was brought thither, Pelopidas hauinge fador to the king of Perafter that wonne victorie apon victorie, his estimacion grewe so great, as it was blowen abroade through the worlde, euen to the highest and furthest partes of the East contries. And when he came to the king of Persines court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of Persia that fawe him, had him in great admiration, fayinge: loe this is he that conquered the

their kinge Agesilaus, euen to the middest of Asia, for the realmes of SvsE, and of ECBATA-NE. So king Artaxerxes felfe was very glad of his comminge, and praifed him about them all, pelopida

D and made his estimacion greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertaininge greatly honoof him, meaninge thereby to returne the honor to him selfe againe: bicause menne shoulde of Person thinke that the most famous men of the worlde came to honor him, and to see his court, as esteeminge bothe him, and his greatnesse, the onely happines of the worlde. But when he had feene his face, and heard him speake, and perceived that his wordes were much graver then the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACED & MONIANS: he then was further in love with him then before, and without difguifing he did honor and fauor him aboue all the other Ambassadors, who found that he made more estimacion of him, then of the all. Notwithstanding, he feemed to beare greater good will vnto Antalcidas LACED EMONIANathen to any other of the Greecians: for that one day beinge at the table, he tooke a garlande of flowers from his E owne head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it vnto him. In dede he did not vse Pe-

LACEDEMONIANS, and tooke all their feigniorie, and authority from them, bothe by fea and

byland, and draue the Spartans beyond the river of Evrotas, and from mount Tavge-

TVM, who not longe before made warres with the great kinge of PERSIA, beinge ledde under

lopidas with that open familiaritie, yet did he fend him the goodliest and richest presentes he could deuise, graunted him besides al his requestes he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of GREECE (hould be free:that the city & contrie of MESSINA, should be inhabi- Pelopidas reted againe: & that the citizens of THEBES by their successors should be take, as ancient frends fisfed the &allyes of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had receased these aunswers, he returned home the kings Aragaine, & would by no meanes accept any of the great prefents the king had offred him: which taxerxes. caused the other Ambassadors of the Greecians to be so ill welcome home to their cities. Timagoras

executed: which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the kinge, truely mians, pur to F they had reason, & it was worthily done of the. For he tooke not only gold & silver enough, king great as much as they would give him: but receaved a very rich bed also, & PERSIAN chamberlains gifter of the to make and dreffe it vp, as if no Greecian servauntes of his could have served that turne. kinge of Pers

For among other, Timagor as was accused to the Athenians, & condemned to dye, and was for the Athenians

Moreouer he receased foure fcore milche kine to the paile, & neateheards to keepe them, had a uing neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a disease that fell vpon him: and woulde needes he caried in a litter apon mens armes from the kings court, vnto the MEDITERRANIAN feather king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure Talents. Yet it seemeth the gifts he tooke did not offende the ATHENIANS fo much, confidering that Epierates (a drudge or tanckerd bearer) did not onely confesse before the people, howe he had taken giftes of the king of PERSIA: but fayd furthermore, that he would have a law made, that as they did verely choose nine officers to rule the whole city: so that they would choose nine of the poorest and meanest citizens, and sende them Ambassadors vnto the king of Parsia, that they might returne home rich men with his giftes. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they demanded:not confidering that Pelosi-R das estimacion and worthinesse did more preuaile, and take better essect, then all the orations the other could make, and specially to a Prince that sought alwaies to enterteine those GR A-CIANS, which were of greatest force and power in the warres. This Ambassade did greatly increase every mans love and good will vnto Pelopidas, bicause of the replenishinge agains of MESSINA with inhabitants, & the infranchefing & fetting at liberty of all the other GREECI-ANS. But the tyran Alexander of PHERES, returning agains to his old accustomed cruelty, and having destroied many cities of Thessalle, & placed his garrisons through al the contry of the PHTHIOTES, ACHAIANS, and MAGNESIANS: the cities being advertised of pelopidas returne againe to THEBES, they fent Ambassadors immediatly to THEBES, to pray the to sende the an army, & namely Pelopidas for Captaine, to deliuer the fro the miserable bondage of the C Pelopidus fe- tyran. The THEBANS willingly graunted them, & put all things in readines very fodainely. But Pelopidas being ready to fet forward in his iorney, there fel a fodain eclipfe of the funne, fo as at tyran Mexa. none daies it was very darke in Thebes. Pelopidas feing euery man afraid of this eclipseabone. he would not compell the people to depart with this feare, nor with fo ill hope to hazard the losse of seven thowsande Thebans, being all billed to go this iorney but notwithstanding he The eclipse of put him selfe alone into the THESSALIANS handes, with three hundred horsemen of straungers, that were glad to ferue with him, with whom he tooke his iorney against the foothfayers mindes, and against the good will of all his citizens, who thought this eclipse did threaten the death of some great persone like him selfe. But Pelopidas though he needed no spurre to bereuenged apon the tyran Alexander, being by nature hotte, and defirous of him felfe to revenge n the spite and villany he had offred him yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrans house deuided against himselfe, by the former talke he had with his wife Thebe, in time of his imprisonment there. Neuertheles, the fame and reputacion of the iorney vndertaken, did wonderfully increase his noble corage, and the rather, bicause he was desirous (all he coulde) the GREECE ANS should see, that at the very same time when the LACED EMONIANS did sende gouernors & captaines to Dionysius, the tyran of Sicile, to serue & aidehim, & that the Athenians as hyerlings tooke pay of the tyran Alexander of PHERES, in whose honor they had set vp a statue of braffe in their city, as vnto their fauior: the Thebans only at the felfe fame time tooke armes against the, to deliuer those whom the tyrans oppressed, & sought to roote out altyrannical gouernment ouer the GREECIANS. So, when he came to the city of PHARSALE, & had E gathered his army together, he went presently into the field to mete with the tyran. Alexander, perceauing Pelopidas had very fewe THEBANS about him, and that he had twife as many moe THESSALIANS with him, then the other had:he went to the temple of THETIS, to mete with Banall genen Pelopidas. There one telling Pelopidas, that Alexander was comminge against him with a great be the remple power. Pelopidas answered him straight, al the better, we shalk il the more. Now, in the middest of the valley, there are certaine round hils of a good prety height, which they commonly call the dogges heads: they both striued which of their footemen should first get those hils. Pelopidis having a great number of horsemen, & good men at armes in the fielde, sent them before to give charge apon the enemies, that preased to winne the vantage of the place: & having ouerthrowen them, they followed the chase all the valley ouer. But in the meane time, Alexan-F der hauing his footeme hard by, marched forwards, & got the hils, bicause the THESSALIANS

that were further of came to late:notwithstandinge, when they came to the hilles, they sought

A forcible to clime them vp, being very high and steepe. But Alexander comming downe the hil. gaue charge apon them to their disaduantage, & slue the first that gaue the attempt to get vo against the hil: and the residue beinge sore hurt, retyred againe without their purpose. Pelopidas seeing that, sounded the retreate for the horsemen that followed the chase, to repayre to the standard, and commaunded them they should set apon the sootemen of the enemies that were in battell raye; and him felfe ranne to helpe those that fought to winne the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and passing through the rereward, got to the formest ranckes: to whome, the fight of his persone did so redouble their force and corage, that the enemies them selves thought it hadde beene a freshe supply of newe mens hartes and other bodies. then theirs with whom they hadde fought before, that came thus lustely to fette againe apon them. And yet they did abide two or three onfettes. Howebeit in the ende, perceiping those men did still more fiercely force to gette vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were come in from the chase: they gave way, and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then Pelopidas havinge wonne the hilles, stayed on the top of them, viewinge the army of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waved vp and downe in great disorder. And there he looked all about, to see if he coulde spye out Alexander : and at the length he founde him out amongest others, in the right winge of his battell, settinge his men againe in order, and incoraging of them. After he had fet eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart fo rose against him apon sight of him, that geninge place to wrath, he neither regarded his persone, nor the intent of his iorney, but runninge farre before his men, he cried with a lowde voyce to the tyran, and chalenged the combat of him. The tyran woulde notabide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid him felfe amongest his fouldiers. But for his fouldiers, the first that thought to fet apon Pelopidas, were slaine by him, and many left dead in the fielde. The refidue standing stowtly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pykes, and thrust him into the brest. The THESSALIANS seeinge him thus fore handled and diffressed, for pities sake came runninge from the toppe of those hilles, to the place where Pelopidas was, to helpe him. But even as they came, he fell downe Pelopidas deade before them. Then did they together with their horsemen so fiercely sette apon them. Saine.

that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flye: and followinge them in chase a great

forowe and mourning they made for him. For it is fayed, that they that were at the battell, did not put of their armor, nor vnbridle their horses, nor woulde dresse their woundes, hearinge The great la-

not put of their armor, nor vibridie their nories, nor wounde use in which see that tell of his death; before they went first and sawe his body not yet colde with fightinge, laying menacin or mourning for E great heapes of the enemies spoyles about it, as if he coulde have tolde what they had done, Pelopida nor before they hadde clipped of their owne heares, and the heare of their horses, in token death. of forowe. And many of them also, when they were come into their tentes and paullions. woulde neither have fier, eate, nor drinke: and all the campe was full of forowe and mourninge, as if they hadde not wonne a notable victorie, but hadde beene ouerthrowen and made subject by the tyranne. Afterwardes when the newes of his deathe was spread through all the contrie, the Magistrates of euerie cittie through which Pelopidas bodie was conueyed, went to recease it verie honorable, accompanied with all the younge mennes Prieftes, and children, carvinge tokens and crownes of triumphe, and other ornamentes of golde. And when his funerall daye came, that his bodie shoulde be carried to be bu-

waye from that place, they couered the valley with deade bodies, for they flue aboue three

heauilie, and lamented bitterly: callinge him their father, their faujour, and maifter, as one

that hadde taught them the worthiest thinges that might be learned of any. But the THE s-

SALIANS, and other frendes and confederates also of the citie of Thebes, besides their exce-

dinge in fetting out their common proclamations and edictes in prayle of his memorie, and

doing him all the honor that could be due to the most rare and excellent persone that ever

was: they did yet more shewe their loue and affection towardes him, by their passinge great

D thowsande men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at Pelopidas death, tooke it very

p ried, the oldest and noblest persones of the THESSALIANS went to the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might have the buryinge of him: and one amonge them beinge the mowthe of the reste, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lordes of THEBES,

agair.ft the

the funne

made the

Thebans 4

haid.

fone:but their bed chamber which they comonly yfed to lie in, was in the top of al his palice,

where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber dore, to give warninge, which was a terrible dog.

and knewe none but the tyran and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Nowe when

Thebe purposed to worke her feate, she locked up her three brethren a whole day neere vnto

their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, the went her felfe alone ac-

cording to her maner, into Alexanders chamber: and finding him a fleepe, the flat out ftraight

The oration ... our good beloued frendes, and confederates, we onely craue this good turne at your hander.

of the Thefwherin you shall much honor vs,& in our great calamity somwhat also cofort vs. For we shall

" lopidas? The THEBAN's hearing their peticion, graunted their defire and in mine opinion, no funeralles could be done with greater pompe and honor, then the THE SSALIANS performed & his:being men that recken not dignity, magnificence, & pompe, to confift in ornaments of I xander the

Pelcoidse happines.

phestion.

compelled. For faith Elope, the death of a happy man is not greuous, but most bleffed, seeing Elops fay. inge of the it bringeth all good mens doinges to happines, and leaueth fortune to her fickle chaunge and happines of

Death a blef- with victories also in the self same games: O Diagoras, die presently, els thou shalt neuer come

The Thebani renenged Pelopidas

> Alexander the nran of Pheres flaine

withdrawinge his garrifons he had placed in their ftrong holdes: and therewithall to fweare, that from thence forth he would marche under the THEBANS, against any enemy they should leade him or commaunde him to go against. So, the Theban's were pacified apon these conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him foone after for Pelopidas death, who (25 we have tolde you before had pretily instructed Thebe his wife, that she shoulde not fearethe outward appearance nor power of his tyranny, although the were enuironed with fouldiers of p banished me, whom the tyran enterteined to gard his person. Her self on the other side, searing his fallhode, as also hating his cruelty, conspired her husbands death with her three brethren, by his wife. Tisiphomus,

to his funerals, accompanied with fuch multitudes of crowned people and number of cities,

enuving one an other who should most honor the funerals, as being vnrequested, & least of all

sportinge pleasure. But in my judgement, a LACED EMONIAN spake better, when he saydo

had sene besides, his own childre, & his childrens childre (both sonnes & daughters) crowned

to heaven. But these victories of the Olympicall & Pythian games, who sever should put the

al together, are not to be copared with one of the battels only, that Pelopides hath foughten & wonne: having spent the most parce of his time in great calling and dignity, & lastly ended the

fame, beinge gouernor of Bobott A the third time (which was the highest office of state in all his contry) when he had distroied the tyrans that kept the Thebans in bondage, and was also flaine himselfe, valiantly fighting for the recourry of the THESSALIANS liberty. But as Pelopidas death was greuous to the THEBANS frends & confederats: fo fell it out very profitable for them. For the THEBANS hearinge of Pelopidas death, did not delay reuenge, but fent an army E

forthwith of seuen thowsande sootemen, and seuen hundred horsemen, under the conduct of

Malcitas, and of Diogiton. They findinge Alexanders army overthrowen, & that he had loft the most parte of his strength, did compel him to geue vp the THES SALIANS townes he keptby force against the & to set the Magnesians, the Phthiotes, & the Achaians at liberty,

Diagoras an old man, that had him felfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall, & D

A Tifiphomus, Pytholaus, & Lycophron, & executed her cofpiracy after this forte. The tyrans palice neuer more accopany Pelopidas aliue, nor requite his honorable deferts to vs, that he shaleuer know them. But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our handes, and that we may bu-", ry him, and fet forth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you doe thinke that " which we our felues do certainly beleue: that we The s salians, not you The Bans, have re-" ceiued the greatest losse of both. For you haue lost in deede a worthy Captaine, and we have " not only receased that like loffe with you, but the hope also of recoveringe of our liberty. For " how dare we againe fende to you for an other Captaine, when we can not redeliuer you Pe-

uory, nor of purple. As Philistus doth fet it out, who praifeth to the moone the buryinge of Dionylius the tyran of Syracy sa, which was the ende of his tyranny, as a fumptuous conclus fion of a stately tragedy. And Alexander the great, at the death of Ephestion, did not only clippe his horse heares & mules, but plucked downe also the battellments of the wals of the city bicause it shoulde appeare, that the very walles them selues did mourne for his death, shewinge great, for the that deformitie, in steede of their former beawtie. But all such thinges are done only by force and compulsion, apon the Lordes commaundementes, which doe but raise vp enuy against their memorie for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are against their willes conftrained to do the thing they misliked: & are no instraonfes of honor nor good will, but rather C vaine showes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty of goodes, in trifling toyes not to be defired. Where contrariwife it plainely appeareth, thata private man dying in a foreine contry, by reason should be accompted most happy of all other creatures, that having neither his wife, kinne, nor his children by him, he should be conveyed

chaunce he dyed sooner then he should have done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserved for the maner of his death. So Alexander was the first tyran that was ever slaine by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villanously & dispitefully vsed after his death. For when the townes men of Phenes had drawen him through the city in myer and durt, they cast him out at length to the dogs to deuoure. The ende of Pelopidas life.

him backewards: & the third thrust him through with his sword. So by

EE

againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to cary the dogge away, for her husbande was dispofed to take rest, and would have no noyse. There was no way to get up to this chamber but by aladder, which the let downe: and fearing leaft her brethren thould make a noyle. The flad coneted the ladder fraues with wolle before shelet it fall downe. When she had gotten them yo with their fwordes, and had fet them before the dore, the went first her selfe into the chamber, Atooke away the tyrans fword that hong at his beds head, and shewed it them, as a token genen them that he was a fleepe. When it came to the pinche to do the deede, thefe young men were afrayed, and their heartes beganne to faile them. But the tooke on with the prand called them cowardly boyes, that would not stande to it, when it came to the point, & with all Sware in her rage, that the woulde goe wake the tyran, and open all the treaton to him. So partely for shame, and partely for feare, she compelled them to come in, and to step to the bedsher felfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feeter and bounde them hard: an other caught him by the heare of his head, and pulled Alexander the tyran of Pheres was the first syran that was flaine

HELIFE



Marcellus kimed. Marcellus condicions.

Areus Claudius that was five times Confullat Rome, was the some A (as they fay) of an other Marcus: and as Polidonius wryteth, he was the first of his house surnamed Marcellus, as who would say, a marshall & warlike man by nature. For he was cunninge at weapons, skilfull in warres, stronge and lusty of body, hardy, and naturally genen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great corage, but in warres against the enemy:otherwise he was euer gentle, and fayer condicioand med. He loued learning, and delited in the Greeke tongue, and much esteemed them that could speake it. For, he him selfe was so troubled in matters of state, that he could not study and follow it, as he defired to have done. For if God (as Homer fayth)did euer make men

To vse their youth in wvarres, and battells fierce and fell, till crooked age came creeping on, such feates for to expell:

They were the noblest and chiefest men of Rome at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their midle age, against the GAVLES, to kepe them from the winning of all ITALIE: & againe in their old age, against Hanniball & the The Romaine, CARTHAGINIANS. For their age was no priviledge for them to be dispensed with, in the ferroubled with uice of their warres, as it was elfe for common citizens: but they were bothe for their nobilitie, as also for their valliantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them, by the Senate & people. Now for Marcellus, there was no battell could make him

Marcellus Ca. ther Offaci-

giue grounde, beinge practifed in all fightes: but yet he was more valliant in prinate combate (man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refused enemie that did chalenge him, but flue all those in the fielde that called him to the combat. In Sicile he saued his brother Octacilius life, being ouerthrowen in a skirmishe: for with his shielde he couered his brothers body, & flue them that came to kill him. These valliant partes of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generalles under whom he ferued, with many crownes, and warchofen AEdi- like honors, viually bestowed apon valliant souldiers. Marcellus increasing still his valliantnes and good feruice, was by the people chosen Ædilis, as of the number of those that were the

worthieft men, and most horiorable: and the Priestes did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Priesthoode at Rome, having authority by law, to consider and observe the slving of birds. to divine and prognosticate thinges thereupon. But in the yere of his office of Ædile, he was forced against his wil to accuse Capitolinus, his brother in office with him. For he being a rash, Marcillus

and diffolute man of life, fell in difhonest loue with his colleagues some Marcellus, that bare accuse cahis owne name: who beinge a goodly younge gentleman, and newly come to mans state, was pindinus. as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way

for his beauty and personage. The first time Capitolinus moued this dishonesty to him, he did of him felfe repulle his shameles offer, without any others privitie: but when he saw he came againe to tempt him the seconde time, he straight reuealed it to his father. Marcellus his father beinge maruelously offended withall, (as he had good cause) went and accused Capitolis-

nus before the Senate. Capitolinus at the first, layed in many exceptions and fained excutes, to kene him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainely they would not receive his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. Arthe length he was forced to auniwere the matter before the Senate, and denied flarly that heattempted euer any fuch thinge, bicause there were no witnesses to proue it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to fende for young Marcellus, who comminge before them, bothe blushed, and wept together. The Senate seeinge shamefastnesse in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that coulde not be pacified without feeking other proofe; they tooke

ita cleare case, & so condemned Capitolinus presently in a great summe of money, which Marcellus converted into filuer veffell, to serve at sacrifices, and so did consecrate them to the seruice of the goddes. Now when the Romaines had ended their first warre against the CAR- The Romaines THAGINIANS, which held them fully the space of two and twenty yeares: Immediatly after had warres that, they beganne a newe warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVERIANS, being a people with the Carthat they beganne a newe warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVERIANS, being a people with the Carthat they beganne a newe warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVERIANS, being a people with the Carthat they beganne a newe warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVERIANS, being a people with the Carderined fro the GAVLES, & dwelling at the foote of the montaines of the ALPES on ITALIE into the menty side, being able to make a good power of them selves, did notwithstanding pray aide of the o- yere rogether GAVLES inhabiting on the other fide of the mountaines: & they caused the GESSATES, there are of amercenary people and hierlings to them that woulde give pay to bring great numbers with the Goules. them. Truely me thinkes it was a maruelous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the Ro- Geffatte mar-

MAINE S, that this warre of the GAVLES came not apon the, while they were at wars with the Gauler.

posely sworne to set apon the conquerors) expecting still an end between the & then to set apon the coquerors, when they had nothing to fay to any other. Yet the scituacion of their cotrydid trouble the ROMAINES much, bicause they were so nere neighbours vnto them & had warres as it were at their owne dores. And so did the auncient reputation of the GAVLES fomewhat appawle the ROMAINES, who as it should feeme they did feare more, then any other nation what soeuer: bicause Rome had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time, a law was made, that Priestes and ecclesiasticall persones should be dispensed with, from emps ecclesiastically going to the warres, onles the GAVLES did rife against them. The preparacion they made for field persons this warre at that time, did plainly show the feare they had the of the GAVLES. For the world from the man.

D CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES also had lien quiet all that while (as if they had pur-

ther in fielde, as were then at that present. Moreouer, the new come cruelty they vsed in their warre of the facrifices, doth recorde this to be true. For before, they neuer vied any straunge maner in their facrifice, or barbarous facion, but were fauorable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, & agreeable to the GREECIANS, touching the service of the goddes. But then, they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found wrytten in Si-BYLLES bookes: & they buried two GREECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man & a woman, Men and woand likewife two GAVLES, a man and a woman. Vnto them they doe yet continew certaine fe- men buried cret anniuerlaries in Noueber, that are not to be sene of euery body. The Romaine s in their aline. first battels of this warre, were often ouercommen, and did ouercome:but these battels were

F tolitle purpose, for ending of the warres. In the yere that C. Quintius Flaminius, and P. Furius Flaminius & Philo were Confuls, and fent with great armies to make warres apon the INSVBRIANS, peo- P. Figing ple subject to the state of MILANE: newes were brought to Rome, that there was a river seene confulle.

E thinkes, that never before, nor fince, there were fo many naturall ROMAINES affembled toge- did feare the

brought to Rome,cf strange shings fecne in Ro-

in the corry of Roman's ared as blood, & three moones also at the very fame time in the cival of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priestes & Soothsavers, that had observed & considered the to kens, & fignifications of birdes on thatday, when shele two were cholen Confuls: they tolde

plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly chosen against all signes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the campe to them, & will led them to come home to depose themselues of their Consulthippe, before they did attempt any thing as Confuls against the enemies. The Conful Plaminius receased the letters in time

but bicause he was ready to give battell, he woulde not open them, before he had first oues

throwen his enemies, & spoyled their contrie, as in dede he did. But when he was come backet to Rome againe, and had brought maruelous great spoyles with him, the people for all that woulde not goe out to meete him, bicaufe he did not presently obey the letters they wrote yet to him, nor returned apon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his owne phantasie: whereupon they had almost flatlyde. nied him the honor of triumphe. For his triumphe was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Consulthip, and made him a private man with his companion. The Ro-

The greatre- MAINES therein were fo religiously bent, as they would all things shoulde be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleasure, & would suffer none to contemne the observations & prognot

fticatinge of the soothsavers, nor their auncient vses & customes, for any prosperity & felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magistrates should reverence the ceremonies and service of the goddes: then that they should ouercome their enemies in battell. As for example Tiberius Sempronius, a man as much honored and esteemed of the Romaines for his instice and valle antnes, as any other of his time: beinge one yeare Conful, did nominate & elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, Scipio Nasica, & Caius Martius. These two being entred into their Confulship, and sent from ROME also to their severall provinces appointed them by lots sempronius by chaunce tooke certen litle bookes in his hande, where were briefly written the rules

appertaining to the ceremonies of publike facrifice, and reading in them, he found a certains ordinaunce he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tentor far publike far hyred house without the citie, to beholde and observe the prognostications of birdes, & that vpon any sodaine occasion he were driue to come againe into the citie, before the birdes had giuen any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to ende his observations I there was no remedy, but he must leave his tent or first hyred house, and take an other, and beginne new observations againe. Tiberius vtterly ignoraunt of this ordinaunce before, had kept his observations twife in one selfe house, and had chosen there, Nasica and Martins, Consults to succeede him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it who wouldnot let flippe so litle a fault:but wrote to the newe Consulls, and they straight left their prouinces, and returned againe to Rome, willingly refigninge up their offices. That was a prety whileaf ter. Againe also, about the very present time we write of nowe, there were two Priestes of noble houses (and noble persones also) the one called Cornelius, and the other Cethegus, boths which were disgraded of their Priesthoode, bicause they had not given the intrayles of thesa-

crificed beaft in order, as they should have done. Quintus Sulpitius in like maner, was disgraded of his Bishopricke, bicause his miter which the FLAMINES doe weare, fell of his head in his

facrificing. Minutius being Dictator also, and havinge chosen Caius Flaminius generall of the

horesemen: bicause they heard the noyse of a ratte at the electio of Flaminius, they were boths

put out of their authoritie, and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus pre-

cise euen in trisles, it was not by reason of any supersticion mingled with their religion: but bicause they woulde not breake any iotte of the auncient institucions and ceremonies of their contrie. But to our storie againe. Flaminius beinge depriued of his Consullshippe, Marcellus was created Confull in his place, by the regents at that time called Interreges, Marcellus being Cnew Corne- inuested in his office, chose Cnew Cornelius for his companion: and they say, that the GAVLES lius Confulli. beinge inclined to peace, and the Senate of Rome also willinge to harken to peace, Marcellus F did stirre vp the people, and made them rather desire warre. Notwithstandinge, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the wars again.

A Forthere came ouer the mountaines of the ALPES, a thirty thowfand of them, & they joyned The Genter with the INSVERIANS, which were many moe in number then the felues, Now, they being in Geffater make amaruelous iolity, went incontinently to lay fiege to the city of ACBRRBS, that standeth apon Rome, and the river of Po: and during the fiege, king Britomarus taking ten thowfande GESSATES with come out the him, went & destroyed all the contrie about the Po. Marcellus hearing that, left with his compattion Cneus Cornelius, al the armed footemen, & the third parte of the horseme, in his campe symposities by ACERRES: & he him felfe with the refidue of the horseme, & fix hundred footeme light ar- river of Po. med,marched towards the enemy, trauelling night & day, vntil he met with the ten thowfand

GESSATE S, nete vnto a village of GAVLE on this fide the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, Classifications. which was subject not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leasure to take rest, nor to village or. refresh his men a little: for the barbarous people knew straight he was come, & tooke him for this side the no better then by and by ouercome, bicause he had so fewe footemen. And for his horsemen, mountaines. the GAVLES made no reckening of them: for befides themselves are very good men at armes. and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horsemen farre about Marcellus.

Therefore they straight marched towardes him in a maruelous furie, and with thunderinge showtes as if they would have denowred them at their comminge. Britomarus their king, aduaunced him selfe before all his company. Marcellus fearing to be compassed in behinde, being fo finall a number: he put out the winges of his horiemen as much as he could to have the contrie at large, so that his two wings were very slender, vntill he came nere his enemies. And being ready to gallop towardes the enemie, it fortuned his horse beinge afraid with the noyse of his enemies, turned about, & caried Marcellus backe againe in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES supersticion, in taking this for an euill token, and that they woulde take a conceite apon the same: plucking the bridle with his left hande, turned his horse head againe vppon the enemie, and then he worshipped the sunne, as though he had not turned his horse by chaunce, but purposely for that cause. For it is the ROMAINES manner to turne about so, The maner of when they do honor their goddes. So when they beganne to joyne battell, he made a vowe to the Romaines Impiter Feretrian, to offer him vppe the goodlieft spoyles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. when they worthing,

Thekinge of the GAVLES feeinge him at that instant, imagined by the markes and tokens he faw, that he should be the general of his enemies: So he set spurres to his horse, and gallopped The comban towardes him from all his company gening him defiance, & chalenged him, shaking his staffe horsebacke D inhis hande. He was the goodlieft persone and strongest man of all the GAVLES, and his ar- betwief Brimor was all guilt and filuered, and so fet foorth with fundry workes and colours, that it shined of the Gaules, as the funne. Marcellus on the other fide havinge viewed all the army of his enemies through and Marcelout, and perceauinge none fo richely armed as the king: thought straight it was against him, luc. that he had made his prayer and vowe to Iupiter. Then he put his horse in full cariere against him, and came with fuch a force & fury to him, that he pearced his armor with his staffe, and

ouerthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead wherupon he fodainly redoubled two or three fine king Britrokes besides apon him, and so slew him right out. Then he lighted from his horse, & taking sometimes of the state of the the dead kinges armor in his hande, he lift up his eyes to heauen, and faid. O lupiter Feretrian, Marcellur thou that doest from heaven beholde and direct, all marshall feates and Captaines deedes: thy prayer was felfe I call to witnes, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being generall of the army, witness haue flaine with my owne handes, the king and generall of the enemies; and I promife here to thee, to offer thee vp the richest spoyles of mine enemies, so thy godheade will vowchesafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre besides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the Romaines ranne in among the horsemen & footemen of the Gavles, one being vn-

a straunge and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer seene before nor since, that so fewe horsemen did ouerthrow, so great a number of men of armes and sootemen ran- The Gaules ged together. Now when Marcellus hadde flaine the greater number of them, and had gotten Marcellus.

their spoyles & all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion Cnew Cornelius, whom F he founde makinge warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greatest and most populous city they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this fide the mountaines take for their chiefe city, and from whence all other had their first originall. Whereupon they did

parted from an other: and fortune did so fauor them, that they wanne a passing victory, in such

Marcellus wanne the city of Mil-

Marcellus

feringe up of Spailes. The three persones shat offered ro Spolia opima in Rome: Romulus. Coffus. Marcellus. Impiter Fere trian why so called.

Marcellus fent into Sicile with an

and thut vp very long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumphe, hanging all the armed peces he had wonne of the king very orderly rounde about it. Then, when all the show of his triumphe was past, he him selfe tooke the oke on his shoulders, and gotte vp vpon his trium. phing charet, and so marched through the city, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest fight, and honorablest show, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charet, finging verses and songes of victory, in praise of the goddes and their Captaine; and when he had paffed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of Iupiter called Feretrian. there he fet up this young oke, and token of triumphe. This Marcellus is the third and last Ro-MAINE Captaine, to whom happened this honor in our age. For the first man that euer office (vp to Iupiter the spoyles of the general of their enemies, was king Romulus, who wanne the like Spoyles of Acronking of the CENINIANS. The second was Cornelius Cossus, who slue Tolumning, generall of the THVS CANS. And the third was Marcellus, who flue with his owne handes Britomarus, king of the GAVLE s: and after him, no man euer fince could obtain the like good fortune. The god to whom these maner of spoyles are consecrated thus, is called Jupiter Feretrian, so tearmed as some write, bicause they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the derivation of this Greeke word. Ferin, which fignifieth to cary; for in those former times. many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the furnames of Iupiter, fignifying as much as lightening: for Ferire in the Latine tonge, fignifieth to strike. And fome fay also, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the ROMAINES D do vse at this day when they geue a charge apon their enemies in battell, or that they have them in chase flying, to crie, incoraging one another, Feri, Feri; which is as much, as kill, kill, And the spoyles taken fro the enemies also, are generally called Spolia: but those which Lieutenantes generall or generalles do take from the generalles of their enemies when they have flaine them, they are called particularly Spolia opima. Yet some hold opinion, that kinge Nums what they be. Pompilius mencioning the rich spoyles or Spolia opima in his comentaries, speaketh of the first, the fecond, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoyles which are wonne, should be confecrated to Iupiter Feretrian: the second vnto Mars: and the third vnto Quirinus, And that they should give to him that had wonne the first spoyles, three hundred Asses: the second, two hundred: & the third a hudred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion & vsuall taking of Spolia ! opima, referreth them to be the first spoyles wonne in a foughten field, & those which the Lieutenat of an army, or a general, doth take fro the general of the enemies, after he hath flainchim with his owne handes. And thus much for declaracion of this matter. Furthermore, the Ro-MAINES were so ioyfull of this victory, & of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cuppe of golde to be made of the spoyle they had gotten, weyinge a hundred pounde weight, which they fent to offer vp in the temple of Apollo Pythias: in the city of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall division besides of the spoyles vnto their frendes and confederates, and fent a great parte of it vnto Hieron king of Syrac vsa, who was their confederate. Not log after, Hanniball being entred ITALIE, Marcellus was fent with an army by fea, into Sicile. And after the great ouerthrow was given at the battel of Cannes, wherin there F died fo many thowfande Romains, and that very few of them faued them selues by flyinge, into the city of CANNY SIV Mithey looked that Hanniball havinge overcome the flower of all

MARCELLVS.

all their possible endeuor to defende it, and did as straightly besiege the Consult Cornelius, & A

he did them. Now, when Marcellus was come to the campe againe, the GESSATES vinder. stading that their king Britomarus was slaine in battel, returned backe againe into their control

& the city of MILLAINE was taken. After that all the other cities there about velded of them

felues, without force of fiege, and the GAVLES wholly submitted them selues & all that they

had to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vppon easie condicions. For

these famous victories, the Senate of Rome gaue all the honor of triumphe vnto Marcelland

only, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a fight, as any that ever past before him; what for

the infinite spoyles, and the numbers of great mentaken prisoners, and also for the exceeding

fumptuousnes & stately shew thereof. But the goodliest fight of all for the rarenes, was to behold Marcellus (elfe, carving on his shoulders the whole spoyle of the barbarous king to offer)

vp to Iupiter Feretrian. For he had cut downe a goodly younge oke of the mountaine, straight

A the ROMAINES youth, and their greatest force, woulde not fayle to come straight to ROME. Wherefore Marcellus first sent fifteene hundred of his men by sea, to help to defende Rome: and havinge afterwardes receased commaundement from the Senate, he came to CANNYsive, where he tooke such as were fled thither for succor after the battell, & so brought them out to the fielde, to defende the contrie. Now the ROMAINES having loft the most parte of all their best Captaines, in diverse sundry battells before: of all those that remained, Fabius Maximu was the onely able and reputed man for commendacion of his honesty and wisedom, yet they milliked of him notwithstanding, for a timerous man, and of no corage, as a man to ful of doubts and confideracion, and loth to put any thing in hazard: faying, he was a good Captaine to defende, but not to offende the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to iovne Marcel-Inclinely youth & corage, with Fabius feminine feare and wifedom: and therefore fome yeares they chose them both Consulls together, or else they sent one of them as Consull, and the other as Proconfull, eche in his turne, to the contrie where they hadde warres. And for proofe hereof, Polidonius wryteth, that the ROMAINES at that time called Fabius Maximus their target and Marcellus their fword. Therefore Hanniball him felfe fayed, he feared Fabius Maximus worder of Faas his gouernor, and Marcellus as his enemy: bicause the one kept him from hurting of others, bius & Marand the other did hurt to him selfe. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, Hann: bals fouldiers became so bolde, so carelesse, and disordered, that they kept the fielde without search of any thing, and dispersed them selves farre from their campe: wherefore Marcellus setting apon those stragglers, he flue them euery man, & so by little and little did still lessen the power and strength of his enemy. Afterwardes he aided the cities of BIZANTIV M and of NOLA, and Stablished the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towardes the ROMAINES: from

thence he went to Nola, & found great fedition there betwixt the Senate & people, bicause

onely let him go without ransome, but furthermore presented him, & made him his ho te and

came one of those that most favored Hannibal, & most perswaded the people of NoLA to take

his nature, hadde a maruelous gift also, to winne mens good wills by his great curtesse: when

this Bandius came one day to do his duety to him, Marcellus of purpose asked him what he

n frende. Hereupon Bandius at his comming home, to requite Hannibals honor and curtefie, be-

the Senate coulde not keepe the people in obedience, but they woulde needes take Hannibals parte. The cause of the peoples stubbornnesse grewe, by occasion of a gentleman of the city patte. The Called Bandius, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valliant man of his hands. This Bandius Lucius Bandius of Nobel having fought valliantly at the battell of CANNES, after he hadde saine many a CARTHAGI- a valliant NIAN, was him felfe in the ende striken downe, and founde lyinge amonge deade bodies, fore man. wounded and mangled: whereupon Hanniball greatly commending his valliantnes, did not

his parte. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus thinking it to great a sinne against the goddes, to Marcellus

puta man to death that had made fo great proofe of his valliantnes, and had ferued with the gentlenes. ROMAINES in their greatest warres and extremest daunger, and who besides the goodnes of

was, though he had knowen him long before, only to take occasion to talke with him. The other aunswered him, his name was Lucius Bandius. Then Marcellus seeming to be maruelous glad, and to wonder at him, fayed: and art thou that Bandius they speake of so much at Rome, whom they fay did so notable service in persone at the battel of CANNES, and never for sooke Paulus AEmilius the Confull, but receased fo many woundes upport thy body in defence of him? Bandius aunswered, that he was the man, and therewith shewed him many woundes he had apon his body. Marcellus then replyed: alas, thou that cariest such notable markes of thy vnfained loue towards vs, what diddeft thou meane, that thou cameft not straight againe vnto vs? art thou perswaded we are so miserable & vnthankefull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valliantnesse of our frendes, whom our enemies selues do honor? After Marcellus had vied this curteous speach vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horse for service in the warres, & five hundred Drachmes of silver besides. So after that time, Remark made Bandius did euer take Marcellus parte, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, Bandius a

F and shewed him selfe very seueare and earnest to accuse them, that tooke Hannibals parte in the city: which were many in number, & had conspired among them selues, that the first time the ROMAINES should go into the fielde to skirmishe with the enemies, they woulde shut the

to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of those that scaped from the bat-

rell of CANNES, some faued them selues by flying, other were taken prisoners, of which there

gates after them, & take the spoyle of al their cariages. Marcellus being informed of this tree. A fon did fet his men in battell rave within the city, hard by the gates, & behind them he placed

Marcellus victorie of

al the fumpters & carriage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trompet, that no citizen apon paine of death shoulde approch the walles. This occasion drew Hanniball to come hard to the city, seeinge no watche apon the walles, and made him the bolder to come in diforder, imagininge there had bene fome mutinie or fedition within, betwene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, Marcellus fet open the gates being hard by, and fayling out apon the fodaine with the best men of armes he had, he gaue a charge vpo Hanniball in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at an other gate, running straight vpon Hanniball, with a wonderfull crie and showte: so as Hanniball to withstand them, was dri-

uen to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuidinge of them, fodainely athird a gate opened apon them, from whence all the refidue of the ROMAINES iffued out, who fette vppon the CARTHAGINIANS on every fide, they being emarueloufly amazed to be fo fodainely fet on, which they looked not for : fo having their handes full with those that came first apon them, beinge scant able to defende them selves against them, and seeinge this news and last charge also: they were forced to retyre. This was the first time, that euer Hannibale fouldiers beganne to give place to the Romaine s, who drave them backe vnto their campe. and flewe a great number of them, and did hurt diverse of them besides. For some wryte,

there were flaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, about flue thowsande: and of the ROMAINES there died not past five hundred men. But Titus Liuius doth not set out theouerthrow to great and vet confesseth that Marcellus wanne great honor by it, & that it made the the ROMAINES maruelous valliant againe, after so many and fundry battells as they had lost one after an other: for then they were perfwaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether vnuincible, but that he might fomtime also, as well as them selues, receive both losse and hurt, Therefore, one of the Confulls dyinge about that time, the people caused Marcellus to be fent for, & placed him in his roome; and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputacion untill his returne from the campe. Marcellus came no fooner to Rome, but he was chosen Confull in the deade mans roome, by all the voyces of the people. Notwithstandinge, when they went to choose him, it thundered maruelously: which the Priestes & Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durft not openly speake against his election, bicause they feared the people. Howbeit Marcellus of him felfe did willingly giue vp his Confullshippe, and yet was !

meaning to fight no more battels: and then he fet apon him, having given his footemen long

and flee before them. So there were fine thow lande of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the

field, foure elephants flaine, and two taken aliue: and furthermore, three dayes after the battell,

there came a three hundred horsemen, some of them SPANIARDS, and other NUMIDIANS

that submitted them selves to the ROMAINES. Neuer came there such a missfortune before to

Hanniball:who had of log time kept together in great loue & amity, an army affembled of fun-

dry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued euer after faith

it no exception to him for his feruice in the warres: for they created him Proconfull, and fent Marcellus him againe to the campe at Nola, where he did feuerely punishe fuch as tooke Hannibals proconfull. parte. Who being advertised thereof, came thither with all possible spede to helpe them:and even at his first comming, he offered Marcellus battell, which refused it at that time. Neuertheles he tooke his time, when Hanniball hadde fent the best parte of his army to forrage, as

pykes, fuch as they vie in fight apon the sea, and taught them also, howe to hurt the enemy a farre of keping them still in their handes. But the CARTHAGINIANS having no skill of their pykes, and fighting with shorte lauelings in their hands, did strike downe right blowes:which was the cause, that they being fet apon by the Romains swere driven to turne their backes, !

Certaine Spanyards and

Ninnidians

Hanniball.

full to the end, both to Marcellus, and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the Romaines. the third time Confull, fent

Shortely after, Marcellus beinge againe chosen Consult the thirde time, went into Sicila For Hannibals prosperous successe and victories had so incoraged the CARTHAGINIANS, 25 they fought agains to conquer this Ilande: and specially bicause that after the death of Hiero-F nimus the tyran, there rose some tumult at Syracvsa. Vppon which occasion, the Romat NES had fent an army thither before, and a Prætor called Appius: at whose handes Marcellus

were such a number, as it appeared that Rome had not people enough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheles, those few that remained, their hartes were fo great, that they woulde neuer redeeme the prisoners, which Hannibal was contented to deliver them vppor finall ran- of the Roforme, but made a decree they should not be redeemed; and so suffered some of their to be kil-maines to led, others to be solde for slaves out of ITALIE. And moreouer, those that saved them selves southers to be solde for slaves out of ITALIE. hu flying they fent straight into Sicile:commaunding they should not once fer foote againe in ITALIE, whileft they had warres with Hanniball. Thele were the men that came altogether. B and fell downe at Marcellus feete, so soone as he arrived in Sicile, & humbly befought him. to appoint them to ferue vnder some enfigne, that they might fight to do their contrie honor and feruice: promiting him with teares running downe their checkes, that their faithfull fer-

nice then should witnesse for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell apon them rather by misfortune, then through lacke of corage. Whereupon Marcellus having compaffion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauor, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to supply the bands of his army, as they diminished, with those poore Romatnes his contrymen. Many reasons passed to, and fro, against this sute: neuertheles, it was concluded in the ende by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the service of faint selled of the harted men like women : wherefore if Marcellius thought good of their feruice, yer it shoulde Romaines.

not be lawfull for him to give them any crownes or rewards of honor, for any notable feruice focuer they did, as all generalles are wont to give to honest men that serve valliantly. This order of the Senate misliked Marcellus very much, who at his returne home out of Sicilia made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that fauor, that having done his common wealth such faithful service diverse times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poore Romannes to their honor againe. Nowe, when Marcellus was in Sicile, he received great hurtes and injuries by Hippocrates, general of the Hippocrate Syracy sans: who, to pleasure the Carthaginians, and by their meanes to make him somethal of felfe chiefe Lord of Syracvsa, did put many Romaine citizens to death. Wherupon Mar- forms

TINES, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that prevailed not, for

metricall speculation, and to apply it to thinges corporall and sencible, and to make the rea-

fon of it demonstrative, and plaine, to the vnderstanding of the common people by experi-

they beleued not Marcellus, bicaufe Hippocrates being the stronger, had wonne the city. Wher- Marcellus

cellus went and layed fiege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by affault, Marcellus D he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the fame: but fuch traytors as he founde wanne the cithere, and had fled from his campe, & yelded to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped, Leonines, 6 and then hanged. But notwithstanding, Hippocrates had before caused it to be bruted at Syra-EVSA, that Marcellus had put all the LEONTINES to the fword, not sparing litle children: and afterwards Hippocrates comming thither on the fodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this false brute, he easily tooke the city. Marcellus hearing Hippocrates had taken Syracvs A, left forthwith the LEONTINES, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by Syrne vsa: and fent his Ambassadors to tell the Syracus an struely, what he had done in the city of the Leon-

E upon he beganne then to approch the walles, and to affault in enery quarter, as well by fea as ratefal. by lande. Appius tooke charge of them that gaue affault by lande. Marcellus him felfe, with three score galleyes of fine owers at enery bancke, well armed, and full of all sortes of artillery and fire works, did affault by fea, and rowed hard to the walle, having made a great engine and deuise of battery, vppon eight galleyes chained together, to batter the walle: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all such other necessarie provision as he had

for warres, as also in his owne reputacion. But Archimedes made light accompt of all his de-Archimedes a uiles, as in deede they were nothinge comparable to the engines him felfe had invented and notable ma-

yet were not his owne fuch, as him felfe did recken of to fhew fingularity of worke and deuife. thematician. For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and thinges done to passe the F time with, at the request of king Hieron: who had prayed him to call to minde a litle, his geo-

weying ten talents. Then, a seconde after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all

by the vie of them, to be but vyle, beggerly, & mercenary droffe: employed his witte & fludy

onely to write thinges, the beauty and subtiltie whereof, were not mingled any thinge at all

comparison of any other writings whatsoener: bicause the subject whereof they treate, doeth

ments, and to the benefit and commodity of vie. For this inventiue arte to frame instrument A and engines. (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, so highly commended and effecmed of all fortes of people) were first set forth by Architas, and by Eudoxus: partely to beawtiffe mous Mathe 2 little the science of Geometry by this finenes, and partly to proue and confirme by material examples and fencible inftruments, certeine Geometrical conclusions, where a man can not finde out the conceiueable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclufion which instructeth one to searche out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proued by reason demonstratiue, and yet notwithstandinge is a principall and an accepted grounde, for many thinges which are conteined in the arte of portraiture. Both of them have facioned it to the workemanship of certeine instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographes. which ferue to finde these meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curue lines, and on uerthwart and oblike fextions. But after that, Plato was offended with them, and mainteined

to be separated from Geometry, and being long time despised by the Philosophers, it came to

be one of the warlike artes. But Archimedes havinge tolde king Hieron, his kinfeman and very

Archisse.

frende, that it was possible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting him selfe thus (as they reporte of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proued this coclusion, that if there were an other globe of earth, c he was able to remove this of ours, and paffe it over to the other: kinge Hieron wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuise in execution, and to make him see by experience. fome great or heavy weight removed, by litle force. So Archimedes caught hold with a hooke with an engind dree not of one of the greatest careets, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the waof the greater, required a maruelous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and test hulkes Hieron the king had a

put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burden: and he himselfe sittinge alone at his ease farre of without any straining at all, drawing the ende of an engine with many wheeles and pullyes, fayer and foftly with his hande, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floted in the fea. The king wondering to fee the fight, and knowing by proofe the greatnes of his arte: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to affault and defend, D in all maner of fieges and affaultes. So Archimedes made him many engines, but kinge Hieron neuer occupied any of them, bicause he raigned the most parte of his time in peace, without any warres. But this prouision and munition of engines, served the Syracy sans turne maruelously at that time: and not only the prouision of the engines ready made, but also the enginer & worke maister him selfe, that had invented them. Now, the SYRACVSANS seeing them felues affaulted by the ROMAINES, both by fea and by land, were marueloufly perplexed, and could not tel what to fay they were fo afrayed: imagining it was impossible for them to with-The woderful stande so great an army. But when Archimedes fell to handle his engines, and to set them at liberry, there flue in the ayer infinite kindes of shot, and maruelous great stones, with an vncregines at Mar- dible noyfe and force on the fodaine, apon the footemen that came to affault the city by land, E cellus fiege of bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all those, which came against them, or in what place so euer they lighted, no earthly body beinge able to reful the violence of fo heavy a weight: fo that all their ranckes were maruelously disordered. And as for the gallies that gaue assault by fea, some were soncke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of shippes, whereto they fasten their failes, which were fodainly blowen ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and so soncke them by their ouergreat weight. Other being hoysed up by the prooes with handes of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plonged their poupes into the sea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines fastened within, one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayer like a whirlegigge, & so cast them apon the rockes by the towne walles, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoyle and murder of the persons that were F within them. And sometimes the shippes and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it

was a fearfull thing to fee them hang and turne in the ayer as they did:vntill that casting their

against them, that they did vtterly corrupt and difgrace, the worthines & excellency of Geometry, making it to discende from things not comprehensible, and without body, vnto things fencible and materiall, and to bringe it to a palpable fubstance, where the vile and base handie worke of man is to be employed fince that time I fay, handy craft, or the arte of engines, came

F with necessitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall proposicions, which are without

in the end to be empty, and to breake against the walls, or else to fall into the sea agains, when their engines left their hold. Now for Marcellus engine, which he brought against the walles, vopon a bridge made of gallies iouned together: that was called Sambuca, by reason of the facion it had like to an instrument of musicke of the same name, which is a harpe. The same sambuca.

heing yet a good prety way of fro the walls, there fell a great stone apon it sent fro the walls,

into this engine with fuch a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the fundacion of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies joyned together in peeces, that fusteined it. So that Marcellus being amazed with all, not knowing well what it ment: was glad to retyre quickely, and B fent to make his trompet found the retreate to those that gaue affault by land. Hereupon they fate in counfaill to determine what was to be done, and they refolued, that the next morninge hefore day they shoulde approache the walles if it were possible: bicause that Archimedes engines, which were very strong and hard wounde vp, should by this meanes sende all the force and furie of their stones and thor ouer their heades, and that neere hande also he coulde do no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their leavel and cariage they should have. But Archimedes had preuented this deuise by long preparation before, having made provision of engines for farre and neere, the leanell and carrage whereof was proportioned for all distances: their shot shorte, the arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the walles one harde by an other, where there were store of crosbowes to kill neere hande, sette in such places.as the enemies coulde not fee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMAINES thought to approche, thinking they had bene fafe and close, that no man faw them: it amazed them all when they were receased againe with infinite shot, and striken to the ground with stones that fell apon their heades like leade: (for there was no parte of all the walles, from whence they had not the like (hotte.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retyre from the walles, And vet when they were further of from them, the arrowes, stones, and other kinde of shotte that flue in euery place amonge them, killed a great nomber of them, scattered farre from thence: fothat many of them were flaine and fore wounded, and diverfe of their shippes splitted, and they not once able to be renenged, nor to hurt their enemies, bicause Archimedes had placed his engines very closely behinde the walles, and not apon the walles in fight of the enemy. So that it appeared the goddes fought against the Romaines, they were so slaine and wounded. and yet they coulde not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, Marcellus escaped with life, fafe from hurt, and mocking his workemaisters and enginers he had in his campe, he sayd vnto them. What, thall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian enginer and Geometrician here? who fitting still apon the wharfe, in sporting manner hath with shame overthrowen our nauy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, discharginge at Marcellus one instant fo many shot among vs? For in deede, all the residue of the Syracvsans were, windred as as the body and members of Archimedes preparacion: and he him felfe was the only creature engines. that moued and did all, all weapons else being quiet, and his engines only occupied, to affault and defend. At the length, Marcellus feeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but fee the ende of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the walle, they ranne away, crying out, that Archimedes was letting loofe some of his engines apon them he would no more approche the walles, nor geue affault, determininge to see if he coulde winne it by longe siege. Notwithstanding,

Archimedes had such a great minde, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden in him the Archimedes onely treasure and secrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer set forth any booke profoundely.

how to make all these warlicke engines, which wanne him at that time the same & glory, not learned. of mans knowledge, but rather of dinine wifedom. But he esteminge all kinde of handy crast & inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of sciences bringing common commodity

appeare by demonstracion, the matter giving them the grace & the greatnes, and the demon-EE ii

340 stracion prouing it so exquisitely, with wonderfull reason and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be founde more profounde and difficulte matters wrytten in more plaine and simple tearmes, & by more easie principles, then those which he hath inuented. Now some do impute this to the sharpnes of his wit & vnderstanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made these things come so easily from him, that they seemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all, Form

man liuinge of him felfe can deuile the demonstracion of his propositions, what paine some he take to feeke it: & yet straight so soone as he commeth to declare & open it, every manthen imagineth with him felfe he could have found it out well enough, he can then fo plainly make demonstració of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therfore that me thinks is like enoughm be true, which they write of him: that he was fo rauished & dronke with the swete intysement R

of this Sirene, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgate his meate & drinke, and was careles otherwise of him selfe, that oftentimes his servants got him against his will to the bathes, to washe & annoynt him: & yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, even in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles & fwete fauors, with his finger he did draw lines apon his naked body fo fare was he take fro himself, & brought into an extaly or traunse, with the delite he had in the study of Geometry. & truely rauished with the loue of the Muses, But amongst many notable things he deuised, it appeareth, that he most estemed the demonstracion of the proportion between the Cylinder(to wit, the round colomne) & the Sphære or globe conteined in the fame: forhe demonstración prayed his kinseme & frends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder apon his tombe, conteining a massie Sphære, with an inscription of the proportion, wherof the continent ex-

he fought, he euer ouer came them that durft bid him battell. It chaunced afterwards, that he

cvs a by fea. The Syracvs and defirous to redeme him, fent to him to pray he might be ran-

fommed. They made many parlees about his raunfome, and drew out this practife to diverte

meetings: vntil Marcellus had taken good markes of a certeine tower, that had no great watch

kept vpon it, & into the which he might fecretly couey a certeine number of men, the walled

the city in that place being no very hard thing to skale. Therefore when he had geuen a good

geffe by estimacionat the height of that tower, by often approching to it, hauing parled many

cedeth the thing coteined. So Archimedes being as you have heard did as fruch as lay in him. both faue him felfe & Syracvs a from taking. But now againe to Marcellus, Marcellus during the flege at Syrac vsa, wanne the city of Megares in Sicile, one of the auncientest cities Marcellus in all the Ilande: & he tooke befides, the campe of Hippocrates, lying by ACILES, where he flue victories in aboue eight thousand men, surprising them apon the sodaine, euen as they were preparing lodge, & to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great parte of the champion contried SICILE. & made the cities to rebel that tooke the CARTHAGINIANS parte: & in al the banels

tooke a LACED EMONIAN Captaine prisoner, called Danippus: euen as he came out of Syna-n

kengr:foner.

racufa.

a time hard by it:he prouided skaling ladders, & tooke the oportunity of a feaft which the Sr-RACVSANS folemnifed in the honor of Diana, on which day they gaue the felues to al feafting, winnerh Sysporting & playes. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed me before day, & brake open the maine gate & entry of the citie called Hexapyle. And as R the Syracvsans began to stirre, perceiving the Romaines on the wals: Marcellus made his men found their trompets on every fide. Whereupon the SYRACVSANS were fo afraid &2 mazed, that they beganne to flie, thinkinge all the city besides had bene taken, where in deede the greatest & strongest quarter of the city called ACRADINA, was not yet touched: bicauseit is walled in rounde about, and separated from the rest of the citie, which is deuided into two other partes, the one called the newe citie, and the other fortune. The two partes whereof beinge wonne, Marcellus by the breake of the daye forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapyle. And when his Captaynes tolde him he was happie, to winne fo goodly a citie, to easely: they say, that he lookinge about him, and consideringe the greatnesse and statelinesse of the fame, he wept for veriepitie, foreseeinge whereto it shoulde come, thinking with him F felfe what a fodayne chaunge it shoulde haue, when his armie came to spoyle and sackethe fame. For there was not a Captaine that durst denie the fouldiers when they demaunded

A the foovle, and yet were there many that would nedes have it burnt and rafed to the ground. But Marcellus would not agree to that in any case, and besides, it was fore against his minde Marcellus to graunt them the spoyle of the goodes and slaves: straightly commaunding them not with- gentlenes. standing, not to lay handes of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any Synagy san flaue. Wherein, though he shewed great fauor and mercy, yet it greued him to see so famous a citie brought to that miserable state: and in the middest of all the joy he had for his victorie. he could not refraine from weeping for pity to fee fo rich and wealthie a citie, in the turning

of a hand, spoyled, and brought to nought. For it is sayd, that the riches and goodes taken a way at the facke of Syracysa, were nothinge inferior to the spoyles of Carthage, which Rich Profes

was also sacked not longe after that : for the other parte of the city of Syracus a called A-CRADINA, was soone after also taken by treason, and spoyled against the Captaines willes, saninge the kinges treasure, which was reserved to be caried to the common treasure of Rome. SYRACVSA beinge taken, nothinge greued Marcellus more, then the loffe of Archimedes. Who beinge in his studie when the citie was taken, busily seekinge out by him selfe the demonstracion of some Geometricall proposition which he hadde drawen in figure, and so ear- Archimedes nessly occupied therein, as he neither fawe nor hearde any noyse of enemies that ranne vppe faine in his

and downe the citie, and much leffe knewe it was taken : He wondered when he fawe a foul- fludy. dier by him, that bad him go with him to Marcellus. Notwithstandinge, he spake to the souldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstracion: but the fouldier being angry with his aunswer, drew out his sword, and killed him. Other say, that

the Romains fouldier when he came, offered the swords poynt to him, to kill him: and that Archimedes when he saw him, prayed him to hold his hand a little, that he might not leave the District of the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonstracion. But the fouldier makingeno recke- on of Archi-

ning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, sayinge, that cer- medes death. teine souldiers met him in the streetes going to Marcellus, carying certeine Mathematicall instrumentes in a little pretie coffer, as dialles for the sunne, Sphæres and Angles, wherewith they measure the greatnesse of the body of the sunne by viewe: and they supposing he hadde

that flue him, as a curfed and execrable persone: and howe he made also maruelous much af-D terwards of Archimedes kinsemen for his sake. The ROMAINES were estemed of arthat time by all nations, for maruelous expert fouldiers, and taken for verie vallyant and daungerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer shewed any example of their clemencie and curtesie, and least of all of any civill manner to any straungers, vntill Marcellus taught the way, whose actes did shewe the Greecians then, that the Romaines were more gratious and mercifull, then they. For he did so curteouslie intreate those that hadde to do with him, and the-Marcellus wed fuch fauour to private persones, and also to whole citties: that if there were any crueltie shewed in the citties of Enna, or at MEGARES, or against the Syracus ans, it was ra-

caried some golde or silver, or other pretious Iuells in that litle coffer, flue him for it. But it is

most true, that Marcellus was maruelous sorie for his death, and euer after hated the villen

ther through their owne fault and follie that were hurt, then theirs that didde them the

hurte. And for profe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongest many. There is acitie in Sicile called Engrism, it is no great thinge, but a verie auncient citie of name, Engrism a

by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certeine goddesses to be seene, whome est. they worthip, called the mothers. Some fay the CRETANS were the first builders and founders of the temple there, where you shall see speares and helmets of copper, and apon them

are grauen the name of Meriones: and apon others, Vlyffes name also, which are confecrated to these goddesses. This citie stoode altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINI-ANS : and Nicias beinge the chiefest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openlie in all their counsailles to take parte with the ROMAINES, prouinge it by many reasons, that his enemies counsaylinge the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon Nicias enemies fearinge his greatnesse and authoritie, they did conspyre amonge them selues to apprehende him, and to deliuer him to

the CARTHAGINIAN'S. But Nicias hearinge of fuche a matter, and findinge that they laye in wayte to take him : vsed this pollicie to preuent their treason. He gaue out openlie with safe.

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brought in

MARCELLVS

very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honorand a fayd the fight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but deuise, and that there was no credit to be genen to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischiefe they pretended against him, to him selfe, as the only canser of his owne hurt. So they having appointed a day to apprehende him, by chaunce a common

counfaill was kept that day they hadde determined of where Nicias speaking to the peoples. bout matter of counfaill, in the middest of his oration fell to the grounder to the great wonder of the whole affembly, as every man may conjecture. Howbeit never a man sturred, & a prety while after he beganne to lift yppe his head a litle, and to looke gastely about him, with a faint trembling vovce, which he still gathered higher and lowder by little and little, vntill he faweall the people wonderoufly afrayed and amazed, that not one of them durft speake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ranne towardes the gate of the Theater, cryinge out that the goddesses mothers did torment him: and not a man durft once come neere him, nor offer to stoppe him, they were so supersticions and foolishly afrayed of the goddesses, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this meanes he eafily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer feeneaf. ter that time to do or speake like a madde man in any thing. His wife that was made printy to his deuise, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddeffes mothers in their temple, as the had hartily prayed vnto them: & faining afterwards the would go feeke her husbande, that ranne vp and downe the fieldes like a madde man, the went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without o daunger, and went vnto Marcellus to Syracvsa. The Engienians afterwards played fuch

bounde, as though he woulde have put them to execution. But Nicias came to him with the teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiffinge his handes, befought him to take pine of his poore citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest enemies. This good nature of Nicias fo pacified Marcellus wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to thecity, and gaue Nicias certeine land, besides many other rich giftes he bestowed apon him. Thus it is reported in the history of Posidonius the Philosopher. Now Marcellus being sent for home by the ROMANES, bicause they had warres in their owne contrie, and even at ROME gateshe departed out of Sicile returning towardes Rome, and caried the goodlieft tables, pictures, n and statues, and other such ornamentes as were in Syracys a, meaning first to beautifie his triumphe with them, and to leave them afterwardes for an ornament to ROME, which before that time neuer knewe what fuch curious workes ment. For, this finenes, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into Rome before, but was throughly fet out with armor and wespons of barbarous people, and with bloody ipoyles, and was also crowned with monumentes of victories and triumphes of diverse enemies, which were no pleasaunt, but rather feareful fightes to looke apon, farre vnfitte for feminine eyes. But euen as Epaminondas did callthe plaine of B OR OTIA, Mars scaffolde, where he kept his games : and Xenophon also called the

city of EPHESV s, the armorers shoppe: even so me thinkes (as Pindarus said) they might right

ly haue tearmed Rome, the temple of Mars fighting. And this wanne the peoples good willes E

much more to Marcellus, bicause he did so passingly set foorth Rome, with such excellentime toves of GREECE. But Fabius Maximus on the other fide, was better beloued of the oldmen:

bicause he brought no such toyes with him from the city of TARENT VM, when he wanneit In deede he brought away golde and ready covne, and much other goodes that were profits-

ble: but for images and tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great

note. Let vs leave the TARENTINEs their goddes offended with them. And furthermorethe

noble men were angry with Marcellus, faying, that by this act he had purchased Rome great

malice and hate. First, bicause he did not onely leade men prisoners in his triumphe, but the gods also: and secondly, bicause he had filled the people full of pritle pratle, & idle curiosity,

spending all the whole day in gasinge, and wondering at the excellency of the workemen, and F

of their workes, where before they woulde fall to their labor, or elfe they went to the warres,

not being acquainted with curiofity nor idle life as Euripides fayd, speaking of Hercules;

infolent partes, that Marcellus in the ende went thither, and caused them all to be taken and

In wicked practifes, he simple was to fee, but he excelld in vertuous dedes and feates that vivorthis bear Norwithstandinge, Marcellus did glory amongest the Greacians them selves, sayinge: that he had taught the ROMAINES to effectine the wonderfull workes of GREECE, which they knewe not before. But at his returne out of Sicile, his enemies procured, that his honor of riumphe was denied him. So Marcellus knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in Si-CILB, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triumphe would make him to much enuied: he was contented with good will to have the honor of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA only & of the litle triumphe, in the city of ROME. Marcellus This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke, Euan, and the Romaines call it Ouatio. And Rome with R this difference there is between them : that in the Onation triumphe, the party to whom it is Onation migraunted, doth not enter into the city apon triumphing charet drawen with four horses, nor who when the doth cary any lawrell apon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trompettes or hornes Ossaiim

blowen before him, but doth marche a foote with a payer of flippers on his fere, having flutes "imple is. and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garlande of fyrre tree apon his heade; fo as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasaunt then fearefull fight. And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleue, that these two kindes of entries they graunted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuided in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatnes of the doings. For such as had ouercomen their enemies by great flaughter and bloody battells, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlandes, as their custome was in musteringe their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary fide, that without any exployte of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honor of Onation triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an inftrument of pleasure belonginge to peace, and the fyrre tree is a tree consecrated to Venus, which goddeffe, about all goddes and goddeffes doth most detest warres. This second kinde of entry was quation called Ouatio, not as many GREECIANS have taken it, comming of this word Euan, which is a whereofin

opinion besides, that parte of this honor did apperteine to god Bacchus, whose surname we cal Euius, and somtimes Thriambus. How beit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this forte. At the great triumphe and entry made, the Captaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customes of Rome) one, of the quite or divers oxen: where at the seconde triumphe called the Ouation, he onely facrificed a mut- triumphe. ton, which the ROMAINES call in their tongue Ouem, and thereof was it called Ouation. And The farifice here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the lawe maker of the Romaine lawes misemphe Qand cultomes, and the law maker of the LACED & MONIANS: how both of them were contra- nation. ry to the other, in appointing their facrifices for victorie. For at Sparta, the Captaine or generall that had done his feate by policy or frendshippe, the sacrifice he did offer vppe to the betwits the goddes, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloody battell had obtained victory, only offred Spartens and

his seruice, that by his wisedom & wise perswasions obteined victory: then of his, that wanne est for victor it by valliantnes, and force of armes. Thus may you see which of these two lawemakers hadde vie. best reason in his ordinaunces. But nowe to Marcellus againe. He beinge chosen Consult the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did stirre vppe the Syracus against him, and The Syracus

perswaded them to complayne to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncurteously san across

vied them, contrary to the auncient league & allyances made long time before with the Ro- Marcellus.

vpa cocke for facrifice. For though they were very good fouldiers, yet they thought better of Romainer in

voyce and fong of ioy, although they did vse also to accompanie the Captaines making their called,

entry in this forte, crying and finging Euan: but there were certeine GREBCIANS that would

n haue fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common custome they had: & were of

MAINES. Marcellus beinge facrificinge one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were fette in counsaill: the Syracvs ans deputies came before them, & kneeling downe, befought the to giue them audience, & that they would do them inflice. The other Confull that was prefent rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spyed the occasion of Marcellus absence.

344 But when Marcellus hearde of it, he straight left of all, and came to the Senate, and first fane A him downe in his Confulls chayer, where he gaue audience as Confull, and dispatched diuerfe causes; when he had done so, he rose out of his chayer, and came downe among them standinge as a private persone to aunswere at the barre, as other offenders and men accused fuffering the Syracy sans to alleadge and fay against him what they would. Then were the Syracysans blancke, when they faw the maiefty of Marcellus, and his stayed countenance in all thinges: fo that having founde him before a very valliant man in warres and vnconque. rable, they found him then a man no leffe dreadful in his Confuls robe: that they hong downe their eyes, and durft not looke him in the face. Notwithstanding, they being suborned by his enemies, beganne at the length boldely to accuse him, and yet with sorow and lamentacion. the effect whereof was this. That they beinge the ROMAINES frendes and confederates, had a abidden such injuries at Marcellus handes, as all other generalles neuer offred their vervene. mies. Whereto Marcellus straight aunswered againe to the contrary. That for many injuries

being Confull, the ROMAINES had received of the, they suffred nothing but that, which was unpossible they

accusations as selves for any thing they suffered, bicause they would not obey nor consent, to reasonable ca-

a primate man. pitulacions and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they

thould not fuffer that refisted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thankethem

could not alleage for their excuse, that the tyrans had compelled them to make warres:when

they to the contrary, bicause they would enter into warres, were contented to be subject to a

tyran. So, when both parties hadde spoken their mindes, the Syrac vs ans (as the maneris)

went out of the Senate house, and Marcellus also, leauinge his fellowe Consull in his placein C

the Senate, and taried without the dore, attending the sentence of the Senate, neuer altering

his countenaunce nor wonted looke, neither for feare of fentence, nor for malice or angera-

gainst the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his judgement. Afterwards when the Senators

voyces were gathered together, and that Marcellus was cleared by the most voyces: then the

SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feete weeping, and befought him not to wreake his angera-

pon them that were present, and moreouer that he would have compassion of the residue of

the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confef-

fed them selves bound to him for ever. Marcellus moved with pity by their intreaty, he par-

doned them, and euer after did all the Syrac vs ans what pleafure he coulde possible. For

Marcellus conftancy.

Marcellus curtefie to the Syracu-∫ans.

through his intreaty and request, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his graunt vnto them, D which was: that they might vie the liberty and benefit of their owne lawes, and quietly enjoy their goodes also which were left them. To requite this special grace procured them by Marcellus, the Syracvs ans gaue him many honors, & among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of Marcellus name or house came into Sicile, the Syrac vs ans should kepe a folemne feast, with garlands on their heades, and should also facrifice vnto the goddes.

After this, Marcellus went against Hanniball. And where all the other Consults almost, & ge-Marcellus neralles, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vsed this only policie with him, not to come to battell: he tooke a contrarie course to them all, thinkinge that tract of time, (whereby they his fearth Confullship.

thought to eate out Hannibals force) was rather a direct confuming and destroying of all ITA-

viceconfull flaine in Apulia by Has

LIE: and that Fabius Maximus standinge to much vpon safety, tooke not the way to cure the E disease and weakenes of the common weale of Rome, looking to ende this warre, consuming by litle and litle the strength and power of Rome, committing a fearefull phisitions fault and error, being afraid to heale their pacient fodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leffen the disease. So, first of all he went to besiege certeine great cities of the SAMNITES, which were revolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: and those he wanne againe with a great prouision of corne and money he founde in them, besides three thousande souldiers Hanniball left in garrison there, whome he tooke prisoners. Hanniball after that, havinge slaine the viceconful Cneus Fuluius in APVLIA, with eleven Tribunis militum (to wit, Colonels, every one havinge charge of a thousande footemen) and overthrowen the greatest parte of his armie Marcellus wrote letters to Rome, hoping to comforte the Senate & people, telling he would F go thither, and did warrant them he woulde drive Hanniball out of APVLIA. When the Ro-MAINES had red his letters, they were nothing the more coforted, but rather (as Linie writeth)

a more afraid and discouraged: bicause they doubted the daunger to come woulde be greater. then the loffe past, takinge Marcellus to be a farre greater and better generall, then ever was Fuluius. Neuerthelesse, Marcellus performing the contentes of his letters wrytten to Rome. draue Hanniball out of APVLIA, and made him retyre into LVCANIA. And Marcellus finding

him in that contry, by a city called NVMISTRON, lodged apon hilles, and in places of strength Mercellus and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morninge he was the first fought a bat-

that presented his enemy battell. Hanniball on the other side, came downe into the valley, and niball at Nuthey joyned battell: which was fo cruelly fought, and fo long time, as it coulde not be differ- mistron in Aned who had the better. For the battell being begonne at nine of the clocke in the morning, pulsa. it was darkenight ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by pepe of day, Marcellus fet his men B againe in battell raye, in the middest of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the fielde, and chalenged Hanniball, to proue who should have the field. But Hanniball refused, and marched his way thence: 10 as Marcellus thereby had good leafure left him to strippe his slaine enemies. and also to bury his owne fouldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemie by the foote, who layed many ambushes for him, but he coulde neuer trappe him in any: and in enery encounter or skirmishe they had together, Marcellus hadde ener the better, which wanne him great fame and credit. Nowe time beinge commen about to choose newe Confulls, the Senate thought good to fenderather for the other Conful that was in Sicilia.

then to remoue Marcellus thence, who had fought with Hanniball. So when the other Confull wascome to Rome, the Senate commaunded him to name Quintus Fuluius Dictator, bi- The Distance C cause the Dictator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Con-chosen by the fuls or Prætors, in open affembly of the people, nameth fuch a one Dictator, as he liketh of. confull or Wherefore it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came apon that word naming: for, Dicere in by the people the ROMAINE tongue, fignifieth to name. Howebeit other holde opinion, that he was called nor senare. Dictator, bicause he commaundeth of him selse what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voyces of the people: and this seemeth to be true, bicause the commaundements meth. of the Senate of Rome are called Edicta, which we GREECIANS call Diatagmata, Now the other Confull and companion of Marcellus being come out of Sicilia, he would nedes name

another Dictator, then him whom the Senate offred him: and bicause he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do he stale away one night, and returned againe into SI-D CILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint Quintus Fuluius Dictator, and the Senate Quintus Ful wrote their letters to Marcellus, to confirme him: which Marcellus did, and authorised the wins chosen

peoples election. So he him felfe was chosen againe Proconful, for the next yeare following: Dietacor, by in the which he having conferred with Fabius Maximus about the warres, they were agreed, marchine that Fabius hould proue if he could winne the city of TARENTYM againe: and that Marcellus Proconfull. in the meane time shoulde keepe Hannibal occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This resolution being taken between them, Marcellus went to meete Hannibal by the city of CAN-NVSI VM: who as he still chaunged and shifted lodginge, bicause he woulde not come to the

both to leave of til the next morning: where Marcellus shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell ray. Whereat Hannibal being in a maruelous rage, he called his fouldiers toge- Hannibals sther, and made an oration to them, earnestly mouinge them once againe to fight with Mar- ration to bi cellus, if euer they had heretofore fought for his fake. You fee, fayd he, that having fought fo fouldiers.

many battells, and gotten fuch victories as we have done, we can not yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much soeuer we winne, if we drive not away yonder fellow Marcellus. When Hannibal had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS he led them on to the

battell: where Marcellus, to no purpole, and out of time, would nedes frew Hanniball a ftra- Marcellus

tageame of warre, that turned him felfe to the worst. For Marcellus perceiuing the right wing fratageame. F of his army distressed, made one of his legyons that was set in ray in the rereward of his hoste, to marche to the fronte of his battell, to helpe those that needed ayde. But this removing of the legyon, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victoric; who flue that day

battell against his will, found Marcellus euer in his eye before him. Insomuch as Hannibal re-

mouinge thus his campe, Marcellus plyed him so one day with continual alaroms and skip-

E mishes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them

Marcellus puercome in battel! by Hanniball. Marcellus hard wordes zneo his foul

two thousand seuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when Marcellus was comeagaine in a his campe, he straight called his souldiers before him, to whome he spake in this maner: that he saw a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he coulde see no Romaines. The Ros MAINES hearing him fay fo, befought him to pardon the fault they had committed. Marcel. lus aunswered, he woulde neuer pardon them, so long as they were ouercome:but when they ouercame againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bringe them againe to fight with the enemy, that fuch as were at Rome should rather heare newes of their victorie, then of their running away. When he had fayed, he appointed they thoulde gene those bandes that first turned their backes to Hanniball, barley for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great daunger of their liues, for the fore woundes they hadde geuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but Marcellus words did more greue them, then a the greuous woundes they had. The next morning betimes was fet out of the generalles tent. the coate armor died in skarlet, which is the ordinary figne of battell : and the bandes that had

received dishonor the day before, were placed at their owne request in the fronte of the bat-

tell. The other Captaines besides, that were not ouerthrowen: did leade their bandes also to

the fielde, and did fet them in battell raye. Hanniball hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what

a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odde

man, that neuer giveth rest to his enemy, when he hath ouercommed him:nor taketh any for

him felfe, when he is ouercome. We shal never have done with him, for any thing that I fee:

pon the enemies with all the fury they coulde, in that place where he sawe them, somewhat

march away at his pleafure, as he did that night, and got him away farre of from Marcellus, as

Hannibals worderof Marcellus.

fith thame, whether he winne or loofe, doth still prouoke him to be bolder and vallianter. After orations made of bothe fides, bothe armies marched forwardes to joyne battell. The Ro-C MAINES being as strong as the CARTHAGINIANS, Hanniball put his Elephants in the voward Battell betoixt Hanniand fronte of his battell, and commaunded his men to drive them apon the ROMAINES; and ball and Mar fo they did. Which in deede did somewhat trouble and disorder the first ranckes of the Rocellus. MAINES: vntill fuch time as Flauius, Tribune of the fouldiers, tooke an enfigne in his hande, The worthy att f Flaand marched before the beaftes, and gaue the first of them such a thrust with the poynt of his nus milium. enfigne, that he made her turne backe. The first beast being turned backe thus, ranne apon the feconde that followed her, and the fecond made the third go backe also, and fo from one to an other, vntill they all turned. Marcellus perceiving that, commaunded his horsemen to set2-

troubled with these beastes, that turned backe againe vpon them: and that they should drive I them further in amongest them. Which they did, and gaue so hotte a charge apon the Car-Mascellus vittery of THAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backes, & runne away, and they pursued them

still, killing them downe right, even to their campe side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephants that were wounded, sell downe starke deade within the gate of their campe. And they saye of the CARTHAGINIANS there were flaine at this battell, about eight thowfande, and of the ROMAINES, onely three thowfande: howbeit all the rest of them for the most parte were very fore hurt. Which fell out very well for Hanniball, that he might

knowing he was not in state to follow him oversodainely, bicause of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and so by small iorneys he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garrison E Hanniball Layin garrifor all the sommer, in the city of SINVESSE, to heale the woundes of his fore mangled souldiers. in the city of Hanniball having now gotten him felie at the length out of Marcellus hands, & having his ar-Sinne Te in Campania.

P. Bibulus Tribune of the peoble acenfeth Marcellus.

my free to ferue him as he thought good: he burned & destroyed all I TALIE where he went & stoode no more in feare of any thing. This made Marcellus ill spoken of at Rome, and caused his enemies to take holde of such a matter against him: for they straight raised Publius Bibulus Tribune, to accuse him, who was a hotte harebrained man, but very eloquent, and coulde deliuer his minde very well. So this Bibulus called the people oft to counfaill, and tolde them there, that they must nedes call home Marcellus, and appoint some other to take charge of the army: for as for him, fayd he, bicause he hath sought a little with Hanniball (and as a man might fay, wrestled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to solace him selfe. But Marcel F hearing this, left his Lieutenantes in the campe, and went him felfe to Rome, to aunswer to the vntrue accusations layd against him, and there he perceived at his comming, how they

A intended to profecute the matter against him apon these informations. So a day of hearinge was appointed for his matter, & the parties came before the people affembled in counfaill, in the great liftes or show place, called Circus Flaminius, to give indgement. There Publius Bibulus Circus Flathe Tribune, fitting in his chayer, layd open his accusation with great circumstance: and Mar-minius. cellus, when Bibulus had tolde his tale, aunswered him in few wordes, and very discretely, only touchinge his purgation. But the noble and chiefest men of the citie, rose vppe, and spake on Marcellus behalfe, telling the people plainely, that they did Marcellus wrong, to recken worfe of his valliantnes, then their enemy did: and to judge of him as a coward, confidering Hanniball only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refusinge to fight with any other whatsoeuer. These perswasions tooke such effect, as where B Marcellus accuser looked for his condenation: Marcellus to the contrary, was not only cleared

of his acculation, but furthermore they chose him Consull againe the fift time. So beinge enmed into his office, he went first into THVSCAN: where visiting the good cities one after an o- the fife time. ther, and quietinge them, he pacified a great fedition in the contry, when they were all ready no rife and rebell. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to confecrate the temple of honor & The temples vertue, which he had built with the spoyles he gotte in the warres of Sicile. But the Priestes of honor and were against it, saying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built an other verme built temple, and loyned it to the first, being very angry the Priestes denied so his consecration; and he did take it for an euill token, besides diverse other signes in the element that afterwards ap-

peared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples fet a fire with lightening at one VVonderfull time: and the rattes and mise did knawe the golde, that was in the chappell of Jupiter Capito- Fignes were line. And it is reported also, that an oxe did speake: and a childe came out of the heade of an Reme unfor-Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Priestes and Soothfayers facrificing immate to to the goddes, to withdraw this euill from them these sinister tokens did threaten: they could Marcellus. neuer finde any fauorable fignes in their facrifices. Whereuppon they fought to keepe Marcellus still at Rome, who had a maruelous earnest desire to be gone with speede to the warres: for neuer man longed for any thing fo much, as Marcellus did, to fight with Hanniball. Infomuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor spake of any matter els in the day to his frendes and companions, nor prayed to the goddes for any other thinge, but that he might

fight with Hanniball in the fielde: and I thincke he woulde willingliest haue fought a private

that he had already wonne him felfe great fame, and shewed him selfe to the worlde, (by sun-

dry great proofes & experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valliant Captaine as any

man of his time: I would have faid it had bene a pange of youth, and a more ambitious defire.

n combat with him, in some walled city or inclosed lystes for the combat. And had it not bene

then became a man of his age, who was three score yere old at that time, whe they made him Conful againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended all his propitiatory facrifices and three fore purifications, such as the Soothfayers had appointed the departed from Rome with his fellow yeare olde Conful Quintu Crispinus to the waires. He found Hanniball lying betwene the cities of BAN- confulthe cia, and V an ovs a, and fought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could fficiane. neuer get him to it. Howbeit Hanniball being aduertifed by spyalles, that the Consulls sent an Q. Cruspinia E army to besiege the city of the LOCRIANS, surnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS (as ye would say, the Hampiball occidentals, bicause the Greecians, in respect of the Italians, are called the orientals:)he lay bernixe laydan ambush for them that went, vnder the hill of PETELIVM, which was directly in their Bantis and way, where he flew about two thowsand fine hundred Romaines. That ouerthrow did sette Venous. Marcellus on fire, and made him more desirous of battell:whereupon he remoued his campe Mont Petefrom the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemy. Between their two campes, there was a prety litle hill, strong of scituacion, a wilde thing ouergrowen with wod, and there were high hillocks. Fro whece they might discerne a great way, both the one & the others campe,

&at the foote of the same ranne prety springs : Insomuch as the Romaines wondered, that Hannibal comminge thither first, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit Hannibal was crafty enough, leaving it of purpole: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe in, so it served his turne better for an ambush. So he filled the wodde, the hollow pla- An ambush ces, and the valleys there about, with store of shot and spearemen, assuringe him selfe that the land by Hone

place woulde intyse the Romaines thither : and in deede he gessed rightly, for so fell it die Straight, there flew a rumor abroade in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a paffing place to lodge in, and enery man tooke apon him like a skilfull fouldier, to tell what vantage they should have apon their enemies, by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort vpon it. Whereupon Marcellus determined to goe see the place him felfe, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he call led for his Soothfayer to facrifice to the goddes. The first beaft that was facrificed, the Soothfaver shewed Marcellus the liner of it without a head. The second beast facrificed, had a faver great head of a liner, and all the other partes were also sounde, and very newe: that by theme appeared al the feare of the first ill signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other fide fayd, it did make them worfe afraid then before: for thefe fo fauorable and lucky h tokens of the facrifice, following immediatly after the first fowle and nawghty fignes, made them doubt them much by reason of so straunge and sodaine an alteracion. But as the Poet Pindarus fayth,

> Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of steele nor stone, nor wwhat soener other thing, is here this earth wpon: Can kepe abacke the course of fatall desteny,

nor yet relift the due decrees. which come from heaven on high.

Quintus Cri-

So Marcellus tooke his horse, with Quintus Crispinus his fellow Consull, and his sonne one finus fellone of the Tribunes of the fouldiers, having onely two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but all were THYSCANS, fauing for ty Fregellanians, who from the beginning of these warres had alwayes shewed themselues very faithfull and louing to Marcellw. The hill we spake of before, being thicke course with wodde and bushes, the enemies hadde set a skowte to watche on the toppe of it, to gene warning if they faw any comming towardes it. The Romaines could not fee him, and hem the other fide might fee euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertife those at that time that lay in ambushe for Marcellus comminge: and they suffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed vpon the sodaine, and compassing in Marcellus, they both thot and strake at him, some following them that fled, andother fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which only stucke to it: who came roundly in together (not with standing the THVSCANS were fled) apon the first crie they heard, to defend p the two Confulls, vntill fuch time as the Confull Crifbinus havinge two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horse to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue Marcellus such a fore blowe with a fpeare havinge a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left alive, beinge but a few in number, seeinge Marcellus slaine, hill of Pete. left him lyinge on the grounde, and tooke his fonne away with them that was very fore hur, and by the swiftnes of their horses recourred their campe, and saued them selues. At thisouerthrowe, there were not flayne aboue fortie men, and fine and twentie taken prisonners, of which, fine of them were the Confulls sergeauntes, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few dayes after, the other Consull Crispins died also of his hurtes, which was such a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, E that both their Confulls were flaine at one battell. Now Hanniball made no great reckeninge of all that were flaine, or taken at this fielde: but when he heard that Marcellus felfe was flaine at this ouerthrow, he went him felfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and comtenance, having taken full view of all the partes of him, he spake no proude word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would have done, that had slaine so valliant

The Confull

Marcellus

Marcellus funerall honored by Hanniball.

and daungerous an enemy: but wondering how he came to be flaine fo straungely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that fealed his letters, and geuing his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honorably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a filuer potte, on which he him felfeput a crowne of golde, and fent it vnto Marcellus fonne. F It fortuned fo, that certaine light horsemen of the NVMIDIANS mette with them that caried this filuer pot, and would have taken it from them by force: but they stood to it, and would

A not parte withall, and so fightinge and striuing together for it, the bones and ashes were scattered all about. Hanniball hearinge this, fayed to them that were about him : fee . howe nothinge can be, which the goddes will not. So he punished the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to gette Marcellus bones together, but perswaded him selse it was the will of the goddes he shoulde dye so straungely, and that his body shoulde have no buriall. Cornelius Nepos, and Valerius Maximus wryte it thus: but Livie, and Augustus Casar say, that the pot was caried vnto his sonne, and honorably buried. Marcellus did consecrate many monumentes in diverse Marcellus places, besides those at Rome. As at CATANA in Sicile: a place for young men to exercise monuments. them selves in. In the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires:many images and tables he brought from Syracusa. And in the Ile of Lindos, in the temple of R Minerua, where among other, there is a statue of his, and this epigramme grauen under it, as Polidonius the Philosopher wryteth.

O thou my frend(I (ay) wwhich pasself forth by me, of Claudius Marcellus here, the image mayest thou see: vuhose family at Rome, vuas of the noblest name. Seven times he Confull chofen was, in which he overcame, great numbers infinite, (in open fielde and fight) of such as sought his contries spoyle, and put them all to flight.

The author of this epigramme reckeneth, the two times of his being viceconfull, for two whole Confullihippes: but his posteritie continued alwayes in great honor, vnto Marcellus, Marcellus C the sonne of Octawia, (Augustus Casars sister) and of Caius Marcellus. He dyed a young man, be- possion. ing Ædilis of Rome, & maried vnto Iulia, Augustus daughter, with whom he lived no log time. But to honor the memory of him, Octavia his mother built the library, and Augustus Casar the Theater, which are called to this day, Marcellus Theater and library.

THE COMPARISON OF Marcellus with Pelopidas.



Hele are the greatest thinges and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all Pelopidas and Islancellus doinges: and for their maners and Marcellus naturall condicions otherwise, they were all one, bicause they were afterin ware. both valliant, painefull, and noble minded: fauing that this difference onely was betwene them. That Marcellus in many cities he tooke by affault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much bloode: where Epaminondas and Pelopidas contrarily did never put any to the fword they ouercame, neither did they take away the libertie from any citie they tooke: and it is thought the THEBANS woulde not have handeled the

Marcellus actes praferred before Pelopidas.

ORCHOMENIANS fo cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had bene present. Nowefor A their actes, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of service that Marcellus did, with so small a company of horsemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow so great a number of horsement footemen both, of the GAVLES: a thinge that neuer Generall but him felfe did, and specially that flewe with his owne handes in the fielde, the Generall of his enemies. Which Pelopida could neuer attaine vnto: for he feeking to kill Alexander the tyran of PHERES, was flaine find him selfe, and suffered that, which he defired to have done to an other. And yet for that feruice may be objected, the battells of Levetres, and of Tegyra, which were both famous

Pelopidas deedes.

and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambushe or secrete practife Marcellus & done by Marcellus, that was any thing like comparable to that Pelopidas did at his returne from exile, when he flew the tyrans that kept Thebes in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sodaine an enterprise stolen apon, as none was euer greater, or more famous. It is true Marcellus was yoked with Hanniball, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: fo were the THEBANS also at that very time with the LACED & MONIANS, who notwithstanding were a uercome of Pelopidas, at the battells of TEGYRA, and of LEVCTRES. Wheras Marcellus did neuer fo much as once ouercome Hanniball, as Polybius wryteth, but remained vnconquered alwayes, vntill that Scrpio ouercame him in battell. Notwithstandinge, we do geue best credit to the reportes of Cafar, Liuie, Cornelius Nepos, and of king Iuba among the GREECIANS; who wryte, that Marcellus otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of Hanniballs companies, however they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to speake of, & it seemeth rather, it was through some mockerie or deceite of that African, then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter, and worthy much comendacion, that the ROMAINES were brought to that corage, as they durk abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, having lost so many great overthrowes, & having fo many generalls of their armies slaine in battell, and having the whole Empire of Romein fo great daunger of vtter destruction. For it was Marcellus only of all other generalls, that put the ROMAINES in hart againe, after fo great and longe a feare thorowly rooted in them: and incoraged the fouldiers also to longe to fight with their enemy, and not onely to hope, butto affure them selues of victory. For, where by reason of their continual losses and searefullouerthrowes they hadde, they thought them selues happy men to escape Hannibals handes by

runninge away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowardes, to confesse they were in

Pelopidas was neuer ouercome in battell beinge generall, and Marcellus did ouercome mon

then any generall in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, should compare with the good happe of the other that was never ouercome. It is

true that Marcellus tooke the city of Syrac vs a, & Pelopidas failed of taking the city of Spar-TA: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valliantly done of Pelopidas, to come so neere Spar-TA as he did, and that he was the first that passed the river of Evroras with an army, which

neuer enemy did before him, than it was of Marcellus to winne all Sicile. Vnles some paraduenture will fay againe, this was Epaminondas, not Pelopidas acte, as also in the victorie of LEVCTRES: where no man living can pretend any parte of glory to the doinges of Marcellus. For he tooke SYRACVSA, being onely generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES with E

distresse, to retyre, & leave the fielde, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where h

Mercellus maires cora

fernesh blome.

The vallians Chryfantas a fouldier.

out his fellow Confull, and fought with Hanniball, without any mans helpe or incoragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the maner of warres the ROMAINES vied then, and that trained his fouldiers, that they durft fight Rashner in a with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the straungeneffe of either of their deathes doth greue me marueloufly: as I do greatly wonder also, how Hanniball in so many battells as he sought (which are innumerable) could alwayes scape virhurt. I can not but greatly commende also the valliantnes of one Chrysant as, whom Xenophon speaketh of in his booke of the institucion of Cyrus, saying: that he having lift up his sword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trompet found the retreate, he foffly retyred, & would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth Pelopidas is more to be excused : for befide that he was very hot and defirous of battel, yet his anger was honorable and iuft, and moued him to feeke reuenge. For as the Poet Euripides fayth:

The best that may betyde, is wwhen a captaine lives. and doth furuine the victories, which he with force achieues. But if he needes must fall, then let him valliantly euen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there wwith honor dye.

For so becometh his death famous, & not dishonorable. But now, besides Pelopidas iust cause of anger, yet was there an other respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he faw his victorie ended, in the death of the tyran. Otherwise he shoulde hardly haue founde fo noble an occasion to haue shewed his valliantnesse, as in that. And Marcellus contrarily, without any instant necessity, and havinge no cause of heate or choller, (which putteth all men valliant in fight befides them selues, that they know not what they do)did rashly, and vna aduitedly thrust him selfe into the middest of the daunger, where he dyed not as a generall, hut as a light horseman and skowt, (for sakinge his three triumphes, his fiue Consullinippes, and his spoyles and tokens of triumphe, which he had gotten of kinges with his owne hands) among venturous Spaniards and Numidians, that foldetheir blood and lives for pay vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: fo that I imagine they were angry with the felues (as a man would (av) for so great and happy a victory, to have slaine amongest Fregellanianskowtes, and light horsemen, the noblest and worthiest person of the ROMAINES. I would no man should Phinach exthinke I speake this in reproch of the memory of these two samous men, but as a griese onely such bus fee of them and their valliantnes: which they imployed so, as they bleamished all their other ver- freeth and tues, by the vndiscrete hazarding of their persones and lines without cause, as if they woulde the famous and shoulde have dyed for them selves, and not rather for their contry and frendes. And also men. when they were dead, Pelopidas was buried by the allies & confederats of the city of THEBES, for whose cause he was staine: and Marcellus in like maner, by the enemies selues that hadde Marcellus Marcellus slaine him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the of fineralls vather is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him selfe shoulde honor his valliantnesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the office of frendshippe performed by a thankefull frende. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his deade enemy, then the admiration of his worthines : and the frende sheweth frendeship many

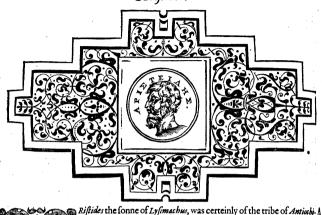
> to his vertue. The ende of Marcellus life.

times, rather for respect of the benefit he hath

received, then for the love he beareth

GG ii

THE LIFE Aristides.



des, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goodes and wealth. they diverfely write of him. For some say, he lived poorely all the daies of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their po-Querty, liued vnmaried many yeres after their fathers death. And many of the oldest writers do cofirme that for troth. Yet Demetrius Phaleriws, in his booke intituled Socrates, wryteth the contrary: that he knew certeine landes Aristides had in the village of PHALERIA, which did

yet beare the name of Ariftides lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to thew that he was well to line, and that his house was rich and wealthy, he bringeth foorth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare mayer or prouost of A THENS. whom they called, Archon Eponymos, bicause the yeare tooke the name of him that haddeir yearely. And they fay he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncientyle of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of makinge their election of the faid office: In which election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but fuch as were highest set in their fubfidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goodes, whom they called at ATHENS, Pentacosiomedimnes, as you would say, those that might dispend fine hundred bushels of wheate by the yere, and vpwards. Secondly, he alleageth he was banished by the Ostracismon, which banisheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, bicaule of their greatnesse, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes is, that he left of his gift, three footed stooles in the temple of Bacchus, which those do common-C ly offer vp, as haue won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other fuch like pastimes, wherof they them selves had borne the charge. And those threefooted stooles remaine there yet, which they say were geuen by Aristides, and have this inscription vppon them: The tribe of Antiochides wanne the victorie, Ariftides defrayed the charges of the games, and Archestratu the Poet taught them to playe his comedies. This last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For Epaminondas (whome euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes lived in great povertie) and Plato the Philosopher, tooke apon him to defraye the charges of games that were of no small expence, the one hauing borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the dawnce of the children

which dawnced in a rounde at ATHENS: towards the furnishing of which charges, Dionthe SYRACVS AN gaue Plato money, and Pelopidas also gaue Epaminondas money. Now, this is not fooken that vertuous men should alwayes refuse the gifts of their frends, and that they might not in some sorte accept their frendes curtesie offered them: but bicause they should thinke it. Good men vncomely and dishonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich them selues, or to spare and wifes, but afhourde vp. Howebeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike thow to be straffere. made, not tending to their private benefit: in such a case they should not refuse their frendes louing offer, and goodwill towardes them. And where Demetrius faith the three footed stoole was offered vp in the temple of Bacchus, Panetius declareth plainely, that Demetrius was deceaued by the femblance of the name. For fince the time of the watres of the MEDES, vnto the beginninge of the warre of Peloponnesus, in all the registers and recordes kept of the defravers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearinge name of Ariftides, that obteined victory : & neither of them both was fonne vnto Lysimachus, whom

we wryte of at this present. For the one is expresly named the sonne of Xenophilus, and the other was long after the same Ariftides we now speake of : as appeareth easily by the wrytinge and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we have vied in GREECE ever fince Euclides time. Moreouer it is easie to be knowen, by the name of the Poet Archestratus that is adiouned to it. For there is no man that maketh mencion of a Poet of this name, in all the warres of the Medes: but in the time of the warres of Peloponnesus, many doe put him in for an author and maker of rymes and fonges that were fong in common daunces, Yet for all Panatius objections, the matter is to be better looked into, and confidered of. But for the Ostracisinon banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimacion aboue the common people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were subject vnto this banishment. For Damon himselfe, beinge Pericles schoolemaister, was banished: onely bicause Damon benithe common people thought him to wife. Moreouer, Idomeneus wryteth, that Ariftides was shed bicaufe their prouost for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voyces of the ATHEN IANS that chose here to wife. him. And if he were prouost fince the iorney of PLATEES, as Demetrius wryteth: it is likely enough that they didde him this honor, for his great vertue and notable feruice, which other were wont to obteine for their riches. But this Demetrius doth not only defende Ariftides, but also Socrates pouerty, as if it were a fowle vyce and reproche to be poore. For he wryteth, that Socrates was he had not only a house of his owne, but also three score and ten Minas at vsery, which Criton nospoore. gaue him interest for. But now to our story againe. Aristides was Clisthenes very frend, he that reflored the government at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty tyrannes, and did reuerence Lycurgus the Lawinaker of the LACED & MONIANS for his lawes, about all the men in histime: and therefore he euer fauored the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the fouerainty. Howbeit he euer had Themistocles (Neocles fonne) his continuall aduersary, as takinge parte with the contrary, and defending the popular state of gouern- fieth. ment. Some fay, that being schollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one Themssockes

of Curo wryteth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grewe to greatnesse

by processe of time between them: for (sayeth he) both the one and the other of them fellin loue with Stefileus, borne in the Ile of CEOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not eafily from

them, nor the enuy they conceived one against an other, but continued against eche other in

matters of state : such was their malice towardes one an other. In which calling, Themistocles fought the way to winne frendes, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in shorte

to another in all their actions and doinges, were it in sporte, or in matters of earnest: and euer enemies in after, men beganne to fee the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections, the common For Themistocles was quicke, nimble, aduction us, and subtill, and would venter on any thing, Themistocles apon light occasion. Aristides contrarivise was very quiet, temperate, constant, and marue-disposition. lous well stayed, who woulde for no respect be drawen away from equity and instice, neither Artifides nawould lye, flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sporte. Notwithstanding, Aristus

F time, and had made him selfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a frende of his tolde him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fitte for it, if he were Themissocles indifferent, and not partiall. The goddes forbid (quod he) I should euer occupie the place of a significant partial of the significant partial

gouernour, where my frendes shoulde not finde more fauor then straungers, that doe meno A pleasure. But Aristides taking an other course by him selfe, would not stande apon his frender bolftring of frendes, but to his owne iust and vpright doings. Notwithstanding, Ariftides per. and hindered his doings: he was enforced somtime to crosse Themistocles againe, & to speake

in gouernment. First, bicause he woulde do no man wrong, with pleasuring his frendes; no vet would anger them, by denying their requestes. Secondly, bicause he saw many rulers and men of authority bolde to do iniuftice, and manifest wrong, bearinge them selues apon their frendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honest man, or good citizen, shoulde trust to any ceiuinge that Themistocles did rashly alter many thinges, and euer encountered all his waves. against that he preferred, partely to be even with him, but most to hinder his credit and an thority, which increased still through the peoples fauor and goodwilles towardes him: thin, a king it better by contrarying him a litle to disapoint sometime a thing that might have fallen out well for the common wealth, rather then by geuing him the head, to suffer him to grow

to great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that Themistocles having preferred a matter year profitable for the common wealth, Ariftides was fo much against it, as Themistocles purpose

tooke no place. Moreouer Ariftides was so earnest against him, that when the counsaill brake

vp after Themistocles motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all: that the com-

mon wealth of ATHENS would neuer profper, vntill they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a prison or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. An other time. ristides moved a matter to the people, which diverse were against, but yet it went with him. And when the judge or prefident of the counfaill did put it to the people, to knowe their allo wance of it: Ariftides perceiuing by the argumentes made against it, that the matter hepreferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not have it paffe. Ma-

ny times also Aristides spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for search least Themistocles spight towardes him, woulde hinder the benefitte of the common wealth. They founde him very constant and resolute in matters of state, what socuer happened: which wanne him great commedacion. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor they gaue him, nor thought him felfe differaced for any ouerthrow he received: being alwayes of this minde. that it was the duety of an honest citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to doe his contry service, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honor and glory. Therefore when certeine verses were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of AEschilm, []

made in commendacion of the auncient Soothsayer Amphiaraus, to this effect. He vvill not only sceme, a just man by his face. but iust indede he will be founde, and vertue still embrace: VV ith all his thought and foule, from wwhence there may procede,

grave counsells for to beau vtifie, his contries crowwne in dede. All the people straight cast their eyes vpon Aristides, as vppon him, that in troth aboue all other most deserved the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stoute and resolute, not only to refift fauor and frendthippe: but to reiect hate and anger also. For in case of instice, neither coulde frendshippe make him go away for his frendes fake: nor enuy coulde moue him to do iniustice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is wrytten, that he had an enemie of his in E

fute of law, & did profecute it to judgement: infomuch as after the plaint was red, the judges were so angrie with the offendor, that without any more hearinge of him, they woulde have geuen sentence against him. But Aristides rising from his place, went & kneeled at the judges feete with the offendor his enemy, and befought them to geue him leave to speake, to instiffe and defende his cause, according to the course of the law. An other time he being judge betwene two private men that pleaded before him, one of them fayd vnto him: Ariftides, this Arifider wife fellow mine aduerfary here, hath done you great injurie. My frende (quod Ariftides againe)! pray thee tell me onely the iniury he hath done thee, for I am judge here to do thee right, and

judgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when Ariftides was to gene yppehis

A accompt, Themistocles, and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abufing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practife they condemned willide se him, as Idomeneus wryteth. Yetthe noblest citizens feeing what initry they offered Ariftides, offed & commoke his cause in hande, and founde meanes to procure the people not onely to release the demned of fine imposed upon him, but to restore him againe to his office of high treasorer for the yeare office. following: in the which he seemed to repent his former straightnes and gouernment theyere Arifidet fine hefore, and fo dealt more fauorably with those he hadde to do, and would not examine every himself tree-

thing so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were theeues and stealers of the trea- forer agains. fure of the common wealth, did maruelously praise and like him, and became suters for him m continew in the office. But when the day of election came, that the ATHENIANS woulde choose him againe, Ariftides selfe reproued them, and sayd. When I faithfully discharged the duety of mine office committed to me by you, I then received shame and reproche at your militar of handes: and now that I have diffembled, not feeminge to fee the theftes and robbeties done penty repreapon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. But I would thethe in the vouknew it, and I tellyou plainely, I am more ashamed of the honor you do me now, then I comm wealth, was of the fine you did fet apon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I am forie and desested to speake it, that you shoulde thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then to preserve the common wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the common theftes the officers of the city did committhe stopped the theeues mouthes that so highly praised and commended him for so honest a man, but yet of the noble and honest citizens Chewas much commended. Furthermore, on a time when Dathis Lieutenant to Darins king of Persia, was come with all his nauy to go a lande about Marathon, in the contrie of At-TICA, apon pretence (as he fayd) to be reuenged onely of the ATHENIANS that had burnt the

city of SARDIS, but in dede of minde to conquer all GREECE, and to destroy the whole conmebefore him: the ATHENIANS chose tenne Captaines to go to the warres, amonge whom Miltiades was the chiefest man of authority. But Aristides drew very neere him in reputacion and creditte, bicause he did very good service in obtaining the victorie, specially when he a- Militades greed with Miltiades in counfaill, to geue battell apon the barbarous people : and also when thiefe of the he willingly gaue Miltiades the whole rule and order of the army. For every one of the tenne that went a Captaines did by turnes leade the whole army for one whole day: and when Ariftides turne 8 ainst Datitie came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto Militades, teaching his other companions, the king that it was no shame, but honor for them, to be ruled by the wifest. Thus by his example, he Lieuenant. appealed all strife that might have growen amonge them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counfaill, that had best experience in warre. And so he did Person. much aduaunce Miltiades honor. For, after that Ariftides had once yelded his authority vnto him, every one of the rest did the like when it came to their turne: and so they all submitted themselves vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battel, the place where the A THE-

might fet apon it : they thereupon fent away presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speede, as they came to ATHENS the very same day, and lest Aristides in the campe at not my selfe. Moreouer, he beinge chosen high treasorer of all the reuenues of ATHENS, did MARATHON, with his tribe and contry men, to looke to the prisoners and spoyle they hadde declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predeceffors, hadde greatly robbed F wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wisdom. and spoyled the common treasure, but specially Themistocles: who was a wife man, & of great For notwithstanding there was great store of golde and filuer, much apparell, moueables, and

other infinite goodes and riches in all their tentes and pauillions, and in the thippes alforthey

NIANS were most combred, was in the middest of the battell, where they had set the tribes of

the Leontides, and of Antiochides: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and

made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, Themistocles and Aristides fighting

they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one an other: so as the barbarous peo-

pleat the last being ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their shippes. But

when they were imbarked & gone, the Captaines of the ATHENTANS perceiving they made

not towardes the Iles which was their direct courfe to returne into A sia, but that they were

driven backe by storme of winde and pyrries of the sea, towardes the coast of ATTICA, and

the city of Athens, fearinge leaft they might finde Athens vnfurnished for defence, and

E one hard by an other, for that the one was of the tribe Leontides, and the other of Antiochides.

had taken of theirs: he was not so couetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other mi medle with them, vnleffe by fealth some prouided for them selues. As amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres Priestes, called Dadouchos, as you woulde saye the torche bearen (for in the secret sacrifices of Ceres, his office was to holde the torche) whom when one of the barbarous people faw, and how he ware a bande about his head, and long heare, he toke him

lias the torch

for fome king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kiffed his hand, and shewed him great store of golde he hadde hidden and buried in a ditche. But Callias, like a most cruell, and cowards

wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore foule that had the wed him the place, bicause he shoulde not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call those that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a dirch Arifides the- bicause of the golde that Callias founde in it. Immediatly after this battell, Aristides was the R

fen prouost of Athen's forthe yeare: albeit Demetrius Phalerius writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the iorney of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they fet in order their prouosts of ATHENS for the yere, since Xanthippides time, there appeareth no one name of Ariffides in that yeare, that Mardonius the kinge of PERSIAES Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by PLATEES, which was many yeares after. But contrariwife they finde Aristides enrol. led amonge the prouostes immediatly after Phanippus, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did most commende Aristides instice, as of all other his yer. tues and qualities: bicause that vertue is most common and in vie in our life, and delivereth

most benefitte to men. Hereof it came, that he beinge a meane man, obteined the worthieft Arifides cal- name that one coulde have, to be called by the whole city, a just man. This furname was ne-c uer defired of kinges, princes, nor of tyrannes, but they alwayes delited to be furnamed, fome Poliorcetes, to fay, conquerors of cities: other Cerauni, to fay, lightening or terrible: other Nicanores, to fay, subduers: and some other, Aeti and Hieraces, to fay Eagles or Fawcons, or such like birdes that praye: desiringe rather (as it should appeare by those surnames) the praise and reputacion growinge by force and power, then the commendacion that rifeth by vertue and goodnes. And notwithstanding, God whom men desire most to be likened to, doth excellal

humaine nature in three special thinges: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the most honorable and pretious thing. For as the naturall Philosophersteafon, all the foure elements and Vacuum, are immortall and vncorruptible, and fo are force and power, earthquakes, lighteninge, terrible stormes, runninge rivers, and inundacions of wa- n ters: but as for justice and equity, no man is partaker of them, faue onely God, by meanes of The traife of reason and understandinge. Therefore, bicause men commonly haue three sundry honors to the gods: the first, that they thinke them blessed: the second, that they seare them: the third that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleffed, for the eternite and immortality of their godhead: that they feare them bicause of their omnipotency & po-

wer: and that they loue and worthippe them, for their fuffice and equitie. And yet not with

standing, of those three, men do couet immortality, which no flesh can attaine vnto and al-

fo power, which dependeth most uppon fortune: and in the meane time they leave vertuea-

lone, whereof the goddes of their goodnes have made vs capable. But here they shewe them

selues sooles. For justice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, seems we corruption divine and celestials: where without instice, and dealing evniustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the worlde. But now againe to Arifides. This furname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwardes it turned him to great ill will, and specially by Themistocles practise. Who gaue it out every where, that Aristides had overthroemieth Ari- wen all instice, bicause by consent of the parties he was euer chosen Arbitrator to endeal controuerfies: & how by this meanes he fecretly had procured the absolute power of a king. not needing any gard or fouldiers about him. The people moreouer beinge growen very difolute and licentious, by reason of the victorie of MARATHON, who sought that all things

should passe by them, and their authoritie: beganne nowe to mislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good same and reputation. Whereapon, they came out of all shyeres of ATTICA into the city of ATHENS, and so banished Arifides with the Oftracismon: disguising the enuy they bare to his glory, with the name of search A oftwanny. For this maner of banishment called Ostracismon, or Exostracismon, was noor- The name dinary punishment for any fault or offence committed : but to gene it an honest cloke, they of the Offen awdit was onely a pulling downe and tying shorte, of to much greatnesse and aurhority, exreeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, the a gentle meane to qualify the peoples enuy against some private person: which enuv bred no malice to him whose greatnes did offende them, but onely tended to the bani-

thing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwardes that by practife, this Offracismon banishment was layed apon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon Hyperbolus that was the last man so ba- Hyperbolus nished: they neuer after vsed it any more at ATHENS. And by the way, it shall not be amisse the last man to tell you here, why, & wherfore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the the Ofracifchiefestmen of ATHENS at that time, and they both were euer at iquare together, a common mon. thing among eft great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples affembling, that they went The cause of the people is a fembling, that they went the people is a fembling. about to execute the Ostracismon, were maruelously asrayed it was ment to banishe one of banishment. them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers frends with eche other,

and ioyned them in one tribe together, infomuch, when the most voyces of the people were outhered to condemne him that should be banished, they founde it was Hyperbolus. The people therewith were much offended, to fee the Offracismon so embased and scorned, that they neuer after woulde vie it againe, and so left it of for euer. But briefely to let you understande A description what the Oftracisimon was, and after what sorte they vsed it, ye are to know : that at a certaine of the Oftraday appointed, enery citizen caried a greatshell in his hantle, whereupon he wrote the name cifmon. of him he woulde haue banished, and brought it into a certeine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when every man hadde brought in his shell: the magistrates, and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were leffe then fixe thow fand citizens, that had thus brought these shels together: the Offracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they layd a parte enery mans name written in these shels: and whole name they founde wrytten by most citizens, they proclaimed him by founde of trom-

should move many other to do the like, wherin they were greatly deceived in the nature of the

man. For before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, perfivading

and incoraginge the Greecians to mainteine and defende their liberty. After that lawe

was repealed, and published, and that Themistocles was chosen the only Lieutenant generall

of ATHENS, he did alwayes faithfully aide and affift him in all thinges, as well with his trauell,

asallo with his counfaill: and thereby wanne his enemy great honor, bicaufeit stoode apon

the safetie and preservation of his contrie. For when Eurybiades, generall of the armie of the

GREECIANS, had determined to for sake the Ile of SALAMINA, & that the gallyes of the bar-

barous people were come into the middest of the seas, and had enuironned the Iles all abour,

& the mouth of the arme of the straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus

inclosed in : Aristides departing out of the Ile of AEgina with a maruelous boldenes, ventred

pet, a banished man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enioy all his goodes. Now euery man wryting thus his name in a shell, whom they would haue banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the contry (very simple) that coulde neither wryte, nor read, who came to Ariftides (being the first man he met with) & gaue him his shell, Aide of a praying him to wryte Ariftides name vpon it. He beinge abashed withall, didaske the contrie plaine man man, if Ariftides had euer done him any displeasure. No, sayed the contrie man, he neuer did that come to mehurt, nor I know him not: but it greeues me to heare every man call him a just man. Ari- bis field, to flides hearing him fay fo, gaue him no aunswere, but wrote his ownename vpon the shell, and pray him to deliuered it againe to the contrie man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift vppe his write Ariflihandes to heaven, and made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, befechinge the goddes that the ATHENIANS might neuer haue fuch troubles in hande, as they shoulde be compelled to call for Arifides againe. Notwithstandinge, within three yeares after, when

Kernes king of PERSIA came with his army through the contries of THESSALIE and BOBO- Arifides cal-TIA, and entred into the heart of the contrie of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS revoking the law led from exite. E of their Ostracismon, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, bicause they were afrayd Aristides would take parte with the barbarous people, and that his example

358 ARISTIDES. through the middest of all the barbarous shippes and sleete, and by good happe gotteinthe A night into Themistocles tent, and calling him out, spake with him there in this sorte. Themistocles cles, if we be both wife, it is high time we should now leave of this vaine enuie and spitewe haue longe time borne eche other, and that we should enter into an other forte of enuy more honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two should do his best indeucro faue GREECE: vou, by ruling and commaunding all like Lieutenant generall: and L.by counfelling you for the best, and executing your commaundement: consideringe you are the man alone that will roundlieft come vnto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we shoulde hazard battell by sea within the straight of SALAMINA, and that as soone as might be possible. But if our frendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you vour enemies do helpe it forward. For it is favd, that the fea, both before and behinde vs. and R rounde about vs. is covered all over with their shippes, so as they that would not before shall be now compelled offorce, and in spite of their heartes, to fight and besturre them like more bicause they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to escape nor to flie. Whereunto Themistocles aunswered. I am fory, Aristides, that herein your home. fly appeareth greater then mine: but fince it is fo, that you have deserved the honor in begin. ning, and procuring such an honorable and commendable strife between vs. I will henceforth indeuor my felfe to excede you in continuing this your defire. After which aunswere, he told Ariftides, how he purposed to mocke the barbarous kinge, and prayed him to intreate Fund biades to yelde to his deuise, & to perswade him that there was no other way to saue GREBCE. but to fight by lea: for Eurybiades gave more creditte to Ariftides perswasions, then he did no Themistocles wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counsell, to determine who ther they should gene battell or not: one Cleocritus Corinthian favd to Themsstocles, that his counfell did not like Aristides at all, as it seemed, bicause he spake neuer a worde to it being present. Aristides answered him straight, that he vtterly mistooke him. For, quod he, is I did not thinke his counsell good. I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I beare him, but bicause I finde his counsell wise and sounde. While the Cap-Ariflides vi- taines of the GREECIANS were reasoning in this sorte, Ariflides seeing PSYTTALEA (2 little Hory at Phil- Ilande before SALAMINA within the straight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valliantest and lustiest souldiers he hadde of all his contry men, into the least foyftes or pynnasies he had among all his gallyes: and went with them, and landed in that lle, n

and ouerthrewe all the barbarous people he founde there, and put them to the fworde energy

man, taking the chiefelt of them only prisoners, among which, were three sonnes of Sandauce.

the kinges fifter, whome he fent vnto Themistocles. These three Lordes were all slaine by the

commaundement of Euphrantidas the Soothfayer, and facrificed to Bacchus Omestes, as to fay,

the cruell Bacchus, and eater of raw flesh, and all vpon an oracle they had received. That done

Ariftides dispersed his souldiers about the Ile, to receive all such as were by fortune of want.

or of the fearcast into the Ilande: to the end that no enemy of theirs should scape their hands,

nor any of his frendes should perish. For the greatest fleete of all their shippes, and the shar-

pest encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Ilande: and therefore the tokensof

triumphe were set there. After the battell was wonne, Themistocles to feele Aristides opinion,

Aristides wordes of Themifocles.

fayed vnto him: we have done a good peece of feruice, but yet there is an other behindeof greater importance, and that is this. We must bringe all Asia into Evrops, which we may easily do, if we faile with all speede to the straight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge Arifides wife the king hath made there. Then Arifides cried out, stay there, neuer speake of that: but I pray you let vs rather feeke al the wayes we can how to drive this barbarous king out of GREECE, Xerxes fring leaft if we kepe him in still with so great an army (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our selves, we can not tell to what. When Themistocles had hearde his opinion, he secretely sent the evenuke Arnaces his prisoner, vnto kinge Xerxes, to advertise him from him, that he had altered the GREECIANS Astratageame purpose, which was fully bent to haue broken up the bridge he hadde made at the straightof l HELLESPONT, to passe ouer his army: and that he was the willinger to let him understande it, that he might the better prouide for the fafety of his person. King Xerxes being netled with

this advertisement, tooke straight his iorney, and with all speede went to recover the straight xorne less of HELLESPONT, and left Mardonius his Lieutenant general in GREECE, with three hundred Mardonius thow and of the best souldiers of his army. This Mardonius was maruelously dreaded of all hant in the GREECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he hadde by lande, and he did threaten them Greece with also by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (fayed he) with your shippes by sea, ouer- 300000.men. come men acquainted to fight by lande, and that neuer handeled ower: but now, the plaines of The SSALIE, or the fieldes of BOROTIA, are very fayer and large for horsemen and footemen to make proofe of their valliantnes, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the Athenians, by the kinge his maisters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to builde up their city againe, to gene them a great pencion, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all GREECE, so they woulde gene oner, and leave of these warres. The LACED & MONIANS beinge forthwith aduertised of his letters wrytten to the A-THENIANS, and fearing least they would have bene perswaded by them: sent their Ambassadors with al speede to ATHENS, to pray them to send their wives and children vnto SPARTA. and also to offer them vittailles, to relieue their poore olde people, bicause of the great scarcity that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt and raled, and all their contry besides defroved by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS having heard the offers of the Ambassadors of LACEDEMON, made them a maruelous answer through Arifides counsell, and this itwas. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all thinges were to be minde of the fold for gold & filuer, bicause they esteemed nothing more pretious, nor better in this world, Athenians. then to be riche and wealthy: but on the other fide, they were greatly offended with the LACE-

DEMONIANS, that they only regarded the present pouerty and necessity of the ATHENIANS. and did forget their vertue and noble corage, thinking to make them fight more valliantly for the preservacion of GREECE, by offering them vittells to live withall. The people approving this aunswere, Aristides then caused the Ambassadors of Spart a to come to the assembly. and commaunded them to tell the LACED & MONIANS by worde of mouth, that all the golde aboue, or vinder the grounde, coulde not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any fumme of money or reward, to leave the defence of the liberty of GREECE: &to the herauld that came from Mardonius, he shewed him the sunne, and sayd vnto him : so long as yonder funne keepeth his course about the worlde, so long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies D vnto the PERSIANS, bicause they have spoyled and destroyed all their contry, and have defiled and burnt the temples of their goddes. Besides, he willed that the Priestes, by commaundement of the people, should excommunicate and curse him that woulde procure them to fende vnto the Persians to make peace with them, and to breake their league and allyance with the other GREECIANS. Hereupon, when Mardonius came againe the seconde time to ouerrunne the contry of ATTICA: the ATHBNIANS got the againe into the Ile of SALAMINA and then they fent Ariftides Ambassador unto the LACED EMONIANS. He sharpely tooke them vp, and reproued their floth and negligence, bicause they had againe for saken ATHENS. and left it to the spoyle of the barbarous people : and prayed them yet they woulde looke to faue the rest of GREECE. The Ephori (which were certaine officers that ruled all things with-E in the city of Sparta) when they had hearde Ariftides perswasions: straight tooke order for ayde, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their solemne feastes they called Hyacinthia. Howebeit the next night following, they fent out fine thowfande citizens borne in Sparta, into the fielde, all proper men and valliant fouldiers, euery one of them carying with him, feuen Ilotes (which are the contry men and slaues in the contrie of LACED & MONIA) not making the Ambassadors of ATHENS priny to it at all. Wherefore Ariftides came againe an other time into their counsell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughinge, and fayd he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their army which they had fent against the straungers (for so they called the PER-SIANS) was already at the city of ORESTION in ARCADIA. Arifides hearing their aunswere, replyed, that they were to blame to mocke them in that forte, to fende away their men fo fecretly, that they might not knowe of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceine their frendes, but their enemies rather. Idomeneus in his story reporteth the matter

SPARTA, Aristides is not named for Ambassador, but there are other appointed: as Cimon Xanthippus, and Myronides. Afterwardes Ariftides was chosen by voyces of the people, Lien.

tenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre against the PERSIANS, and wentvom

the campe of the GREECIANS by the citie of PLAT & ES, with eight thousande footemen wel

armed and appointed. There he found king Paulanias the only general of all the whole power

and army of the Greecians, who brought with him the force of Sparta: and there came

daily into his campe one after an other, a maruelous great multitude of other GREECIANS.

Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incaped all alongest the river of Aso.

PVS: but bicause their campe stretched out a maruelous way in length, they were not intren.

ched at all, but had onely fortified a peece of grounde foure square with a walle about, which a

was ten furlonges on euery fide, to place all their cariage and chiefest thinges in. And for the

GREECIAN sagaine, the foothfayer Tifamenus, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told Paulanian

& all the GREECIANS together, that they should have the victory, so they did not affault at

name of the ATHENIANS, had aunswer: they should ouercome their enemies, so they dids.

crifice and make speciall prayers, vnto Iupiter and Iuno of mount CITHERON, vnto Pan, and

vnto the Nymphes Sphragitides, and also vnto the demy gods, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Action, & Polyidus: and so that they did hazard battel also within their owne

territories, and in the plaine of Ceres Eleusinian, and of Proferpina. This oracle troubled Ariffi-

des marueloufly, bicaufe the demy goddes whome they had commaundement to do facifice of

vnto, were the founders and auncesters of the PLATEIANS: and the caue of the Nymohes

Arifiides generall of the Athenias donius. Pausanias king of Lacenerall of all Asopus flu.

oracles of the all, but only defend. And Aristides, that had fent to the oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, in the Platees.

The Nymphes Sphragitides, is one of the toppes of mount CITHERON, looking towards the west, where the sphragitides. funne setteth in sommer. They say there was an oracle there in old time, whose spirit possesses many inhabitants thereabouts, and bestraught them of their wittes: whereupon, they called those so possessed, Nympholepty, as who would say, taken with the Nymphes. And againe total the ATHENIANS they shoulde have the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of Cares Eleusinian, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to sende them backe againeint the contry of ATTICA. Ariftides being thus perplexed, Arimnestus Captaine of the Plat El-ANS, hadde such a vision in the night in his sleepe. Him thought that Iupiter the fauior didappeare yntohim, and asked him what the GRE BCIANS intended to do ? and that he answered D my Lord, we must to morrowe remoue our campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, accordinge to the commaundement the oracle Apollo hath genen vs. Then that Iupiter replyed, that they were greatly deceaned: for all that Apollo had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the PLATEIANS, and that they shoulde finde it true, if they considered it well. Arimnestus havinge plainely seene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest citizens, and confideringe with them where this place (houlde be, he founde at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHERON, by the city of NYSIA, there was an olde temple they called the temple of Ceres Eleusinian, and of her daughter Proserpina. When he hearde them say so, he went straight and tolde Aristides of it, and sounde that it was an excellent place to set an army E in battell rave, that hadde but fewe horsemen : for that the foote of mount CITHERON did lette the horsemen, they coulde not goe to the place where the temple stoode, and wherethe playne and valley did ende : besides also, that the chappell of Androcrates was even in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wodde rounde about it. And bicause they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commaundement of the oracle for hope of victory: the PLATEIANS (through Arimnestus counsell and aduise) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATEE sthould be taken away towardes ATHEN stide, and that the lande Platzians. thereof shoulde be geuen clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, bicause they shoulde fight with the barbarous people in their owne lande, for the defence and preferuation of GREECE, accordinge to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and present of the PLAT EIANS was so famous, as many yeares after, king Alexander the great having conquered the Empire of Asia, built up the walles againe of the city of Plates, and when he had done, madea

nimity of the

Alexander she great dosh boner the for their no. ble mindes.

A heraulde openly proclaime it at the games Olympicall: that Alexander hadde done the PLA-TEIANS that honor and dignitie, for a memoriall and honor of their magnanimity. Bicause in the warre against the PERSTANS, they had freely and liberally genen away their lande vnto the ATHENIANS, for the fafetie of the GREECIANS: and had shewed them selves of a noble corage also, and very willinge to defende the state of GREEGE. Now when the army of the Swifebernene GREECIANS came to be fette in order of battell, there fell a strife betwene the ATHENIANS the Athenians and the TEGEATES, bicause the ATHENIANS would nedes (according to their old custome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACED EMONIANS had the right winge; and the TE-GEATES on the contrary parte, woulde have the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alleaging the famous acts and notable feruice of their auncesters in former warres, whereupon R the ATHENIANS did mutine. But Aristides stept between them, and told them, that it was no Aristides time now to contende with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valliantnesse: and as for wifely paciyou, my Lords of Sparta, fayed he, and you also my maisters of Greece : we tell you, that fieth the muthe place neither geneth nor taketh vertue away, and we doe affure you that wherefocuer you place vs, we will so defend and kepe it, as we will not impayre nor blemish the honor we have wonne in former foughten battells, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarell and fall out with our frends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to bragge of our ancesters doings, but to show our selues valliant in defence of al GREECE. For this battail wil make good proofe to all the GREECIANS, how much estimacion every city, every Captaine, & particular person wil deserue for his parte. When Aristides had spoken, the Captaines & all other of the counsel concluded in fauor of the ATHEN IAN S. that they should have one of the winges of the battell. But by this meanes, all GREECE stoode in maruelous garboyle at that time, and the state of the ATHENIANS specially in great daunger. For a number of the noblest chizens of ATHENS. And that brought great fubstance with them to the warres, being now at The confinalow state, & in pouerty, their goods being spent & gone, & seeing the selues discountenaced, eyes therich not bearing that rule & authority in the common wealth they were wont to do bicause other noble men of were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and Athens. met at a house in the city of PLAT MES, & there conspyred to ouerthrow the authority of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpose, then that they would rather loofe all, and betray their contry vnto the barbarous people. While thefe thinges were pra-D difed in the campe, many beinge of the conspiracy, Aristides came to an Incklinge of it, and was maruelously afrayed, bicause of the time: wherefore he beganne to be carefull of the marter, being of fuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to viderstand the whole conspiracy, litle knowing what a number might be drawen into this treason if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was iust, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persones only of the great number to be apprehended, and of these eight, the two first whom they would have indited as principalles, and were most to be burdened for the conspiracy, AEschines of the towne of LAMPRA, and Egestias of the towne of ACHARNA, they founde meanes to flie out of the campe, and to faue themselues. And for the other, Arifides fet them at liberty, and gaue them occasion that were not discouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: faying, that the battell should be their judge, where they should purgethem selues of all accusations layed against them, and show the world also, that they neuer had any other intencion but honest, and good, towards their contry. Mardonius, to proue the corage of the GREECIANS, had fent all his horsemen, (wherein he was farre stronger then the GREECIANS) to skirmish with the. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITHERON, instrong places and full of stones, fauing the three thowsande MEGARIANS, that camped in theren. the plaine: by reason whereof, they were foretroubled and hurt, by the horsemen of the barbarous people that sette vppon them on enery side, for they might charge them where they woulde. Infomuch, in the ende, perceiuinge they alone could no longer refult the force of fo great a multitude of the barbarous people : they fent with all speede possible to Pausanias, to p pray him to fend them prefent aide. Paufanias hearing this newes, and feeing in his owne fight the campe of the MEGARIANS almost all couered with shot and dartes which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to ftand close together in a litle corner: he

wist not what to do. For to go thither in person with the LACEDE MONIANS that were foot A men heavy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proved to put fomeam. bitious desire and enuy of honor, among the private Captaines and generalls of the army of the other GREECIANS, which were then about him: to fee if he coulde moue any mans co. rage and defire, to offer him felfe willingly to goe aide the MEGARIANS. Howebeit they had all deafe eares, but Ariftides: who promifed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought Olympiodorus into the fielde, (one of the valliantest Captaines that served vnder him) with his company of three hundred chosen men, and certaine shot mingled amongest them. These souldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in battell ray, a great pacetowards the barbarous people. Malifrim, that was generall of the horsemen of the Persians,

body with an arrow, that put him to fuch paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he cast his maister

on the ground, armed as he was at all peces. So being on the ground, he could not rife again.

goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horse, and gallopped to R borfemen of them. The ATHENIAN'S taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very home. bicause both the one and the other side did the best they could at this first onset to put the rest of the battell in leopardy: and they fought follong, that Mafifius horse was shot through the

as well for the waight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIANS came fo fodainely you him And notwithstanding there were many about him to hew him in peces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was so throughly armed and loden with gold, copper, & iron, not only vppon his body and his heade, but also on his legges and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thrust the head of his dart through his beuer, and so killed him. The PERSIANS DEL-C

ceiuing that, fled immediatly, & for fooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared Athenians.

to the GREECIANS that they had sped well at this skirmishe not bicause they had slaine many enemies, but for the great lamentacion the barbarous people made for the loffe of Mafifting, For his death did so greue them, that they powled themselves, they clipped of their horse and movles heares, & filled befides all the field therabouts with pitiefull cries & threekes, as those that had loft the valliantest and chiefest man of authority of all their campe, next vnto Madonius the kings Lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothfayers did promite both fides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GREECIANS, fo they did but onely defend : and contrary wife, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did affault. But Mer. D donius finding vittells waxed feant, and that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreover how the GREECIANS daily grewe stronger by continual repayre to their campe, the lenger he delayed in the end he resolued to tary no lenger, but to passe the river of As op vs the next morning by breake of the day, & fodainly to let apon the GREECIANS. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they should do, bicause every man should be redy; but about midnight there came a horseman without any noyse at all so neere to the GREECIANS campe, that he spake to the watche, and told them he would speake with Aristides, generall of the ATHENIANS. Ariftides was called for straight, and when he came to him, the horseman kinge of Ma- faid vnto Aristides. I am Alexanaer king of Macabon, who to the code at this present time we cedan, renta- beare you, have put my self in the greatest dauger that may be to come at this present time we leave you have you beared bicause your enemies faid vnto Aristides. I am Alexander king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great good will I aduertife you, that to morrow morning Mardonius will give you battel: bicaufe your enemies fodaine comming apon you, should not make you afrayd, being fodainly charged, and should not hinder also your valliant fightinge. For it is no new hope that is come to Mardonius, that makes him to fight: but only scarcety of vittells that forceth him to do it, considering that the prognosticators are all against it that he should geue you battel, both by reason of the il tokens of their facrifices, as also by the auniwers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in2

maruelous feare, and stande in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to putte all at aduen-

ture, or else if he will needes lye still, to be started to death for very famine. After king Ale

xander hadde imparted this secrete to Aristides, he prayed him to keepe it to him selfe, and

to remember it in time to come. Arilides aunswered him then, that it was no reason he

should keepe a matter of fo great importance as that, from Pausanias, who was their Lieu-

tenant generall of the whole armie: notwithstandinge, he promised him he woulde tell it

fians secrete counsell unto

ARISTIDES. A no man else before the battell, and that if the goddes gaue the GREECIANS the victorie, he did affure him, they should all acknowledge his great fauor and good will shewed ynto them. After they hadde talked thus together, kinge Alexander left him, and returned backe againe; and Ariftides also went immediatly to Paufanias tent, and tolde him the talke kinge Alexander and he hadde together. Thereupon the private Captaines were sent for straight to counfaill, and there order was genen, that enery manne shoulde have his bandes ready, for they shoulde fight in the morninge. So Paulanias at that time (as Herodotus wryteth) faved vnto Ariftides, that he woulde remoue the ATHENI ANS from the left to the right winge, bicaule they shoulde have the Persians them selves right before them, and that they shoulde fight fomuch the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also bicause they hadde ouercommed them before in the first encounter; and that him selfe would take the left winge of the battell, where he shoulde encounter with the Greecians that fought on the PRESIANS fide. But when all the other private Captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderstoode ir, they were maruelous angrie with Paulanias, and layed he did them wronge, and hadde no reason to lette all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were flaues, to be appointed at his pleasure, now of one fide, then of the other, and to fette them to fight with the valliantest fouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then fayed Ariftides to them, that they knewe not what they fayed, and how before they misliked, and did striue with the TEGEATES, onely for havinge the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought them selues greatly honored that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and nowe where the LACED & MO-NIANS were willing of them selues to geue them the place of the right winge, and did in maner offer them the preheminence of the whole armie: they do not thankefully take the honor offered them, nor yet doe recken of the vantage and benefitte geuen them to fight against the PERSIANS selues, their auncientenemies, and not against their natural contry men anciently discended of them. When Aristides had vsed all these perswasions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACED EMONIANS: and then all the talke amonge them was to encorage one an other, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came against them, had no better hartes nor weapons, then those whom they before hadde ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For faved they, they have the same bowes, the same riche imbro-D dered gownes, the fame golden chaines and carcanettes of womanishe persones, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hartes: where we have also the same weapons and bodies we hadde, and our hartes more lively and coragious then before, through the fundrie victories we have fince gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more. That we doe not fight as our other confederates the GREECIANS do, for our city and contry onely, but also to continewe the fame and renowine of our former noble feruice, which we wanne at the iorneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the ende the worlde shoulde not thinke that the glory of these triumphes and victories was due vnto Miltrades onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the corage and worthineffe of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GREECIANS throughly occupied to chaunge the order of their battell in hast. The THEBANS on the other side that tooke The measure parte with Mardonius, receiving intelligence of the alteringe of their battell, by traytors that of the Theranne betwene both campes: they straight tolde Mardonius of it. He thereupon did sodain-bane. lyalso chaunge the order of his battell, and placed the Persians from the right winge to the left winge of his enemies: either bicause he was afrayed of the ATHENIANS, or else for greater glorie that he hadde a desire to fight with the LACED E MONIANS, and commaunded the Greecians that tooke his parte, that they should fight against the Athenians. This alteracion was so openly done, that euerie manne might see it: whereuppon Pausanias remoued the LACED EMONIANS againe, and lette them in the right winge. Mardonius feeinge that, removed the Persians againe from the left winge, and brought them to the

right winge (where they were before) against the LACED & MONIANS: and thus they con-

mies did continually trouble and spoyle that water they had about them, with their horses, A

Now when night came, the Captaines woulde have marched away with their men, to go to

the lodginge they had appointed: but the people went very ill willinge to it, and they hadde

much a do to keepe them together. For they were no fooner out of the trenches and fortifi-

cation of their campe, but the most parte of them ranne to the citie of PLAT EES, and were

maruelously out of order, dispersing them selues here and there, and set up their tents where

they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that

and longed fore for battell: he was in fuch a rage with these triflinge delayes, that he criedin

out in the campe, that this remouinge was a goodly runninge away, and tware he woulden

not from thence, but woulde there tary Mardonius comminge with his companie. Paulanias

went to him, and tolde him he must doe that the other GREECIANS hadde consented to in

counsell, by most voyces. But Amompharetus tooke a great stone in his handes, and threwit

downe at Paulanias feete, and told him there is the figne I geue to conclude battel, and I paffe

The flubborn- taried behinde, but the LACED EMONIANS onely, and that was against their willes. For one necof Amom- of their Captaines called Amompharetus, a maruelous hardie man, that feared no daunger,

not for all your cowardly conclusions. Amompharetus stubbornnesse did so amaze Pausanias.

Callicrates flaine without

diers vnto

that he was at his wittes ende. So he fent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwardes on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might goe together; and therewithall made the The bastell of rest of his menne to marche towardes the citie of PLAT RES, supposing thereby to have the Greecia, drawen Amompharetus to have followed him, or elfe he ment to remaine alone behinde, But in triflinge thus, the day brake: and Mardonius vnderstandinge that the GREECIANS did for O pant, aims co.

17 of Plance. fake their first lodging, he made his army presently marche in battell ray to sette apon the La-CED #MONIANS. So the barbarous people made great showtes and cries, not thinking to goe fight, but to goe facke and spoyle the GREECIANS flyinge away, as in deede they did litle better. For, Paulanias seeinge the countenaunce of his enemies, made his ensignes to stay, and commaunded every man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to geve the GREECIANS the fegnall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke against Amompharetus, or for the sodayne onset of the enemies, which made them that they came not in straight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begonne, but stragglinge in small companies, some here, and some there, In the meane time, Paulanias was bulie in facrificinge to the goddes, and feeinge that the full facrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothfayers observations they made: he D commaunded the Spartans to throwe their targettes at their feete, and not to sturre out of their places, but onely to doe as he bad them, without refiftinge their enemies. When he hadde geuen this straight order, he went againe and did sacrifice, when the horsemen of the enemies were at hande, and that their arrowes flewe amongest the thickest of the LACED A-MONIANS, and did hurte diverse of them, and specially poore Callicrates amonge thereth, that was one of the goodliest menne in all the GREECIANS hoste and armie. He having his deathes wounde with an arrow, before he gaue vppe the ghost, sayed his death did not greek him, bicause he came out of his contrie to dye for the defence of GREECE: but it greued him to dye fo cowardly, having egeuen the enemie neuer a blowe. His death was maruelous kmentable, and the constancy of the SPART ANS wonderfull: for they never stirred out of their Mitethe che- places, nor made any countenaunce to defende them selues against their enemies that came apon them, but fuffred them selues to be thrust through with arrowes, and slaine in the field, lookinge for the houre the goddes would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaunde them to fight. Some wryte also, that as Pausanias was at his prayers, and doing sacrifice vnto the goddes a litle behinde the battell, certeine of the Lydians came apon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his facrifice : and how Paufanias, and those that were about him, (hauinge no other weapons in their handes) draue them awaye with force of states and whippes. In memorie whereof, they fave there is a foleinne procession kept at Span-TA on that daye, which they call the Lydians procession, where they whippe and beare younge boyes about the aulter. Then was Paufanias in great diffresse, to see the Priestes offer facrifice vpponfacrifice, and that not one of them pleafed the goddes: at the laft he turned his eyes to the temple of Iuno, and wept, and holdinge vp his handes, befought Iuno Catharon,

and all the other goddes, (patrones and protectors of the contry of the Plateians) that if it were not the will of the goddes the GREECIANS thoulde have the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the least should buie their deathes dearely, and that they shoulde finde they fought against valliant men and worthy souldiers. Pausanias had no sooner ended his prayer, but the facrifices fell out very fauorable, infomuch the Priestes and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gaue commaundement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man toman incontinently how they shoulde march. So as he that hadde seene the Squadro of the LACED EMONIANS, would have faid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaft raifing up his briftels, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people faw they shoulde haue a Barteill behorte battel, and that they should mere with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN facion, & bestowed their Greecian &

arrowes lustely apon the LACED & MONIANS. But they keeping close together, and coueringe

them selues with their shieldes, marched on stil apon them, vntill they came to joyne with the

enemy fo lustely, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thrustes

and blowes of their pikes & speares apon their breastes, and ouerthwart their faces, that they

flew many of them, and layed them on the grounde. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but

moke the LACED & MONIANS pikes and speares in their bare hands, and brake them in two by

frength of their armes: and then they quickely pluckt out their cimeters and axes, and luftely

laved about them, and wrong the LACED EMONIANS shields out of their hands by force, and

fought it out with the a great while hand to hand. Now, whilest the LACEDEMONIANS WETE

builly fighting with the barbarous people; the Athenians ftoode still imbattelled farre of &

kept their ground. But when they faw the LACED EMONIANS tary folong, & that they came

not, and heard a maruelous noyfe of men as though they were fighting, and besides that there

came a speedy messenger vnto them sent from Pausanias, to let the vnderstand they were figh-

ung: then they marched with all speede they could to help them. But as they were comming

on a great pace ouer the playing, vinto that parte where they heard the noyle: the GREECIANS

that were on Mardonius fide came against them, Aristides seeing them coming towards them,

went a good way before his company, & cried out as loude as he could for life, and conjured

the GREECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GREECE, to leave of these warres,

and not to trouble the ATHENTANS that were going to helpe the that ventured their lives, to

for any request and conjuration he could vse, and that they came still apon him, bending them

selues to give charge: then he stayed his going to relieue the LACED & MONIANS, & was com-

places, the LACED & MONIANS being the first that ouerthrew the Persians, & made the flie:

it, the Priest tooke vp a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slaine with the blow. And thus it is writte. And furthermore, the Laced EMONIANS did chafe the Per-

SIANS flying, into their fortification they had in a wodde: & the ATHENIANS also shortly after

ouerthrew the Thebans wherof they flue in the field, a three hudred of the noblest & chiefest

of them. For euen as the Theban's began to turne tayle, newes came unto the Athenians,

that the PERSIANS had intrenched them selues within their forte and strength in the woodle,

D defend the common wealth & fafety of all GREBCE. But when he faw they would nedestight

pelled to make head against those that set apon him and his company, they beinge about fifty thousand men, of the which, the most parte notwithstanding went their waies, and left the ar- The Greent my, specially when they vnderstoode the PBRSIANS were ouerthrowen and fled. The fury of will mise of the battell, and cruellest fight (as they say) was where the THEBANS were: bicause the nobility as Planet. Echiefest menof the contry fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the people refused, being led by a smal nomber of the nobility that comaunded the. So they fought that day in two

E &they flue Mardonius the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one Arimnessus a Spartan Mardonius gave him apon his head, rightly as the oracle of Amphiaraus had prophecied before vnto him. Paine of A-For Mardonius before the battel had sent thither a LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of Sparian, with Trophonius, of the which, the prophet made answere vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tonge: a blow of a &the man of Lydialay within the fanctuary of Amphiaraus, where he thought in his dreame fore. that one of the priestes of the teple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying

where the Laced & monians did bessege them. The Athenians suffered the Greecians HH in

that fled to faue them felues, and they went to help the LACED & MONIANS, to take the form A of the barbarous people: who went before but flenderly about it, bicause they had no expense rience to make an affault, nor force vpon a walle. But fo foone as the ATHENIAN'S came into them. they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the Persians and barba-Two bundred rous people. For of three hundred thow fand fighting men that Mardonius had in his campe

there were faued only but forty thowfand led vnder Artabazus: and of the GREECIANS file there were not flaine about thirtene hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the tribe of AEantides, the which had done more val. liantly that day, then any other tribe, as Clidemus writeth. And this is the cause why the AFE. entermance tides made a solemne sacrifice vnto the Nymphes Sphragitides, at the common charge, according to the order genen them by the oracle of Apollo, to gene them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACED & MONIANS there dyed foure score and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES, fixteene But I maruell Herodotus fayth, that none but these people onely fought in that iorney against the barbarous nation, and no other GREECIANS belides: for the number of the dead bodies and their graves also do shewe, that it was a generall victorie and exployte of all the GRID CIANS together. And Moreouer, if there had beene but these three people onely that hadde fought against them, and that all the rest had stoode and looked on, and done nothinge: fure there had bene no fuch epigramme as this, engrauen apon the alter or tombe that was fet vo in the place of the battell.

When the victorious Greekes, had driven out of their lande. the Persians by force of armes, wwhich long did them wwithstande. they built to mighty Ioue, this holy aulter here. and made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare. in Guerdon of the good, wwhich he did them restore. in Guerdon of their liberty, wwhich liked them evermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Boedromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the Bobotians accompt, the fix & twenty of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common affembly of the estates of GREECE, in the cities of PLATES, where the PLATEIANS make a solemness. crifice vnto Iupiter, protector of their libertie, to gene him thankes alwayes for this victorie. It is no maruaill that there was such difference then betwixt the monethes and dayes, conft ! deringe that even nowe when astronomie is more perfectly vnderstanded, then it was then: fome do yet beginne and ende their monethes at one day, and some at an other. After this

she Athenias NIANS, and the LACED EMONIANS, touching the reward and honor of the victorie. Forthe ATHENIANS would not geue place vnto the LACED & MONIANS, nor fuffer them to fet vp any tokens or fignes of triumphe. Whereupon the GREECIANS running to armes in mutinie to gether, by this occasion they had almost spoyled one another: had not Aristides through his wisedom and wife perswasions, stayed, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and specially one Leogrates and Myronides, whom he wanne with such discrete and gentle words, that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbitrement and judgement of the ther people of GREECE. So the GREECIANS met in the same place together, purposely decide their controuersie. In this counsell holden there, Theogiton a Captaine of the Magain RIANS, fayd for his opinion, that to avoide the civil warre might growe betwene the GREE CIANS apon this quarrell: he thought itvery requifite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victorie, vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him

Strife betwixt great battel and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the ATH

Corinthe the third city of Greece. Sperta. Athens. Corinthe The Grecians

estimation in rose up Cleocritus Corinthian, seeming to every manthere that he woulde have requested this honor for the cittle of CORINTHE, beinge in deede the thirde cittle in estimacion of all GREECE, next ynto Sparta and Athens: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLAT E IAN S, which was maruelously liked, & well thought of of every man. For his opinion went flatly with the PLAT EIANS, that to ende this strife, they should geue the honor of are of the vi- this victorie vnto the citie of PLATEBS, and so would neither of both parties be angrie that they shoulde be honored. Apon his wordes, Aristides first agreed on the ATHENIAN'S behalfe,

and then Paulanias for the LACED & MONIANS, that the PLAT & IANS should have the reward. Now they both beinge agreed, before the spoyle was deuided between them, they sette aside foure foore talentes that were genen to the PLAT E IANS, with the which they built a temple vnto Minerua, and gaue her an image, and fett out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACED & MONIAN'S notwithstanding, did set up their tokens of victorie by them selues, and the ATHENIANS theirs also by them selues. So, they sending vnto the oracle of Apollo in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they should do facrifice: Apollo aunswered them that they shoulde builde vp an aulter vnto Iupiter, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they shoulde put no facrifice vpon it, vntill they had first nut out all the fier through the whole contrie, bicause it had bene polluted and defiled by the harbarous people: and then, that they shoulde fetche pure and cleane fyre at the common aulter, whereon they doe facrifice vnto Apollo Pythias, in the city of DELPHES. This auniwer heing deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GREECE went through all the contries to put out the fyre enery where. And there was a man of the fame city of PLATEBS at that time called Euchidas, that came and offered him felfe, and promifed he woulde bringe them fyre from The worder-

the temple of Apollo Pythias, with all possible speede that might be. So when he came to the full Behedde for city of Delphes, after he hadde sprinckled and purished his body with cleane water, he put a Placeton, a Placeton, a crowne of lawrell apon his heade, and went in that manner to take fyre from the aulter of A-foose, pollo. When he had done, he hyed him againe as fast as he coulderonne for life, vnto the citie of PLATERS, and came thither before the funne was fet, having commen and gone that day athowfande furlonges. But after he hadd faluted his citizens, and delivered them the fyre he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghost. The PLATEIANS lift him vo starke deade, and buried him in the temple of Diana Euclia, to say, of good renowme: and Diana Eucaused afterwards this Epitaphe following to be grauen upon his tombe.

Euchidas

Euen from this selfe same place, which thou doest here behold, fuch hast, post hast, he swiftly made, thereof thou mayest be bolde. Many thinke that this goddeffe Euclia is Diana, and so they call her. But other holde opinion the was the daughter of Hercules, and of Myrto the Nymphe, Menatius daughter, and Pa-D troclus fifter, that dyed a virgine, and was honored afterwardes as a goddeffe, of the BOROTI-ANS, & of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an aulter and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, doe facrifice to her apon that aulter. Afterwards there was a generall counsell holden by all the GREECIANS, in the which A- Agnerall

rous people, tenne thowfand footemen, a thowfand horsemen, and a flete of a hundred sayle.

E Item that the PLATEIANS thencefoorth should be taken also for devoute and holy men, and

that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, fuch as they vie to powre the banail of

apon the graues of deade men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne. Planes.

vuho in one day both to and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne.

Engraved here doth lye, Euchidas (peedy man,

ristides made a motion, that all the cities of GREECE should yearely sende their deputies at counsed botaccerteine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATEES, there to make their prayers & facrifices by of Plases vnto the goddes: and that from fine yeares, to fine yeares, they shoulde celebrate common games, that should be called the games of liberty: and that they should also leavy through all the provinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the warres against the PERSIANS and barba-

that no man should so hardy hurt or offende them, and that they shoulde onely tende the sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperitie of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and maner aforefayed, and the PLAT & IANS bounde them felues yearely to kepe solemne facrifices and anniuersaries for the soules of the Greecians that were slaine in their territories, fightinge for defence of the libertie of the GREBCIANS. And this they Solomne for obserue yet vnto this daye in this sorte. The sixteenth day of the moneth of Mamacterion origines and (which the BOEOTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they goe a fineralle keps procession, and before the procession there goeth a trompetor that foundeth the alarom. saint pretty Then there follow certeine charrettes loden with braunches of fyrre tree, and with no legaves for the Gree-F and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bul, & certeine yong gentlemen noble men fonnes,

that cary oyles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in vyoll glasses. For no feruaunt or bonde A man may lawfully be admitted to have any office about this miftery, for that they whose me mory they honor, dyed all fighting for defence of the liberty of GREECE. After all this shew followeth the prouoft of the PLAT E IANS for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne how white. Howebeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall ports in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne house, and a naked sworde in the other hande, and so goeth through the cittie in this sorte after all the pompe aforesayed, vnto the church yarde where all their graues be that were flaine at that battell. So when he commend thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the fame he washeth the fourfourre pillers and images that stand apon those tombes, and then annointeth them with ovies and fweete fauors: afterwardes, he facrificeth a bulle, and layeth him apon a heape of wodde hard by him as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praires and peticions vnto Iupiter, and Mercurie, goddes of the earth, he doth solemnely invite the foules of those valliant men that dved, fightinge for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feath of this funerall facrifice. Then he taketha cuppe full of wine in his hande, and foilling it all your their tombes, he speaketh these wordes aloude: I drinke to the worthy and valliant men, than dyed sometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This solemne ceremony and anniuers. rie, the PLATEIANS doe duely observe vnto this present day. Nowe when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS. Arifides perceiving the people were bent to stablish a popular flate, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, judging them well wor. (

thy to be confidered of, in respect of their noble service and valiant courage they had shewed

in this warre: & cofidering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other govern-

ment, being yet in armes, and very flowte, by reason of the famous victories they had obter-

ned: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of gouernment should runne in equality a-

mong the citizens, and that thencefoorth all burgeffes (as well poore as rich) should be cho-

fen by voyces of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when

Themistocles tolde in open affembly, that he had a thing in his heade woulde be greatly to the

profit and commodity of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diverse respects:

the people willed him to tell it vnto Ariftides onely, and to take his adulfe in it, to know when

ther it was meete to be done or not. Then Themistocles tolde him secretly between them, that D

he thought to fette the arcenall after, where all the GREECIANS ships lay: alleaging, that by

this meanes the ATHENIANS should be the greatest men of power in all GREECE. Arillides

hearinge that, without any more, came prefently to the people againe, and tolde the whole

counfell openly: that nothinge coulde be more profitable in deede for the whole common

barous peosue sooke from authority in Greece. Paulanias

ferresh the

popular flate.

A riched de

nife of The-

Ariftides fen-

Themistocles

deuife.

wealth, and withal more wicked and vniust, then that Themistocles thought good to do. When The inflice of the people heard Ariftides aunswere, they willed Themistocles to lette his denisealone whatthe Athenias focuer it were: fo great inflicers were the ATHENIANS, and fo much did they trust Ariftides Arifides and wifedom and equitie befides. So they made Arifides afterwards generall of the army of the ATHENIANS together with Cimon, & fent them to make warre against the barbarous people. Arifides at his comming thither, feeing Paufanias, & the other Captaines that were generals I gainstite bar- ouer the whole army, dealinge hardly, and churlishely with people their confederates: heon the contrary fide, spake gently vnto them, and shewed him selfe as curteous and familiar to them as he coulde possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and just to every body, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the warres. Aristides takinge fice and ver- this course, it was not noted howe by litle and litle he cutte of the rule and authoritie of the LACED EMONIANS in GREECE, not by force of armes, nor by shippes, nor by numbers of horses, but onely by his graue and wife gouernment. For if the instice and vertue of Aristides, their rule and and the myldenes and curtefy of Cimon made the government of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GREECE: the couetousnes, pride, and siercenesse of Paulanias, made it much more to be defired. For Paulanias neuer spake vnto the other Cap's proude and taynes of the people, allyes, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was to sharp with them : and for the poore private fouldiers, he woulde cause them to be cruelly whipped

A for every small offence, or else to make them stande a whole day together on their feete, layinge a heavy iron ancker apon their shoulders. No man durst goe forrage, neither for strawe cruell puninor reedes to make them couches of, nor durft water their horse before the Spartans : for him of his he had sette skowtes for them to whippe them home, that went out before them. And one day when Ariftides thought to have spoken to him, and to have tolde him some thinge : he frowned apon him, and fayed he hadde no leafure to speake with him now, and so would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other GREECIANS, & specially those of CHIO. of Samos, and of Lesbos, did afterwardes follow Ariftides, and perswaded him to take a-Don him the charge and authority to commaunde the other people of GREECE, and to take into his protection the allyes and confederats of the fame, who long fithence wished to repole from the government of the LACED & MONIANS, and onely to submitte them selves vnto the ATHENIAMS. Arsfides aunswered them thus: that they had not only reason to doe that they favd, but that they were also constrained to do it, Notwithstanding, bicause the ATHENIANS might have good grounde and affurance of their vidoubted fidelitie and good feruice, they Avillides fina shoulde deliuer them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some famous act attemp- triall of may ted against the LACED EMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durst neuer fall from the tors. league of the Athenians. Vliades Samian, and Antagoras of Chio hearing him fay fo, both Therebellious Captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to fet apon the admirall galley aft of Vilader

of Paufanias, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one fide of her, and the other on the other and Antagon

side, as she was rowing before all the sleete. Pausanias seeinge them, stoode vppe straight in a Pausanias.

inges. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and fing out the bleffednes of mucceffer. those that lived vnder the raigne of Saturne, which they called the golden age : even so did

the people and confederates of the Athenians afterwardes honor the affestement made by

Arifides, calling it the fortunate & bleffed time of GREECE, and specially, when shortly after

it did double, and treble on the sodaine. For the taxe Aristides made, came to about soure

hundred & three score talents: and Pericles raised it almost vnto a third parte. For Thucydides

maruelous rage against them, and threatned them that before it were longe he woulde make

them knowe they had bene better to have affaulted their owne naturall contrie, then to have

fet vpon him as they had done. But they aunswered him, and bad him get him away quickely

and he were wife, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GREECIANS victory

at the battell of PLAT EES vnder his leading: and that it was nothing else but the onely reve-

rence and respect of the same, that had made the GREECIANS hold their hands till now from geuing him that iust punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserued. So the end was, they left the LACED EMONIANS, & stacke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherin was easily discerned the great corage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACED EMONIANS. For when they fawe their Captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouergreat authority, & liberty they rance of the D had, they willingly gaue up their commaundement ouer the other GREECIANS, and did no Laced amonimore fende their Captaines to be generalls of the whole army of GREBCE: thinking it better and for their citizens, that they should be obedient, and in enery point observe the discipline and law of their contrie, then if they had bene otherwise the only rulers and Lords ouer the whole

contrie. Now at what time the LACED & MONIANS did commaunde all GREECE, as Lordes: the cities and people of GREECE did pay a certeine fumme of money, towardes defrayinge of the charges of the warres against the barbarous people. But after that their seigniorie and rule was taken from them, the G REEC IANS were contented a taxe should be leavied, and that euery city should be reasonably sessed, accordinge to their wealth and abilitie: bicause euery

citie might know what they shoulde pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the ATHENIANS they would appoint Ariftides to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and autho- Ariftides did ritie to taxe and fesse every citie indifferently, considering the greatnes of the territory, and fesse the cithe reuenues of the same, as every one was reasonably able to beare it. But if Ariftide's were poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GREECE in manner did referre them selues vnto his discretion: he came out of that office more poore. and had made this affeffement and taxacion not only justly and truely, but also so indifferently accordinge vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man coulde finde fault with his do- Ariflides a

ARISTIDES.

take it, which he euer refused, and aunswered him alwayes, that he coulde better boast of his

wryteth, that at the beginninge of the warres of PBLOPONNES VS, the ATHENIANS leaved A fixe hundred talentes yearely vppon their confederates. And after the death of Pericles, theo. rators and counsellers for matters of state did raise it vp higher by litle and litle, vntil it moun. ted vnto the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. And this was not, bicause the warres did rife to fogreat a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had received: but for that they did accustome the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto every citizen, to make them fet vp games, and make goodly images, and to builde fumptuous temples. Thus was Ariftides therefore justly honored, praised, and esteemeda. boue all other, for this iust imposition of taxes, saving onely of Themsstocles: who went vp and downe flering at the matter, fayinge it was no mete praise for an honest man, but rather for a

cofer well barred with iron, where a man might fafely lay vp his gold and filuer. This hefpake a

Tames be-

to be even with Arifiides, which was nothing like the sharpe girde Aristides gave him openly, when Themistocles talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counfells and doinges of the enemies: and so is it, saved Ariftides againe, not onely a needefull, but an honest thinge, and mete for a worthy generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So Ariftides made all the other people of GREECE to sweare, that they woulde truely keepe the articles of theallyance, and he him felfe as generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the name of the ATHENIANS: and so pronouncing execrations & curses against them that should break the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red hotte into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them even so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstandinge, afterwardes the (in my opinion) when there fellout great alteracion in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: Aristides then willed the ATHENIANS tolet him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they should not let for feare thereof to do any thing whatloeuer they thought mete or necessary. To conclude, Theo-

Arifides pre- phrastus wryteth, that Aristides was not only a perfect an honest, and just man, in private matferred neces- ters betwixt party & party: but in matters of state, and concerning the common weale, he did before Lan e

many thinges oftentimes accordinge to the necessitie of the time, and troubles of the cine. wherein violence and iniustice was to be yed. As when the question was asked in open counfell, to know whether they might take away the gold & filuer that was left in the Ile of DELOS fafely layed up in the temple of Apollo, to beare out the charges of the warres against the bar-D barous people, and to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, apon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the articles of the allyance, made and sworne amonge all the GREECIANS. Arifides opinion beinge asked in the fame, he auniwered: it was not just, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding Ariftides had brought his citie, to rule and command ried in his po- many thousandes of people: yet was he still poore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouertie, then for all the famous victories and battells he had wonne : and that plainely appeareth thus. Callias Ceres torche bearer, was his neere kinfeman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stoode in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Judges, his accusers very faintly, and to lide purpole, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other byematters. E left the chiefest matter, & spake thus to the Judges, My Lords, you alknow Aristides the some of Lysmachus, and you are not ignoraunt also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GREECE. Howe thinke ye doth he live at home? when you see him abroade uppe and downe the city, in a threde bare gowneall to rattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all fee quake for very colde, beinge so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. Callias here his coin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable: that notwithstandinge Aristides hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authoritie among you, he suffered him, and his poore wife and children readie to begge, to starue for any helpe he geueth him.

Callias perceiuing the Iudges more angryer with him for that, then for any matter elfe he was F

accused of : he prayed Aristides might be sent for, and willed him to tel truely whether he had

willes. So Ariftides confirmed all he spake to be true; and enery man that was at the hearinge alkamed of of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as Ariftides, then rich as Callias. This tale is written thus by AEschines the Socratian Philosopher: and Plato reporteth of him also, that notwithstandinge there were many other famous and notable mended of men of ATHENS, yet he gaue Ariftides praise aboue them all. For others, fayd he, (as Themi-Plato. flocles. Comon, and Pericles) have beautified the citie with stately porches, and sumptious builn dinges of golde and filuer, and with stone of other fine superfluous deuises : but Aristides was only he, that vertuously disposed him selfe and all his doinges, to the furtherance of the state

pouerty, then him felfe coulde of his riches: (which he fayd many did vie ill, and few coulde A hard thing

vie them wel) and that it was a hard thing to finde one man of a noble minde, that could away

with pouertie, and that fuch onely might be ashamed of pouerty, as were poore against their Vilio may be

and common weale. His iustice and good nature appeared plainely, in his doinges and behamour towardes Themistocles. For though Themistocles was cuer against Aristides in all things, Aristides in

and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practile he was banished from A- perancer and THENS: yet when Themistocles was accused of treason to the state, having diverse sharpe ene-Themistocle. mies against him : as Cimon, Alemaon, with diverse other : Aristides sought not revenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither spake nor did any thinge against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyce to fee his enemie in mifery, no more then if he had never enuied him in his prosperity. And touching Aristides death, some write he dyed in the realme Aristides

of PONT Vs, being fent thither about matters of the state: & other thinke he dyed an old man death. in the citie of ATHENS, greatly honored and beloued of all the citizens. But Craterus the MA-CEPONIAN Wryteth of his death in this forte. After that Themistocles (fayeth he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very stubborne and infolent: whereupon, many lewde men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the noble men and chiefest citizens, and to stirre vpthe malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proude by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Amonge the rest, Aristides was condemned for extorcion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, apon one Diophantes ac-demned for culation, of the village of Amphit Rope: who burdened him, that he tooke money of the Io- extercion.

Yet doth not Craterus bring foorth any probable matter to proue this true he wryteth: as his

pleadinge, his sentence and condemnation, or any decree passed against him, although he v-

ledgreat diligence else in collectinge all such matters, and vowchinge his authors. Further-

more, all other wryters that have specially noted the faultes and offences, committed by the

people of ATHENS in former times against their Captaines and gouernors: they do declare

Themistocles exile, Miltiades captinity that dyed in prison, Pericles fine wherein he was con-

demned, and Paches death that flue him felfe in the pulpit for orations, when he fawe he was

condemned : and tell diverse such stories, addinge to also Aristides banishment : but yet they

to any that wanne the Olympian games. And fithence, Demetrius Phalerian, Hieronymus

RHODIAN, Arifloxenus the musitian, and Aristotle the Philosopher, at the least if the booke

intituled of Nobilitie be any of Aristotles workes: all these agree together, that one Alyrto,

NIANS, to make the annuell tribute cease which they payed vnto Athens: and so Craterus

D layth, that bicause Aristides was not able to pay the fine they set apon his heade (which was flue Minas) he was driven to forfake ATHENS, and to gette him into IONIA where he dyed.

make no maner of mencion of the condemnation which Craterias speaketh of. Moreouer, A- milities ristides tombe is to be seene at this day apon the hauen of Phalerus, which was set up for him tombe.

at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, bicause he dyed so poore a manne, as they founde nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go surther, and say that his daugh- The Alberti-

ters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the any thankecitic gaue enery one of them three thowfande Drachinas : and his sonne Lysimachus, a hun-fulnes vinite dred Minas of filuer, and a hundred Iugera, and at Aleibiades request, who was the author of dren, thedecree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day befides, of ordinarie allowance. Furthermore, when this Lysimachus dyed, he left aliue one onely daughter called Polycrite, whom the people appointed, as Callifthenes wryteth, as much prouisino to line withall, as they gaue

not offered him good rounde fummes of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to

Mirto, Ari- Ariftides daughters daughter, was maried to the wife Socrates, who tooke her to his wife he uing a wife already) bicause she was a poore widdow, & could not be maried for her pourry having much a do to live. Yet Panatius doth wryte against them, in his booke of Socrates life But Demetrius PHALERIAN Wryteth in his booke he intituled Socrates, that he could remember very well he had seene one Lysmachus, Aristides sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and lived of that he could get to interpret dreames, by certaine tables, where in was wrytten the arte to interpret the fignification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of Bacchus called Iacchion, vnto whom, together with his mother and hisfafter, he favd he had caused the people to geue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towards their livinge. It is very true that the selfe same Demetrius PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and sister should have ech of them a Drachmahu the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, not straunge thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe, and to relieve, the women that dwelt in the citie: confidering that in times past, Aristogiton having a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poorestate, and that coulde not be bestowed in manage for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a joynter besides in the village of Potamos. Which great curtefy & humanity of theirs, hath euer deferued great fame and commendacion, & yet cotinuerh euen vntil this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

liberality.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Cato the Censor.





Areus Cato and his auncesters, were (as they say) of the city of THY-SCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt & liued in the contry of the SABYNES, vpon certeine land his father left him. And though to many his auncesters were knowen to have bene obscure: yet he him self did highly commende his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and faying he was a fouldier, and had ferued valliantly in the fielde. And he telleth also of an other Cato that was his great grandfather, who for his valliant service had bene of trewarded of the generals, with such honowhile giftes, as the ROMAINES did victo gene unto them, that had done fome famous act in any battell: and how that he havinge loft fine hotfes of feruice in the warres, the value of the Ame were reftored to him againe in money of the common treasure, bicause he had shewed himselfe trusty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speeche or ROME to call them vpftartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rife by vertue; it for- caso called an nined Cato to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confesse it, that he was of the vestare. first of the house that ever had honor, and office of state : but by reason of the noble actes and good service of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the bepinning after his third name, Prifcus: but afterwardes by reason of his great wiledom and experience, he was furnamed Cara, bicause the Romaines call a wife man, and him that bath frene much, Cato. He was somewhat genen to be redde faced, and had a payer of staring eyes The definition

MARCUS CATO

inhis heade, as this man tellethys, that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death. of this worde Pluto(the god) which rules the furies infernall. will not receive the damned ghoft, of Porcius in his hall: his faucy coppered nofe, and fiery staring eyes, his common flaunderous tales. which he did in this world denife.

made Pluto stande in dread that he would brawvle in hell. although his bones were drie and dead on earth he was so fell. Furthermore, touchinge the disposition of his body, he was maruelous stronge and lusty, Catoes manner

and all bicause he did vie to labor and toyle euen from his youth, and to live sparingly, as one and life. that was ever brought vp in the warres from his youth: fo that he was of a very good constimeion, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for viterance, he esteemed it as a seconde body, and most necessarie gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thinge very requifite for a man that should be are sway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead mennes causes in courtes judiciall, that would retaine him of counsell: so as in thorte time he became aperfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent orator. Caso an excel-After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave lens orator.

manner and behaujour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthic to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he mainteined : but furthermore made no reckening of the estimacion he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the only marke he shot at. But his desire reached further rather to winne him felfe fame by feruice in the warres, and by valliant fightinge with his enemie: then with fuch a quiet and pleafing manner of life. Infomuch as when he was but a younge striplinge in maner, he had many cuttes apon his brest, which he had received in diverse battells and encounters against the enemies. For he him selfe wryteth, that he was but seuenteene yeare old, cato a soulwhen he went first vnto the warres, which was about the time of Hanniballs chiese prosperition, when he spoyled and destroyed all I TALIE. So when he came to sight, he would strike luftely, and neuer sturre foote nor geue backe, and woulde looke cruelly vppon his enemie, and r threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voyce, which he vied him felfe, and wifely taught o- A grimme

dinner or supper, but did helpe to dresse it him selse for the most parte, if he had any leasure,

when he had done the duery of a private fouldier in fortifying the campe, or fuch other nede-

ther also to vse the like: for such countenaunces, sayed he, many times doe feare the enemies looke, geneth more, then the sworde ye offer them. When he went any iorney, he euer marched a foote, enemy. and caried his armour apon his backe, and had a man waytinge on him that caried his vittells with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they fay) for any thing he had prepared for his

full businesse. All the while he was abroade in seruice in the warres, he neuer drancke other then cleane water, vnlesse it were when he founde he was not well, and then he woulde take alitle vineger: but if he faw he were weake, he woulde then drinke a litle wine. Now infortup ned, that Manius Curius the ROMAINE, who had triumphed thrife, hadde a prety house and three kines lande hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, which Cato for a walke would visite oft. And Prim being

he confidering how little lande he had to his house, and what a little house he had withall, and the Taitin

Cambeelden, how poorely it was built, wondered with him felfe what maner of man Curius had being, that mondered at having bene the greatest man of ROME in his time, and having subdued the mightiest nations and people of all I TALIE, and driven kinge Pyrrus also out of the same: yet him selie with his of Manine owne handes did manure that little patche of grounde, and dwel in so poore and small a farme

Carnes fcholemaister. Platoes obifiere.

Cato learned They say he fell in his very olde age to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke she Greeke olde age. Cato profited full of authorities, examples, & stories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his sentences most by Demolthenes eloquence. Valerius Flac- besides, who could easily discerne buddes of vertue sprowtinge out of any towardly youth cus a grave wifeman.

Caroes Strainge

ple he was chosen Tribune of the fouldiers, (to say, colonell of a thousand footemen) & after-

Whether notwithstading, after his three triumphes, the SAMNYTES sent their Ambassadore The moderato visite him, who founde him by the fyers side feething of persencapes, and presented hims cion of Ma- maruelous deale of golde from their state and communalty. But Curius returned them agains with their gold, and told them, that fuch as were contented with that supper, had no nede of gold nor filter: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them that had gold, then to haue it him felfe. Cato remembring these thinges to him selfe, went homes gaine, and beganne to thinke vpon his house, of his livinge, of his family and servauntes, and also of his expences: and to cut of all superfluous charges, and fell him selfe to labor with his owne handes, more then euer he hadde done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus tooke the city of TARENT VM againe, Cato ferned vnder him being very younge, where he fell Reachus the into familiar acquaintace with Nearchus the PYTHAG ORIAN philosopher, in whom he took maruelous delight to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that Plato did, by callinge it the sweete poyson and chiefest bayte to allure men m ill: and faying that the body was the first plague vnto the soule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation stoode apon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that drive finful thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body farre of from her. Cato moreover gave

him felfe much to fobriety and temperatunce, and framed him felfe to be contented with life of

bookes, and that he profited formwhat by Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame

his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writinges.

and moralls, his adages & quicke answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now

there was a noble man of ROME at that time, one of great authoritie, and a deepe wiseman

who was of a good and honorable disposition to helpe forwarde, and to aduaunce such. His

name was Valerius Flaceus, a neere neighboure vnto Cato, who was informed by his feruauns of Catoes straunge life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands; and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleademens causes that prayed his counsaill, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a litle coate on his shoulders, and being sommer he would go out bare, naked to the wast, to worke in his ground among his seruaunts and other workemen: & would befides, fit and eate with them together at one borde, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him also a world of such maners & facions which he vsed, that she wed to be a maruelous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they tolde him what notable wife fayinges and graue fentences they heard him speake. Valerius Flacous hearing this reporte of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceiving he was of a very good nature, and wel given, & that he was a good griffe to be fet in a better ground: he perswaded him to come to Rong, and to practife there in the affembly of the people, in the common causes and affayres of the Cato goeth to common weale. Cato followed his counfail, who having bene no long practifer among them, Rome by Va- did grow straight into great estimacion, and wanne him many frends, by reason of the causes leting Flacess he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by meanes of the speciall fauour and countenaunce Valerius Flaccus gaue him. For first of all, by voyce of the peo-

Tribunus mi- wards was made treasorer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit & authority, as he became Valerius Flaccus copanion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consul with in the Senate. him, & then Cenfor. But to begin withal, Cato made choise of Quintus Fabius Maximus, about Care followed all the Senators of Rome, & gaue him felfe to follow him altogether: & not fo much for the credit & estimacion Fabius Maximus was of, (who therein exceded all the ROMAINES of that

s rime) as for the modesty and discrete gouernment he sawe in him, whome he determined to

followe, as a worthy myrror and example. At which time Cato passed not for the malice and Catos small cion with Scienil will of Scipio the great, who did ftrine at that present being but a young man, with the authoritie and greatnesse of Fabius Maximus, as one that seemed to enuy his risinge and great-

neffe. For Cato being fent treasorer with Scipio, when he vndertooke the iorney into A FRIKE, and perceiuing Scipices bountifull nature and disposition to large giftes without meane to the reasons we fouldiers : he tolde him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurtthe common wealth in der Scipio Awalting their treasure, as he did great harme in chauging the auncient maner of their auncefiers; who yied their fouldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to spende their bis massfull finerfluous money (all necessaries prouided for) in vaine toyes and trifles, to serue their plea- expences.

fure. Scipio made him aunswere, he woulde have no treasorer shoulde controll him in that forte, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full fayles as it were, and that he woulde (and did also determine to) make the state prinie to all his doinges, but not to the money he spent. Cato hearing this aunswer, returned with frede out of Sicile vnto Rome, crying out with Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio Cato acconfesh ment infinitely, and that he tended playes, commedies, and wrefilinges, as if he had not bene Scipio of riot. fent to make warres, inuafions, and attemptes apon their enemies. Apon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to goe and fee if their informations were true; and finding them fo, that they should bring him backe againe to Rome. But Scipio shewed farre otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparaunt

victorie, through the necessary preparacion and prouision he had made for the warres; and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leasure, he would be privately mery with his frends: and though he was liberall to his fouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipio tooke thippinge, and fayled towards A FRIKE, whether he was fent to make warre. Now to returne to Cate. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that dinerfe called him the Demosthenes of ROME: howbeit the maner of his life was in more estima- causes elocion, then his eloquence. For all the youth of Rome did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and quence, his continent life,

commendacion of wordes, and one enuicd an other which of them should come nearest: but and expression

few of them woulde fyle their handes with any labor as their forefathers did, and make a light Paynes.) supper and dinner, without fire or prouision, or woulde be content with a meane gowne, and apoore lodging, & finally woulde thinke it more honorable to defye fanfies & pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Bicause the state was waxen now of such power & wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient discipline, and former austeritie and straitnes of life it ysed: but by reason of the largenes of their dominion and seigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of fundry contry facions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at Catoes vertue, when they fawe other straight wearyed with paines and labor, tenderly brought vp like pulers; and Cato on the other fide neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coueted honor, nor in his age also when he E was gray headed and balde, after his Confullthip and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maiftery, he would neuer geue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth Catost non-him selfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that cost him aboue a hundred pence, & desfull simifa.

nerall of the armie, then he did him felfe: and that his cater neuer bestowed in meate for his

supper, aboue thirty Asses of Romaine money, and yet he sayed it was, bicause he might

be the stronger, and apter to do service in the warres for his contry and the common wealth.

He fayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his frends that dyed, he had a peece of tape-

ftry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he caused

it straight to be folde; and that of all his houses he had abroade in the contry, he had not one

dearer, then a thowfande fiue hundred pence, as one that fought not for fine made men, and

goodly personages, but strong fellowes that could away with paynes, as carters, horsekepers,

F wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreouer he would say, he neuer bought bondeman or slaue

that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worfe wine, when he was Confull and ge-

Gensleneffe te

moyles.

Xanthitpu buried his dogge, that frame by hi gallyes fide from Athens and dyed wh he landed.

he would not keepe them when they coulde do no feruice. To conclude, he was of opinion that a manne bought any thinge deere, that was for litle purpose: yea, though he gaue buta farthing for it, he thought it to much to bestow so litle, for that which needed not. He would haue men purchase houses, that hadde more store of errable lande and pasture, then of fine ortevardes or gardeins. Some fave, he didde thus, for very miserie and couetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he lived to sparingely, to move others by his example to cutte of all Superfluitie and wast. Neuerthelesse, to sell slaues in that forte, or to turne them out of dores when you have hadde the service of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you vse brute beastes that have served whilest they may for age: me thinkes that must needes proceede of to seucare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or consideracion of his a manitie, then whilest one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentlenesse goeth further goth further then iustice. For nature teacheth vs to vie iustice onely vnto menne, but gentlenesse some times is shewed vnto brute beastes: and that commeth from the very fountaine and springe be vied vite of all curtefie and humanitie, which should neuer drye vp in any manne liuinge. For to fave bruse beafter. truely, to keepe cast horses spoyled in our seruice, and dogges also not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde . be euen tokens of loue and kindenesse. As the ATHE NIANS made by the made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they shoulde suffer Athenians in the moyles and mulettes that did feruice in their cariages about the buildinge of the fame, to graze euerie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they fay, there was one of those moves thus turned at libertie, that came of her selfe to the place to labour, going before all the other draught beaftes, that drewe uppe cartes loden towardes the castell, and kept them companie, as though the feemed to encorage the rest to drawe: which the people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed she shoulde be kept whilest shellued, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this present are the graues of Cimons mares to be seene, that wanne him thrise together the game of the horse race at the games Olympian, and they are harde by the graue of Cimon him felfe. We heare of diuerfe also that hadde buried their dogges they brought vppe in their house, or that wayted on them: as amongeother olde Xanthippus buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of ATHENS did forfake their citie at the comminge downe of Xerxes the kinge, this dogge followed his mafter, fwimminge in the fea by his gallies fide, I from the firme lande, vnto the lle of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to vse liuinge and fencible thinges, as we woulde vie an olde shooe or a ragge: to cast it out apon the dongehill when we have worne it, and can ferue vs no longer. For if it were for no respectels, but to vse vs alwayes to humanitie: we must euer showe our selues kinde and gentle, euen in such finall poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde neuer finde in my hart to fell my drawght Oxe that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much leffe my flaue to fell him for a little money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt along time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shalbe as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other fide gloried, that he left his horse in Spayne he had served on in the warres duringe his I Confulship, bicause he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing of him home by fea into ITALIE. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of etther fide, whether this was noblenes, or a niggardlines in him: but otherwife to fay truely, he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was general of the army, he neuer tookeallowance but after three bushells wheat a moneth of the common wealth, for him selfe and his cases straighs whole family: and but a bushel and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horse and other beastes for his carriage. On a time when he was Prætor, the gouernment of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him hadde put the contry to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and such like stuffe, and burdened them also with a maruelous traine of servaunts and their frends that waited on them, putting them I to great expence of feafting and bancketing of them: Cato in contrary maner brought downed all that excesse and superfluitie, vnto a maruelousneere and vncredible sauinge. For when

he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, & did not put them to a penny charge for Catoes neerehim felfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried his nesin his cirgowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine to the goddes in his facrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subjects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him felfe feuere and bitter to them in matters concerning inflice : and spared no man, in any commaundement or service for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that 19. he woulde not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS VIIder his gouernment, both to loue and feare the Empire of Rome, more then ever they did before. For his grace both in speakinge and wrytinge did rightly shewe him selfe: bicause it was causes speech pleasaunt, and yet graue: sweete and fearfull: mery and seucare: sententious, and yet famili- and writing. R at : fuch as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as Plato sayed, vnto Socrates: The praise of who at the first fight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or Socrates. elfe a pleafant tawnter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him throughly, they fawe he was full of graue fentences, goodly examples, and wife perfwafions, that he coulde make men water their plantes that hearde him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I can not fee any reason that moues men to saye, Cato hadde Lysias grace and vitteraunce. Notwithstandinge, lette vs referre it to their judgementes that make profession to differne orators graces and flyles: for my parte I shall content my selfe to write at this prefent, onely certaine of his notable fayinges and fentences, perfivadinge my felfe that mennes manners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke. COn a time he feeking to diffwade the people of Rome, which woulde needes make a thankefull distribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a harde thinge (my Lordes of Rome) to bringe the bellie by perswa- casoes farfion to reason, that hath no eares. And an other time, reprouinge the ill government of the ingen citie of ROME, he fayed: it was a hard thinge to keepe uppe that state, where a little fishe was folde dearer then an Oxe. He fayed also that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of sheepe. For faveth he, as every weather when he is alone, doth not obey the sheepeheard, but when they are all together they one followe an other for love of the foremest: even so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the nofes by fuch, whose counsell not a man alone of you woulde vie in any private cause of your owne. And talkinge an other time D of the authoritie the women of Rome had ouer their husbandes. He faved: other men commaunde their wives, and we commaunde men, and our wives commaund vs. But this last of all, he borowed of Themistocles pleasaunt sayings. For his sonne making him do many things Themistocles by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIAN'S commaund al GREECE. Joing. Icommaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaunde me, and your fonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vie the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and affe as he is, fithence he can doe more by that power and authority, then all the Greecians besides. He fayed also that the people of Rome did not onely delight in diverse fortes of purple, but likewife in diverse forces of exercises. For sayd he, as diverse commonly dye that cullour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasaunt to the eye: euen so the lusty youthes of Rome doe frame E them selves to such exercise, as they see your selves most like, and best esteme. He continually aduised the Romaines, that if their power & greatnes came by their vertue and temperance, their are. they should take hede they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worse: & if they came to that greatnes by vice and violence, that then they should chaunge to better, for by that meanes he knew very wel they had attained to great honor & dignity. Again he told the that fuch as fued ambitioufly to be are office in the common wealth, & were common futers for them: did feme to be afraid to lose their way, & therfore would be fure to have vihers & fergeants before the. to show them the way, least they should lose themselves in the city. He did reprove them also that often chose one man, to continew one office still: for it seemeth, faith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you have not many choiseme you thinke worthy for officers of perp the office. There was an enemy of his that ledde a maruelous wicked and an abominable life, penning.

of whome he was wont to fay, that when his mother prayed vnto the goddes that the might

leaue her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, butto curse: meaninge to have him.

life. Cato, Pretor in Sardinia. as though he wondered how he came to be fo great a man, that he was stronger then the fee

For that which the fea hardly confumeth, and eateth into, by litle and litle along time: he had confumed it all at a clappe. An other time when kinge Eumenes was come to Rome, the Se.

nate entertained him maruelous honorably, and the noblest citizens did striue, enuying one

an other, who shoulde welcome him best. But Cato in contrary maner shewed plainely, that

he did suspect all this feastinge and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar frendes tolde him, I maruell why you flie from king Eumenes companie, that is fo

good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES fo well. Yea, fayed he, let it be fo, but for all that a

king is no better then a rauening beast that lives of the pray : neither was there ever any kinge a

To happie, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themistocles, porto

with him felfe, The ROMAINES having chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the

realme of BITHYNIA, one of them having the gowte in his feete, the other his heade full of

banished men whom they hadde restored by their order, might enjoy their former estates and

honors in Ac HAIA, they had at the time of their banishment : but before he would mouethe

fute vnto the Senate, he woulde feele Catoes opinion first, what he thought of it. Who aun-

Manius Curius, or to Hamylear, furnamed Barea, They fay his enemies did malice him, bicante he vied commonly to rife before day & did forget his owne busines to follow matters of state. And he affirmed, that he had rather loofe the rewarde of his well doing, then not to be puni. shed for doing of euill: and that he would be are with all other offending ignorauntly, but no Selfe foroffen

cuttes and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: Cato laughinge, fayd the Romaines That is to fay fent an Ambassade that had neither feere, heade, nor hart. Scipio sued once to Cato at Polybiu request, about those that were banished from ACHAIA. The matter was argued afterwardes C in the Senate, and there fell out divers opinions about it. Some would have had them reftoiudged shai red to their contrie and goodes againe: other were wholly against it. So Cato risinge vp at the the feate of reason was last, saved vnto them. It feemes we have little else to do, when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these olde GREECIANS, whether the ROMAINES, OF the ACHAIASS. har following Artifolies opi- shall bury them. In the end, the Senate tooke order, they shoulde be restored vnto their contrie againe. Whereuppon Polybius thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the

fwered him, fmyling: me thinkes Polybius thou art like Vlyses, that when he had scaped out of D Cycloss caue the gyant, he would nedes go thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdell hehad left behinde him there. He fayd alfo, that wife men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wife men. For wife men fayd he, do fee the faults fooles commit, and can wifely auoide them: but fooles neuer study to follow the example of wife mens doings. He sayedalto that he euer liked young men better that blushed, then those that looked euer whitely; and that he woulde not have him for a fouldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, removes his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and fnorteth lowder in his fleepe, then when he crieth out to his enemy. An other time when he woulde taunt a maruelous fatte man: fee, fayed he, what good can fuch a body do to the common wealth, that from his chinne to his coddepece is nothing but belly? And to an other man that was genen to pleasure, and defired to be great B with him: my frende, fayed Cato, as refusinge his acquaintance: I can not line with him that hath better judgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was also his favinge; that the foule of a louer, lived in an others body: and that in all his lifetime he repented him of three thinges. The first was, if that he euer tolde secret to any woman: the seconde, thateuer he went by water, when he might have gone by lande : the thirde, that he had bene Idles whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious olde man, he would say, to reproue him. O gray bearde, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not besides with your vice. And to a feditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poysoner, and would needes passe some wicked law by voyce of the people, he woulde say: o young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the drugges thou genest, or to receive the lawes thou offerest. An other time, being reuiled by one that ledde a lewde, and naughty life go thy way, fayd he, I am no man to scolde with thee. For thou art so vsed to reuile, and to be

A reuiled, that it is not daynty to thee : But for my felfe, I never vie to heare scolding and much befiedelite to scolde. These be his wife sayinges we finde written of him, whereby we may the easilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was chosen Consull with his frend Cato, and Va-Valerius Flaceus, the gouernment of Spayne fell to his lott, that is on this fide of the river of Comful. RETIS, So, Cato havinge subdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others also by Catoes doings frendly meanes: fodainly there came a maruelous great army of the barbarous people against in spane. him. & had enuironned him fo, as he was in maruelous daunger, either shamefully to be taken prisonner, or to be flaine in the fielde. Wherefore, he sent presently vnto the CELTIBERT-ANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Thefe CALTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred talentes to come & help him : but the ROMAINES that were about him, coulde not abide to hyer the barbarous people to defende them. Then Cato tolde them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonor vnto them. For saved he, if the fielde be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promised, with the spoyle and money of our enemies: and if we loofe it, then our felues and they lye by it, beinge left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the ende he wanne the battel, after a fore conflict, and after that time he hadde maruelous good fortune. For Polybius wryteth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this fide the river of B & TIS, were by his commaundement rased all in one day. which were many, and full of good fouldiers. Him felfe wryteth, that he tooke moe cities in Spayne, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boaft, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of the Now, though the fouldiers under him had gotten well in this iorney, and were riche, yet he caused a pounde weight of filuer to be geuen to enery fouldier besides: sayinge, he liked it better that many should returne home with filuer in their purses, then a few of them with golde only. But for him selfe, he affirmed: that of all the Catoes abstispoyle gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thinge, saninge that which he tooke in meate spoyle and spoyle and and drinke. And yet, fayth he, I speake it not to reproue them that grow riche by such spoiles: bribery. but bicause I would contende in vertue rather with the best, then in money with the richest, or in couctoufnes with the most vertuous. For, not only he him selfe was cleare from bribes and extorcion, but his officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spanish iorney, he had fine of his fernauntes with him, whereof one of them called Panie, bought three younge boyes that were taken in the warres, when the spoile was solde to them that would gene most. So Cato knew it. But Pause being afrayed to come neere his maifter, hong him felfe: and then Cato folde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treafory cheftes of fauing at ROME. Now while Cato was in SPAYNE, Scipio the great that was his enemy, & fought to hinder the course of his prosperitie, and to have the honor of conqueringe all the rest of Discarde be-SPAYNE: he made all the frendes he could to the people, to be chosen in Catoes place. He was Scipio. no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible spede he could to be gone, that he might make Catoes authority ceasife the sooner. Cato hearing of his halty comminge, tooke only five enfignes of footemen, and five hundred horfemen to attende youn him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in Spayne called the LACETANI- Cato ouercame ANS, and tooke fixe hundred traytors also that were fled from the ROMAINES campeto their the Laceanienemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. Scipio storming at that, fayd Cato did him wrong. But Cato to mocke him finely, fayed: it was the right way to bringe ROMB toflorish, when noble borne citizens would not suffer meane borne men, and vostarts as him felfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other fide when meane borne men woulde contende in vertue, with those that were of noblest race, and farre about them in calling. For all that, when Cato came to ROME, the Senate commaunded that nothing (houlde be chaunged nor altered otherwise, then Cato had appointed it, whilest he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which Scipio made fuch earnest fute in SPAYNE, was a greater diffrace vote him, then it was vnto Cato: bicause he passed al his time & office in peace, having no occasion offered him to doe any notable feruice worthy memory. Furthermore, Cato after he had bene-Conful, and hadde graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that feeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they have bene-

called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consults, and have also grayinged them the honor

the great.

to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of state, & dispose them selues to line 1 merely and quietely at home, and not to trouble them felues any more. Now Cato, farre other after his Con, wife behaued him felfe. For he would neuer leaue to exercise vertue, but beganne a freshe a if he had bene but a young nouesse in the world, and as one greedy of honor and reputation and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his frends or any ther citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their causes for them that required his counsell, and go with his frendes also into the warres. As he went with Tiberius Sen. pronise the Conful, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conquest of the contry of THRACE and vnto the prouinces adiovning to the river of DANVBYE apon those marches. After that he was in GREECE also, Collonell of a thowsande footemen, vnder Manius Aquilius, against

king Antiochus furnamed the great, who made the Romaines as much afrayed of him, ase, uer they were of enemy but Hanniball. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of A sin, which Seleucus Nicanor enjoyed before, & had fubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was fo proude harted, as he would nedes have wars with the Romainer whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest show and pretence of warres, saving: it was to set the GREECIANS at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they lived after their owne lawes, and were but lately delivered from the bondage of kinge Philip, and of the MACED ON IANS, through the goodnesse of the ROMAINES. Notwithstandinge, he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a maruelous great army, and all GREECE was straight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, bicause of the great promises and large hopes the gouernours of diverse cities (whome the kinge had wonne and (corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon Manus dispatched Ambassadors vnto the cities, and fent Titus Quintius Flaminius amonge others, who kept the greatest parte of the people from rebellinge (that were eafily drawen to geue eareto this innouation) as we have expressed more amply in his life; and Cato beinge sent Ambassador also, perswaded the CORINTHIANS, those of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them sticke still to the Ro-MAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some fay they finde an oration of his wrytten in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendacion of their auncesters: wherein he sayd he tooke great pleasure to see ATHENS for the beauty and statelinesse of the city. But this is false. For he spake vnto the Athenians by an interpreter, though he coulde have vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene disposed: but I he did like the lawes and customes of his owne contrie, and the Romaine tongue so well. that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he didonce mocke Posthumius Albinus, who wrote an history in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his preface to beare with him, if they founde any imperfection in the tongue: mary, fayd Coto, he had deferued pardon in deede, if he hadde bene forced to have wrytten his flory in the writing a flory Greeke tonge, by order of the states of GREECE, called the counsel of the Amphicayos. They in the Greeke fay the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his redy tongue. For what he had vttered quickely in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great

circustances, & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GREECIANS words

all the straightes and narrow passages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES, (beingethe

ordinary way and entry into GREECE) and had fortified them as well with his army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walles and trenches he had made by hande, be-

Albinus aRomaine, for

Kinge Antio. lay all in their lippes, and the ROMAINES wordes in their heades. Now kinge Antiochus kept E

fides the naturall strength & fortification of the mount it selfe in fundry places : and so hedetermined to remaine there, trusting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesayed, and to turne the force of the warres some other way. The Romaines also, they dispayred viterly Catoes doings they should be able any way to charge him before. But Cato remembringe with him selfe the compasse the PERSIANS hadde fetched about before time likewise to enter into GREECE: he departed one night from the campe with parte of the army: to proue if he could finde thever ry compasse about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed up the mount taine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the contrie, lost his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruelous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore

a fouldiers were in maruelous ill taking. Cate feeing the daunger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his fouldiers not to sturre a foote from thence, and to tary him there; and in the meane time he went him felfealone, and Lucius Manlius with him (a luftie man, and nimble to cli be apon the rockes) and fo went forwarde at aduenture, takinge exreame and vncredible paine, & in as much daunger of his life; grubbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they coulde not fee before them, neither could tell whether they went) vntill they stumbled at the length yppon a litle pathe way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they fet vppe certeine markes and tokens, vppon the highest toppes of the rockes they coulde choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest of y-

B pon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe Mount calliagaine to fetche the fouldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had fet vp : vntill at dromus

the length they found their pathe wave againe, where they putte their fouldiers in order to marche. Now they went not farre in this pathe they founde, but the way failed them straight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater feare, not knowinge they were so neere their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched formest, thought he hearde a noyse, and that he faw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certeine fouldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon Cato made them stay, & willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him. and none but them, bicause he had founde them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his

commaundement. They were with him at a trife to know his pleafure : fo Cato faid vnto them. Causes gration My fellowes, I must have some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who to his some they be that keepe that paffage, what number they be, what order they keepe, howe they are camped and armed, and after what forte they determine to fight with vs. The wave to worke this feate, standeth apon swiftnes, and hardines to runne apon them sodainely, as Lyons doe, which beinge naked feare not to runne into the middeft of any hearde of fearfull beaftes. He had no fooner spoken these wordes, but the FIRMANIAN souldiers beganne to runne downe The boldenes the mountaine, as they were, apon those that kept the watch: and so setting apon them, they and vallians beinge out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him,

they straight brought him vnto Cato, who by othe of the prisoner was aduertised, howe that Cato adverti-D the strength of their enemies armie was lodged about the persone of the kinge, within the sed of the fraight and valley of the faid mountaine: and that the fouldiers they faw, were fixe hundred fright of king ETOLIANS, all braue fouldiers, whome they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe campe. of the rockes ouer king Antiochus campe. When Cato had heard him, making small accompt of the matter, as well for their finall number, as also for the ill order they kept : he made the trompets founde straight, and his fouldiers to marche in battell with great cries, him felfe being the formest man of all his troupe, with a sworde drawen in his hand. But when the Æro-LIANS faw them comming downe the rockes towardes them, they beganne to flie for life vn- Cata tooke the

to their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all diforder. Now Manlins Praight of at the same present also, gave an assault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made. ouerthwart the vallies and straightes of the mountaines : at which affault, king Antiochus selfe Kinge Antiohad a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for chus have in very paine & anguish he felt, he turned his horse backe, and got him behinde the prease, And the face with then there were none of his armie that made any more reliftaunce, or that coulde abide the fiercenesse of the ROMAINES. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, bicause it was unpossible for them to scatter and straggle, beinge holden in with high rockes on

the one fide of them, and with bogges and deepe mariffes on the other fide, which they must needes fall into if their feete flipped, or were thrust forwarde by any : yet they fell one apon an other in the straightes, and ranne so in heapes together, that they cast themselves away, for feare of the ROMAINES fwordes that lighted uppon them in every corner. And there Mar- Cates vitto. F tw Cato, that neuer made ceremony or nifenes to praise him selfe openly, nor reckened it any ry of kinge

thame to do it: did take a prefent occasion for it, as falleth out apon all victory and famous exploytes. And fo did fet it out with all the oftentacion and braue wordes he could geue. For he

praise his onne doings.

wrote with his owne handes, that fuch as faw him chase and lay vpon his flying enemies the day, were driven to fay, that Cato was not bound to the Romaines, but the Romaines bound vnto Cato. And then Manius the Confull felfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the bar. tell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hotte with chasinge of the enemy : and fpake alowde with great joy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recom-Dence Cato for his valliant service that day. After this battell, the Consul Manine sent Catom Manius for Rome, to be the messenger him selfe to reporte the newes of the victory. So he imbarked in continently, and had fuch a fayer winde, that he passed ouer the sea to BRINDES without any never of the daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENT VM in one day, and from TARENT VM in four

dayes more to Rome. And so he came to Rome in fine dayes after his landing in Italie, and

made fuch speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the p

victorie. Whereupon he filled all Rome with joy and facrifices, and made the Romaines fo

proude, that euer after they thought them selues able men to conquer the worlde both by

and lande. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble actes Cato did. But for his doings in

Caro fifey ſed.

ciuill policie and state, he semed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked Caso an accu- he thought it was the best thinge an honest man and good governour of the common wealth coulde employ him felfevnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be shorte, he did alwayes stirre vp some accuser, as he did Petilius against Scipio, But Scipio, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being our of all feare, they should be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had a c gainst him. Notwithstanding, he joyned with other that accused Lucius Scipio, his owne brother, and followed the matter fo fore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in great fumme of money to the comon wealth; who being viable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people renoked his condemnation, It is fayd that Cato comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a younge manne by the way that had ouerthrowen his adversary in fute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and soyle before the people: he imbraced him with a good countenaunce and fayd vnto him. Oh my fonne, facrifices that good children should offerw their fathers foule, be not lammes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free him selfe from daunger, in administration of I the comon wealth. For if they could katch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him : so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last timeof his accusation, he was about the age of source score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thinge to geue vp an accompt of his life before men in a ny other world, then in this among whom he lived. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused Seruius Galba. And thus he lived as Neftor, in maner three ages of man, alwayes in continual fute and action. For when he wreftled with the first Scipio the AFRICAN about matters of state and common wealth: he went on vnto the time of the seconde, that was adopted by the first Scipioes sonne, the natural sonne of Paulus AEmylius, who ouercame Perseus, king of Mace-E DON. Furthermore, Marcus Cato, tenne yeares after his Confulfhip, fued to be Cenfor, which Was in ROME the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of ROME could attain evento: and as a man may fay, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities the Cenfor had power to examine mens lives & maners, and to punish every of fendor, For the ROMAINES were of that minde, that they woulde not have men mary, gette children, liue privately by them felues, and make feaftes and banckettes at their pleafure, but that they should stande in searce to be reproued and inquiered of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to geue every body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fansie. And they judging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other thinges that are openly done at none dayes, and in the fight of the worlde: vied to choose two Censors, that were two Surveyors of maners, to see that every man behaved him felfe vertuoufly, and gaue not them felues to pleafure, nor to breake the lawes and customes

A of the common wealth. These officers were called in their tongue, Cenfores, and alwayes of How the Cencultome one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. These two had power for were choand authority to difgrade a knight by taking away his horse, & to put any of the Senate, whom fem. they faw line dissolutely and disorderly. It was their office also, to ceasife and rate enery citizen

accordinge to the estimacion of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to kepe bookes of them, besides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when Cato came to fue for this office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very enuy, thinkinge it shame and disho- The Senere's

nor to the nobility, to fuffer menne that were meanely borne, and voftartes (the first of their and nobility houle and name, that ever came to beare office in the state) to be called & preserved vnto the n highest offices of state in all their common wealth. Other also that were ill livers, & knowing (iii) that they had offended the lawes of their contry: they feared his cruelty to much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the law in his owne hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set up seuen competitors against him, who flattered the people with many fayer wordes and promises, as though they had neede of magifirstes to vie them gently, and to doe thinges for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewinge no countenaunce that he would vie them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they must reforme their citie, and perswaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpeft phisitions: and that him felfe was such a one as they needed, & among the PATRICIANS C Valerius Flaceus an other, in whose company he hoped (they two beinge chosen Censors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burninge and cutting of (like Hydras heades) all vanity and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongest them: and that he sawe well enough, how all the other futers fought the office by dishonest meanes, fearing such officers as they knew would deale justly & vprightly. Then did the people of Rome shew them selues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refused not the sowernesse or seuerity of Cato, but rejected these meals mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the peoplein all thinges: and thereupon chose Marcus Cato Censor, and Valerius Flacous to be his care shoten

fellow, and they did obey him, as if he hadde bene present officer, and no suter for the office, censor. being in themselves to give it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was cases aftein

D stalled in his Censorship, was: that he named Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his frend and fellow Cen- his consorbing. for with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate, that had bene Confull feuen yeares be-Flaminius of fore, and was brother also vnto Titus Quintius Flaminius that ouercame Philip king of MACE- the Senate. DON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Confull, But the cause

familiar frendes he had about him. It fortuned on a time whilest Lucius Quintius was Confull Quintius of and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feast, and this boy being set at his table hard by the Senate.

to shew the people pastime, he came his way, and left the fight of that he neuer faw, that was very defirous to have feene a man killed. Then this Lucius Quintius, to make him fee the like. fayed: care not for the fight thou hast lost, boy, for I willlet thee see as much. And when he

had spoken these wordes, he commaunded a prisoner condemned to dye, to be setched and Luciu Quinbrought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done wickednes dry according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight see the man greeter. killed: yea, fir, fayd the boy: and with that he bad the hangman strike of his head. Most wry-

ters reporte this matter thus. And Cicero to confirme it also, wrote in his booke de Senectute F that the same was wrytten in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome, Now Lucius Quintius beinge thus shamefully put of the Senate by Cato, his brother Titus beinge offended withall, coulde not tell what to doe, but befought the people they woulde commaunde Cato

why he put him of the Senate, was this. This Lucius Quintius caried euer with him a younge

boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenaunce and credit vnto, as to any of his best

him, as his maner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was

Rome, when the Swordeplaiers were ready to fight for life and death with unrebated Iwords

F. pretily mery: & foothing him, told him he loued him fo dearely, that ypon his departing from

to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereuppon Cato on he

before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirminge in the

not fo: Cato would have had him fworne before them all, that it was not true they had build

ned him withall. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him, who fayed he woulde not five and

Whereupon the people judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not longe after

certaine games beinge shewed in the Theater, Lucius came thither, and passinge beyonderhe

ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Confuls, he went to six aloofe of a

mongest the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made such a do about him, as the

forced him to rife, and to go fit among the other Senators that had bene Confuls: falling the

downe of all feastes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly

feene in it, it was vnpoffible, bicaufe it was fo common a thinge, and every man was given to

their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wines chaines and inells, and all other mous

to it. Therefore Cato to fetche it about indirectly, did praise enery citizens goodes, and rated (

best they could, the shame and dishonor happened vnto so noble a house. Cato put out of the Senate also, one Manilius, who was in great towardnes to have bene made Consull the news yere following, only bicause he kissed his wife to louingly in the day time, & before his days. wife before his ter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kiffed him, but when it thundered So when he was disposed to be mery, he would say it was happy with him when Iupiter than Mery with dered. He tookeaway Lucius Scipioes horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he maried men when Inpiter had won against the great king Antiochus: which wan him much ill wil, bicause it appeared m shunderesh. the world he did it of purpole, for the malice he did beare Scipio the A FRICAN, that was dead

Banketing & But the most thing that greeued the people of all other extreamities he yied, was his putting downe by Ca-

Selfor refor-

ables and household stuffe, that had cost aboue a thousand fine hundred Drachmes a peccean tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that fuch as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for every thousand Asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners of them should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasory: to the ende that they who were greened with this taxe, and fawer ther pay leffe fubfidy (that were as much worth as them felues, by living without fuch tores) might call home them felues againe, and lay a fide fuch foolishe brauery and finenesse. Not withstandinge, Cato was enuied every way. First, of them that were contented to pay the mat h imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme them selues, then pay the taxe. And some thinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goodes, then to let them to make shew of them; and they have a fonde opinion besides, that their riches is better seene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they fay Aristotle the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and fuperfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And Scopas the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, & to make him graunt it the fooner, told him it was a thinge he might well spare, and did him no good: mary fayeth he, all the goods I have, are in such toyes as do me no good. So this conetous desire we have to be rich, comtoyes, that did meth of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in vs by a false opinion from the common forte. Now, Cato caringe leaft of all for the exclamations they made against him, grewe to be more straight and seuere. For he cut of the pipes and quilles private men had made to convey water into their houses & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their comon conduite heades, and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their dors into the strete, & brought downe the prises of comon workes in the city, and moreouer raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of most men. Wherefore, Titus Flaminius, and certaine other beinge bent against him in open Senate, caused all Catoes couenauntes and bargaines made, with the mafter worke man for repayring & mending of the common buildings & holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly prejudiciall to the common wealth. And they did also stirre up the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, bicause they

thould accuse him vnto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the summe of two talentes. They did marueloufly hinder also the buildinge of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate house: which nallace was finished not with standing, & called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would Basilica Por-Tay the pallace Porcius the Cenfor built. Howebeit it feemed the people of Rome did greatly sia built by

like and commend his gouernment in the Cenforshippe. For they set up a statue of him in the remple of the goddesse of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraued this inscription word for worde, to this effect by translation: For the honor of causes images Marcus Cato the Censor: bicause he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome see with the

(that was farre out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wife preceptes, good maners; good maners; and holy institutions. In deede, before this image was setup for him, he was wont to mocke beats atthem that delighted, and were defirous of fuch thinges : faying, they did not confider how. Honor characteristics they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that gith condifor him selfe, the people did alwayes cary lively images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life & doings. When fome wondered why diverse meane men and voknowen persones had images set up of them, and there were none of him the gaue them this aunswer. Thadrather men should aske why Cato had no Image set up for him, then why he had anv. In the ende, he would have no honest man abide to be praised, onles his praise turned to the be-

nefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would most praise him felfe. So Nomi Bould that if any had done a fault, or stept awry, and that men had gone about to reproue them: he abide to be that if any nad done a rauit, or steps awry, and that men had gone about to reprode them: he woulde fay they were not to be blamed, for they were no Catoes that did offende. And fuch as far the comcounterfeated to follow any of his doinges, and came shorte of his maner, he called them left mon wealth handed Catoes. He would say, that in most daungerous times the Senate vsed to cast their eyes voon him, as passengers on the sea do looke voon the master of the shippe in a storme: & that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he

might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him felfe. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisedome, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendacion, they praised him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, & a good fauer for his profit: for he was neuer careles of them, as things vehacase to be lightly passed on. And therfore me thinkes I must nedes tell you by the way, some parte was at home to be lightly paned on. And theriote the tillines I multifled established by the way, to be parted in his house, no f his well doinge, to followe our declaration of him. First of all, he maried a gentlewoman and towarded more noble then rich, knowing that either of both should make her proude & stoute enough: his wife and

but yet he euer thought the nobler borne, would be the more athamed of dishonesty, then the thildren, meaner borne : and therefore that they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all honest maner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he sayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, borne gentle didcommit as great a facriledge, as if he polluted or spoiled the holyest thinges of the world: women the and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband, then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothinge more commendable in the life of olde Socrates, then his pacience, in ving his wife well, that was fuch a shrewe, and his children that were so harebrainde, ence commen-After Catoes wife had brought him a fonne, he could not have so earnest busines in hande, if it ded bearings E had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his house, a with the

bout the time his wife did vnswadell the younge boy to washe and shift him : for she gaue it of his wife. fucke with her owne breftes, and many times woulde let the flaues children fucke of her allo, Cante wife bicause they might have a natural love towardes her sonne, having esucked one milke, and her owise bene brought vp together. When his sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was childs. able to learne any thinge, Cato him felfe did teache him, notwithstanding he had a saue in his cate touche house called Chilo (a very honest man, & a good grammarian) who did also teach many other: his somes. but as he fayed him felfe, he did not like, a flaue should rebuke his sonne, nor pull him by the Chilo a graneares, when paraduenture he was not apt to take very fodainely that was taught him: neither. would he have his fonne bounde to assauctor so great a matter as that, as to have his learning, p of him. Wherefore he him felfe taught him his grammer, the law, and to exercise his body, Prho exer-

not only to throw a dart, to play at the fword, to vawt, to ride a horse, and to handle all fortes effect case of weapons, but also to fight with fiftes, to abide colde and heate, and to swimme ouer a swift his some than

runninge river. He sayed moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with he i owne hande, bicause his sonne might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good menh times past, that he taking example by their doinges, should frame his life to excell them. He faved alfo. that he tooke as great heede of speaking any fowle or vncomely wordes before his fonne, as he would hauedone if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He neuer was in the whotte house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the ROMAINES at that time, the the fonnes in law did not bathe them selues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one an other naked. But afterwardes they having elearned of the GREEKES to wall them 64. ues naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wives. There lacked no towardlines, nor good disposition in Catoes sonne, to frame him selfe vertuous; for he was of fo good a nature, that he shewed him selfe willing to followe what soener his father a had taught him. Howebeit he was such a weake pulinge, that he coulde not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painfull life, which him felfe had kept. Yet he became valliant in the warres. For he fought maruelous stowtely in the battell, in which Perfeus the kinge of MACED ON was ouerthrowen by

on it. and by reason his hand was somwhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury, and praved

of his frendes about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vppon the enemies in that

place where his fword fell out of his hande, and came in fo fiercely on them, that they made

lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being we

Paulus AEmylius: where his fword being striken out of his hand with a great blow that lighted

der fuch a heape of dead bodies and other weapons, as well ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, C one lying on an other. Paulus AEmylius the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly co. mende the younge man. And at this day there is a letter extant from Cato to his fonne, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recourringe of his sworde againg. Afterwardes, this Cato the younger maried Tertia, one of Paulus AEmylius daughters, and younger master vnto Scipio the seconde, and so was matched in this noble house, not onely for his owner ried Tertia vertues fake, but for respect of his fathers dignity & authority: wherby the great care, paints norably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of young little flaues which he bought, when any would fell their prifoners in the warres. He did choose

my list daugh- and fludy that Cato the father tooke in bringing vp his fonne in vertue and learninge, washemylins name them thus young, bicaufe they were apt yet to learne any thinge he would traine them vnto,]] and that a man might breake them, like young coltes, or litle whelpes. But none of themall. Cattes difcihow many focuer he had, did euer goe to any mans house, but when him selfe or his wifedid pline to his flaues. fende them. If any man asked them what Cato did: they aunswered, they coulde nottell. And when they were within, either they must needes be occupied about somewhat, or else they

Categorophilen must sleepe for he loued them well that were sleepy, holdinge opinion that slaues that loued

maner and o-

for fleep me. fleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would fet them to, then those that were waking. And bicause he thought that nothing more did prouoke slaues to mischiese and naughtines, then lust and desire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondewomen in his house, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with ftraight commaundement besides, that none of them should deale with any other womana. broade. At the first when he gaue him selfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich he neuer was angry for any fault his feruauntes did about his persone: saying it was a sowlething Note how Ca. for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his servauntes for his belly. Afterwardes, as he to aliered his rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his frendes and familiars, they were no fooner gone, but he wouldescourge them with whippes and leather thonges, that had not waited as they should have done at the borde, or had forgot ten any thing he would have had done. He would ever craftily make one of them fall out with an other: for he could not abide they should be frendes, beinge euer icalous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserved death, he would declare his offence beforethem all: and Cattoes good then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before them all. Howebeitin husbandry for his latter time he grewe greedy, and gaue vp his tillage, fayinge it was rather pleafaunt, then profitable. Therfore bicause he would lay out his money surely, and bring a certaine reneme

A to his purse, he bestowed it vppon pondes, naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers crast, vpon meadowes and pastures, vpon copises and young wodde: and of all these he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would fay, Iupiter him selfe could not diminishe: Furthermore, he was a great vierer, both by land and by fea : and the viery he tooke by fea was Calo a great most extreame of all other, for he vsed it in this forte. He would have them to whome helent wierer. his money vnto, that traffiked by fea, to haue many parteners, and to the number of fifty: and He rooke exthat they should have so many shippes. Then he would venter among them for a parte onely, by sea whereof Quintius his slaue whom he had manumised, was made his factor, and vied to savle, and traffiked with the marchaunts, to whom he had lent his money out to viery. And thus he did not yenter all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his parte, and gotte maruelous B riches by his viery. Moreouer he lent money to any of his flaues, that would therwith buy other young flaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do feruice, at Catoes charge and coft; and then they folde them againe at the yeares ende, and some of them Cato kept for his owne fernice, and gaue his slaues as much for them, as any other offered. Therfore to allure his sonne

in like manner to make profitte of his money: he tolde him it was no wife mans parte to diminishe his substance, but rather the parte of a widowe. Yet this was a token of a most greedy couctous minde, that he durst affirme him to be dinine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when Cato Was growen very olde, Carneades the Academicke, and Diogenes the Stoicke, were fent Carneades, etc. from ATHENS as Ambassadors to Rome, to sue for a release of a fyne of fine hundred talentes Diogenes C which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS apon a condemnation passed against them, for Philosophers

a contempt of appearaunce, by the fentence of the Sicyonians, at the fute of the Oropi- fadors to ANS. Immediatly when these two Philosophers were arrived in the citie of Rome, the younge Rome. gentlemen that were geuen to their bookes, did visite and welcome them, and gaue greatreperence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to Carneades: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse, then the same ranne vppon him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppresse his praise. Rome straight was full, as if a winde had blowen this rumor into enery mans eare: that there was a GREECIAN arrived, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence woulde leade a man as he luft. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had so in-D flamed the younge gentlemens mindes with loue and defire to be learned: that all other pleafures and delightes were fet a fide, and they disposed them selves to no other exercise, butto the fludy of Philosophy, as if some secrete and divine inspiration from aboue had procured

them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of Rome were glad, and rejoyced much to fee their youth fo well geuen to knowledge, and to the fludy of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, euen from caso milliked the beginning that young men beganne to study the Greeke tongue, and that it grewe in estimacion in Rome, did diflike of it: fearing least the youth of Rome that were defirous of learninge and cloquence, woulde vtterly give over the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore,

when he fawe the estimacion and fame of these two personages did increase more and more. E and in such forte that Caius Aquilius, one of the chiefest of the Senate, made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the citie by fome honest meane and culour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambaffadors were long there. and had no dispatche : considering also they were cunninge men, and coulde easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some aunswere for them, and so to fend them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any private ill willor malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought: but bicause he generally hated Philosophy, and of an ambition despised the muses, & knowledge of the Greeke

F tongue. Which was the more suspected, bicause he had sayd, the auncient Socrates was but a busie man, and a sturrer vp of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to vsurpetyranny, and tule in his contrie: by peruerting and chaunging the manners and customes of the fame, and

388 MARCUS CATO. alluringe the subjectes thereof to a dislikinge of their lawes and auncient customes. Andle A laughed at Socrates schoole, that taught the arte of eloquence: saying, his schollers waxed old and were still so long alearning, that they ment to vse their eloquence and pleade causes in a other worlde, before Minos, when they were dead. Therefore, to plucke his sonne from the study of the Greeke tongue, he sayd to him with a strayned voyce, and in a bigger found then he was wont to doe: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that he longe as the ROMAINES disposed them selves to study the Greeke tongue, so longe would they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine wordes falle and vn. true. For the citie of Rome did neuer florishe so much, nor the Romaine Empire was ener so great, as at that time, when learninge and the Greeke tongue most florished. However Cato did not onely hate the Philosophers of GREECE, but did dillike them also, that professed phisicke in Rome. For he had either hearde or red the aunswere Hippocrates made, when the king of PERSIA fent for him, and offered him a great fumme of golde and filuer, if he would come and ferue him: who sware he would neuer serue the barbarous people, that were name rall enemies to the GREECIANS. So Cato affirmed, it was an othe that all other philitions sware euer after : wherefore he commaunded his fonne to flie from them all alike, and faved he hadde wrytten a litle booke of phisicke, with the which he did heale those of his house when they were ficke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bringe them vppe with erbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard ringedoues, and hares: for fuch meates, fayd he, are good for the ficke, and light of difgeftion fauing that they make them dreame and morte that eate them. He boafted also how with this (maner of phisicke, he did alwayes keepe him felfe in health, and his family from fickenes, Ye for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of : for he buried both his wife, and his sonne also. But he him selfe was of a stronge nature, and a lusty body, full of strength, and health, and lived long without sickenesse: so that when he was a very olde man and pastingriage, he loued women well, and maried a younge maiden for that cause onely. After his fift wife was dead, he maried his sonne vnto Paulus AEmylius daughter, the fifter of Scipio, these conde A FRICAN. Cato him selse beinge a widower, tooke paines with a prety younge maile that waited in his house, and came by stellth to his chamber: howebeit this haunt couldence long continue fecret in his house, and specially where there was a younge gentlewoman maried, but needes must be spied. So, one day when this young maide went somewhat boldly bil the chamber of young Cato, to go into his father, the young man fayd neuer a word at it:yet his father perceiued that he was somewhat ashamed, and gaue the maide no good countenaunce. Wherefore findinge that his fonne and daughter in lawe were angry with thematter, fayinge nothinge to them of it, nor shewinge them any ill countenaunce: he wentone morninge to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongelt whome was one Salonius, that had bene his clearke, and wayted vpon him as the rest did, Coto calling him out alowde by his name, asked him if he hadde not yet bestowed his daughter. Salonius aunswered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor woulde not, before he made him privie to it. Then Cato tolde him againe: I have founde out a husbande for her, and a found

Cato talketh with Salonius his clarke about the mariage of his daughser.

in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill matche for her, vnleffe she mislike the age of the man, E for in deede he is very olde, but otherwise there is no faulte in him. Salonius tolde him 2gaine, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter also, prayinge him even to make what matche he thought good for her: for the was his humble feruaunt, and relyed wholly vppon him, standinge in neede of his fauor and furtheraunce. Then Cato beganne to discouer, and tolde him plainely he would willingely mary her him felfe. Salonius therewith was abathed, bicause he thought Cato was too olde to mary then, and him selfe was no fitte manne to matche in any honorable house, speciallie with a Confull and one that haddetiiumphed: howebeit in the ende, when he fawe Cato ment good earnest, he was very glad of the matche, and so with this talke they went on together to the markette place, and agreed then vpon the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, Cato the fonne taking F fome of his kinne and frendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thinge, that for spight he shoulde bringe him a steppe mother into his house.

and to leave many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some fay that Pi- feconde mafiftratus the tyran of ATHENS, made fuch a like aunswere vnto the children of his first wife, viage, which were men growen, when he maried his seconde wife Timonassa, of the towne of Ar-Gos. of whom he had (as it is reported) Jophon, and Theffalus. But to returne againe to Cato, Cato maried he had a fonne by his fecond wife, whom he named after her name, Cato SALONIAN: and his describer, beeldest sonne died in his office beinge Prætor, of whome he often speaketh in diuerse of his ing avery old bookes, commendinge him for a very honest man, And they say, he tooke the death of him man, and bad very paciently, and like a graue wife man, not leaving therefore to do any feruice or businesse a some by B for the state, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not, as Lucius Lucullus, & Me- How Caso paftellus surnamed Pius, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouern-fedhis age.

ill will of the citizens, he chaunged the rest of his life into quietnes, and for sooke the citie and

all dealings in common wealth, and went & dwelt in the contry. But as there was one that told

Dionylius, the tyran of Syrac vsa, as it is wrytten, that he could not die more honorably, then

to be buried in the tyranny: euen fo did Cato thinke, that he could not waxe more honestlie.

olde, then in feruing of the common wealth, vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Ca-

woulde needes shew such singularity and skill in all thinges: when he was in his house in the

contry, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neigh-

bours, and fuch as had lande lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be

A Then his father cried out, & fayd: O my fonne, I pray thee fay not fo, I like well all thou doeft, carret more

and I finde no cause to complaine of thee: but I do it, bicause I desire to have many children. I were to his

ment and state, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duety, wherevnto enery honest man whilest he lived, was bounde in all piety. Nor as Scipio A FRI CAN hadde done before him, who perceiuing that the glory & fame of his doings did purchase him the

towas desirous a little to recreate and refresh him selfe, he passed his time away in makinge of bookes, and lookinge vppon his husbandry in the contry. This is the cause why he wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the contry, he did tende tinges and and followe all in his youth, for his profit. For he fayed he had but two fortes of revenue, til- monuments. lage, and sparinge: but in age, whatsoeuer he did in the contry, it was all for pleasure, and to Catoesrenelearne fome thinge euer of nature. For he hath wrytten a booke of the contry life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth howe to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe frutes. He

D mery with them: fo that his company was not onely pleasaunt, and likinge to olde folkes as Catago comhim felfe, but also to the younger sorte. For he had seene much, and had experience in many per staffent thinges, and vsed much pleasaunt talke, profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord one of the chiefest meanes to breede loue amongest men, and at his owne table woulde alwayes The table 4 praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in their good meane praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable acte and feruice he did in the common love, and how wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for in deede he that wanne it, and rafed it veterly, sable salke was Scipio the seconde, but it was chiefely through Catoes counsell and aduise, that the last Mould be vwarre was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, and it chaunced apon this occasion. fed. Cato was fent into A FRICKE to understande the cause and controuersie that was between the of the last CARTHAGINIANS and Maßiniffa, kinge of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. warres against the Carbagi-

wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high fayle, and stowped not for a little. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMAINES to leave to vnderstande the contro-F uersies betweet the Carthaginians and Massinista, and rather to provide betimes to destroye CARTHAGE, that hadde beene euer an auncient ennemie to the ROMAINES, and euer fought to be reuenged of that they hadde fuffered at their handes before, and that they

And he was fent thither, bicaufe king Massinissa had euer bene a frend vnto the Romaines, nians.

and for that the CARTHAGINTANS were become their confederates fince the last warres, in

the which they were ouerthrowen by Scipio the first, who tooke for a fyne of them, a great

parte of their Empire, and imposed apon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Now when

he was come into that contrie, he founde not the citie of CARTHAGEIN miserie, beggerie,

and out of harte, as the ROMAINES supposed : but full of lusty youthes very riche and weal-

thie, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the

were now growen to that greatnes and corage in fo shorte time, as in manner it was incredial

ble: fo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMAINES, as they cue

did before. Therefore so some as he returned to Rome, the plainly tolde the Senate, that the losses and harmes the Carthaginians had received by the last warres they had with them had not so much diminished their power & strength, as the same had shewed their owne follow & lacke of wildom: for it was to be feared much, least their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres nowe with the Nr. MIDIANS, to exercise them onely, meaninge afterwardes to warre with them selues : and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission & stay of warres, only expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They fay moreouer, that befides theperfwafions he vied, he brought with him of purpole, A FRICKE figges in his long fleeues, which a he shooke out amongest them in the Senate. When the Senators maruailed to see so goodly faver greene figges, he fayed: the contry that beareth them, is not about three dayes failing

THE COMPARISON OF

Ow that we have fette downe in wrytinge, these notable and worthie Aristides and things of memory: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life Catoer acceffe of the other, perhappes the difference between the one and the other wealth. will not eafily be differned, feeinge there be fo many fimilitudes and resemblances one of an other. But if we come to compare them in euery particularity, as we would doe Poets workes, or pictures drawen in tables: first, in this we shall finde them much a like, that having had nothing else to preferre and commende them, but their onely vertue & wildom, they have bene both governors in their common wealth,

and have thereby atchieued to great honor and estimacion. But me thinkes when Aristides B came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of ATHENS was then of nogreat power, and therefore it was easie for him to set him selse in prease. Besides, the other gouernors and captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich. nor of great authority. For the taxe of the richest persones then at ATHENS in revenue, was but at fine hundred bushells of corne, and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni, The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushells, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where Marem Cato comminge out of a litle village, from a rude contry life, went at the first dashe (as it were)to plunge him selfe into a bottomles sea of gouernment in the comon wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by fuch gouernors and captaines, as Curius, Fabricius, and Oltilius C were in old time. For the people of ROME did no more bestow their offices upon such meane laboring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they woulde looke now apon the nobility of their houses, and vpon their riches, that gaue them most money, or fued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they woulde be waited vpon, and fued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honorable offices of

the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to haue Themistocles an aduer fary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goodes his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fine hundred talentes, when he beganne to deale in state) in respect as to contende for the chiefest place of honor and authority against Scipio African, Seruilius Galba, or Quintius Flaminius, hauing no other main-E tenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnes. Moreover, Aristides at the battells of MARATHON, and of PLATES, was but one of the tenne captaines of the ATHENIANS: where Cate was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Cenfors, before seuen other that made

fute for it, which were all men of great reputacion in the citie, and yet was Cato preferred be-

KK iiij

Aristides was Marcus Cato.

from Rome. But yet this is more straunge which they reporte of him besides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was ever the one ende of his tale: me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be vtterly destroyed. Publius Scipio Nasica, vsed ener in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE should stand. This against Cato, froying of

Scipio Rafica, Publius Scipio faw, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and infolency were full of abfurdities, and carried them felues very high, by reason of their happy successed and victories, and were io lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule, them: and that by reason of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bringe their citie to what height they would. Therefore he spake it, that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwayes continue as about dle, to raigne in the infolency of the people of Rome, who knew well enough, that the Case

THAGINIANS Were of no sufficient power to make warres with the Romaines, nor yet too. uercome them: and even so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all Cato still replied to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest daunger of all: that a cine

which was ever of great force and power, and had bene punished by former warres and milery, would alwayes have an eye of revenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his halter, that being vnbridled, would runne vpon his rider. And therfore he thought

it not good, nor founde aduise, so to suffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their strength but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they floods D in to loofe their conquest: and specially, when they left meanes within the city selfe to fall fill againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion, of the thirde and last warre the ROMAINES had against the CARTHAGINIANS, But now when the warre was begonne, Cato died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would fay, who it should be that should ende those warres. And it was Scipio the second, who being

a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell ouer a thousand footemen: but in all

battells, and wherefoeuer there was warres, he shewed him selfe euer valliant and wife. Infomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto Rome, and Cato hearinge them, spake as they fay, these two verses of Homer:

> This only man right vvise, reputed is to be, all other seeme but shadovves set, by such vvise men as he.

Which prophecy, Scipio soone after confirmed true by his doinges. Moreouer, the issue Cato left behinde him, was a fonne he had by his feconde wife: who was called (as we fayd before) Cato SALONIAN, by reason of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldest some that diedbefore him. This Cato SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a fonne behinde him that came to be Confull, and was grandfather vnto Cato the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

Catoes poste-

Carthage.

THE

fore them all. Furthermore, Ariftides was never the chiefest in any victory. For at the battel A of MARATHON, Miltiades was the generalliand at the battell of SALAMINA, Themiftocles and at the iorney of PLAT EES, king Paulanias as Herodotus fayeth, who wryteth that he had a maruelous victory there. And there were that striued with Aristides for the second place as Sophanes. Amynias. Callimachus, and Cynegirus, euery one of the which did notable vallianties. uice at those battells. Now Cato was generall him selfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthings and counfell, during the warre he made in SPAYNE, while he was Confull. Afterwards also in

excelled Arithe iorney where king Antiochus was ouerthrowen in the contry of THERMOPYLES, Cato be-

ing but a Colonell of a thousande footemen, and seruinge under an other that was Conful wanne the honor of the victory, when he did fodainely fet vpon Antiochus behinde, whereas he looked only to defend him selfe before. And that victory, without all doubt was one of the R chiefest actes that euer Cato did, who draue Asia out of GREECE, and opened the way vito Lucius Scipio to passe afterwardes into Asia. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the Aristides and Cases difpleasures in the common wealth.

other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and civill government, Arillider was supplanted by Themistocles, who by practise got him to be banished ATHENS for a time Whereas Cato had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of Rome that were in his time, fworne enemies vnto him: and having alwayes contended with them even to his last hower. he euer kept him felfe on sounde grounde, like a stoute champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foyle. For he having accused many before the people, and many also accusing him: him fells The power of was never once condemned, but alwayes his tongue was the buckeler and defence of his life

impocency & and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himselfe C fo in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he neuer received dishonor, nor was vniustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to2. ny other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a fingular gift, as Antipater witneffeth. in that he wrote of Ariftotle the Philosopher after his death: laying, that amongest many other fingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he coulde perfwade whathe lifted. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a city: a parte where of is Oeconomia, comonly called houserule, considering that a city is no other, then an affembly of many householdes and houses together, & then is the city commonly strong & ofpower, when as the townes men and citizens are wife and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that ba-D

nished golde and silver from LACED EMON, and coyned them money of iron, that wouldebe marred with fyre & vinegre when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not onely cut of all superfluous expences that commonly wayte vppon riches, but did also prouide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to line withall, fearing more to see a begger and new persone dwellinge in his citie, and enjoy the priviledges of the same, then a proude manby reason of his riches. So methinkes, Cato was as good a father to his householde, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honeftly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by fauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof, in his booke he wrote fundry good rules and precepts. Ariftides contrariwife, made inflice odious & flam. E derous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans felfe that vsed iustice. And yet Hesiodus the Poet, that commendeth iusticeso much, doth wishe vs withall to be good husbandes, reprouing sloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all injustice. And therefore me thinkes Homer spake wifely when he faved.

In times past neither did I labor, carcke nor care for busines, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare: but rather did delight, with shippes the feaes to faile, to drown a bown, to fling a dart in wwarres, and to premaile. As giving vs to vnderstand, that instice & husbandry are two relatives, & necessarily lincked

one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne thinges, nor house, doth line F The name of vniustly, and taketh from other men. For instice is not like oyle, which Phisitions fay is very holfome for mannes body, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man

A drinkeit: neither ought a just man to profitte straungers, and in the ende not to care for him felfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this gouerninge vertue of Ariftides had a fault in this re- No man wife, fnect, if it be true that most authors wryte of him: that he had no care nor forecast with him that is not to leaue fo much, as to mary his daughters with all, nor therewith to bury him felfe. Where those of the house of Cato, continued Prætors and Consulls of Rome, evenynto the fourte diffeent. For his fonnes fonnes, and yet lower, his fonnes fonnes fonnes came to the greatest offices of dignity in all Rome. And Ariftides, who was in his time the chiefest ma of Greece.

left his posterity in so great pouerty, that some were compelled to become Soothsavers (that interprete dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their living, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might B he favd, pouerty of it selfe is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idlenes, care- nerry be an ill leffe life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth apon any man that is ho- thing. neft, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, just, valliant, wife, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great figne of a noble minde. For it is vnpoffible that man thould doe any great thinges, that had fuch a base minde, as to thinke alwayes vppon trifles: and that he should relieve the poore greatly, that lacketh him selfe reliefe in many thinges. And fure, riches is not so necessary for an honest man that will deale truely in the common wealth, and gouernment, as is fufficiency: which beinge a contentacion in it felfe, and defi-

rous of no superfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enjoyeth the fame. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no neede of any thinge at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, and that commeth nearest vinto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to have neede of leaft thinges. For like as a lufty body, and well complexioned, hath no neede of fuperfluous fare and curious apparell: euen so a cleane life, and sounde house, is kept with a litle charge. and so should ethe goodes also be proportioned, accordinge to vie and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no defire to spend much then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he neederh : and if he do defire it and dare not for niggardlines spende parte of that he laboreth for, then is he miserable. Now woulde I aske Cato with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vie them, why do you boast then you have gotten much together, when a litle doth fuffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in D troth it is) to be contented with the breade you finde, to drinke of the fame tappe workemen and laborers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for houses with plattered walles: it followeth then that neither Arillides, nor Epaminondas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabricius, haueforgotten any parte of their dueties, when they cared not for gettinge of that which they would not vse nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed rootes and parsenippes to be one of the best dishes in the worlde, and that did seeth them him selfe in his

to wryte by what arte and industry a man might quickely enrich him selfe. For it is true, that fufficiency, and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thinge: but it is bicause it taketh from vs all defire of vnnecessary thinges, and maketh vs not to passe for them. E And therefore we finde that Ariftides fayd, when riche Callias case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their willes, might wel be ashamed of their pouerty: but such as were willingly poore, had good cause, and might justly rejoyce at it. For itwere a mad parte to thinke that Ariftides pourty proceeded of a base minde & slothfulnes, since he might quickely have made him felfe rich without any dishonesty at all, by taking only the spoyle of some one of the barbarous people whome he had ouercome, or any one of their tentes. Butenough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victories and battells Cato had wonne, they didin maner Whiter A. litle helpe to increase the Empire of Rome: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no vilide fatter greater. But Aristides victories are the greatest conquestes and noblest actes that the GREE- did mest bene-CIANS ever did in any warres : as the iorney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the fit their com-

chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Affe, and to take paines

F battell of PLATEES. And yet there is no teason to compare king Antiochus with king Xerxes, my. nor the walles of the citie of SPAYNE which Cato ouerthrewe and rafed, vnto fo many thoufands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the fword by the GREE-

CIANS, as well by lande, as by fea. In all which feruices, Ariffides was the chiefest beforeal other, as touching his valliantnes in fighting: notwithstanding, he gaue other the glory of it

that defired it more then him selfe, as he did easily also leave the gold & silver vnto those the had more neede of it then him felfe. Wherein he shewed him felfe of a nobler minde, thenall they did. Furthermore, for my parte, I will not reproue Catoes manner, to commende and extoll him selfe so highly aboue all other, since he him selfe sayth in an oration he made, that me praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himselfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that defireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth vie to praise

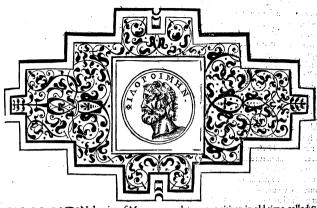
him felfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great flew of humanity, & necessary for him that will Ambition, a liue amongest men of gouernment: and even so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth greaten. uv vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which Ariftides was cleare, and Cato farre gone in R it. For Aristides did help Themistocles his chiefest enemie, in all his noblest actes, and did sense him(as a man would fay) like a private fouldier that garded his persone, when Themistocles was generall, beinge the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was in deede the onely cause that the city of ATHENS was faued, and restored againe to her former good state, Cate contrariwife, croffing Scipio in all his enterprifes, thought to hinder his voyage and iorney vn to CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame Hanniball, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and so in the ende, continuing him still in lealouzy with the state, and euer accusinge of him, he neuer left him, till he had driven him out of the city, and caused his brother Lucius

Scipio to be shamefully condemned for thest, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore for temperaunce and modesty, which Cato did euer commende so highly: Aristides truely kept (cato retroued them most fincerely. But Catoes seconde wife, who maried a maide, (that was neither fit for his for his fecond dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he can not be excused with honesty, that beinge a man past mariage, brought his sonne that was maried, and his fayer daughter in lawe, a steppe mother into his house, and but a clearkes daughter, whose father did wryte for money, for any man that woulde hyer him. Take it Cato maried her to fatisfie his luft, or else for spite to be revenged of his sonne, bicause his sonne coulde not abide his younge filth he had before: either of

these turneth still to his shame, as wel the effect, as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he maried, was also alve. For if he had grounded his desire in deede, to have gotten other children, as he fayd, that might be as honest men as his eldest sonne: then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him an other wife soone after, that had bene of an honest house, and not to have lien with a young harlatry filth, tilhis fonne had spiedhim, and then when he faw it was knowen, to goe and mary her, and to make alliance with him. not bicause it was honorable for him to do it, but was easiest to be obtained.

The ende of Marcus Catoes life the Cenfor.

THE LIFE Philopæmen.



N the city of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called Caf-Jander, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in go-Quernmet there, as any man of his time what foeuer. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the ende, infomuch as he was driven out of his contry, and went to lye in the city of MrGAL OPOLIS, only for crants, phi 2 the loue he bare vnto Crausis, Philopamenes father, a rare man, and no topamenes bly geuen in all thinges, and one that loued him also very well. Now father. fo longe as Crausis lived, Cassander was so well vsed at his handes, that

fo longe as Craujes nued, Cajjanuer was to what the worlde, Cafe Caffander he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this worlde, Cafe Caffander he could lacke nothing and when he was departed this worlde, Cafe Caffander he could lack nothing the Canada into his charge he. fander, to requite the loue Crausis bare him in his life time, tooke his sonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as Homer fayd Achilles was brought vp by the olde Phoenix. maifter. So this childe Philopamen grewe to have noble conditions, and increased alwayes from good

to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans state, Ecdemus and Demophanes, both Demophanes MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philosophers that red Philoso-

had bene hearers of Arcesilans, in the schoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all Physic Philothe Philosophy they had learned, apon the gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they delinered their city from the tyranny of Ariftodemus, who kept it in subjection, by corruptinge those that killed him. And they did helpe Aratus also to drive the tyran Niocles, out of Sicron's. At the request of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with civil diffention & factions among them,

C they went vnto Cyrena, where they did reforme the state of the common wealth, and state blished good lawes for them. But for them selues, they reckened the education and bringing vp of Philopamen, the chiefest acte that ever they did: Iudging that they had procured an vnil uerfall good vnto all GREECE, to bring vp a man of fo noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of Philosophy. And to say truely, GRECE did love him passingly well, as the last valliant man on Philotophy. And to lay trulely, Grace did loue him painingly well, as the interaction of the brought foorth in her age, after so many great and famous auncients. Gaptiones: and did the laft amount

alwayes increase his power and authority, as his glory did also rife. VV hereuppon there mas a ma of Greece. ROMAINE, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the Great ans a meaninge, that after him, GREECE neuer brought foorth any worthy persone, descringe the name of a GREECIAN. And now concerninge his persone, he had no ill face, as many suppose he hads

for his whole image is yet to be seene in the city of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were aliue. And for that they reporte of his hostesse in the city of MEGARA, who tooke him for a feruing man: that was by reason of his curtesie, not standing uppon his reputacion, and bicause he went plainely besides. For she vnderstanding that the Generall of the ACHALANA came to Inne there all night, she besturred her, and was very busie preparinge for his supper her husband paraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane feafon came Plan

saken for a Servinge man

lopamen into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The simple woman seeinge him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and fo praved him to lende her his hande in the kitchin. Hestraight cast of his cloke, and beganne to fall to have wodde. So, as Philopamen was busic about it, in commeth her husbande, and findinge him rivinge of wodde: ha ha ha, fayd he, my Lorde Philopæmen, why what meanth a this? Truely nothing elfe, fayd he in his Dorican tongue, but that I am punished, bicaufel am neither fayer boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintius Flaminius fayed one day vnto him. seeminge to mocke him for his personage: O Philopamen, thou hast fayer handes, and good legges, but thou hast no belly, for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Not withstandinge, I take it this leasting etended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his

body: bicaufe he had both good horsemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These geastes, schollers haue taken uppe in schooles, of Philopamen. But now in discend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and defire he had to winne honor in his doinges, was not without fome heate and wilfullnes. For, bicause he would also gether follow Epaminondas steppes, he shewed his hardines to enterprise any thing, his wife of dome to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in civill matters and controversies, he coulde hardly otherwhiles keepe him selfe within

the bondes of modelty, pacience, and curtefie, but woulde often burst out into choller, and wilfulnes. Wherfore it feemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, then a wife gouernor for peace. And in deede, even from his youth he ever loved fouldiers, and armes, and delitted marueloufly in all martiall exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of hories delighted in FATE O MAT

gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And bicause he seemed to have a naturall gift in wrestling. certaine of his frendes, and such as were carefull of him, did wishe him to geue him lefe most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would no hinderaunce to their martiall exercises. Aunswere was made him againe, that the disposed li tion of the persone, and manner of life that wrestlers yied, and such as followed like exercises was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a souldier, and specially touching life and limme. For wreftlers studied altogether to keepe them selues in good plight, by much leeping, eating, and drinking, by laboring, and taking their eafe at certaine howers, by not milfinge a jotte of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to loose the force and strengthos their body, if they did furfit never fo litle, or paffed their ordinary course & rule of diet. Where fouldiers contrariwife are yied to all chaunge, and divertitie of life, and specially be taught

from their youth, to away with all hardnesse, and scarsity, and to watche in the night without fleepe. Philopamen hearing this, did not onely forfake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwardes beinge Generall of an army, he fought by all infamous meanes he coulde to put I downe all wreftling, and fuch kinde of exercise, which made mennes bodies ynmeete to take paines, and to become fouldiers for to fight in defence of their contry, that otherwise would haue bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his booke and schoolemssters, and beganne to weare armor in inuations the MANTINEIANS yied to make uppor the LACED EMONIANS, to getfome spoyle on a sodaine, or to destroy a parte of their contry. Philopamen then would ever be the formost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leafure, he red much hunting in time of peace, all to acquainte his body with toyle and trauell, or else he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a favre mannor, not passinge twenty furlonges out of the city, whether he would walke commonly after dinner or supper

and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon some ill fauored mattrelle, I as the meanest laborer he had, and in the morninge by breake of the day, he went out either

with his vinemen to labor in his vineyard, or elfe with his plough men to follow the plough;

a and fomtimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth with his frendes and other officers of the same. What soeuer he could spare and get in the warres. he foent it in buying of goodly horses, in makinge of fayer armors, or payinge his poore con- Philippanie try mens ransome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his goodes & reuenue, he nes gaines fought onely to increase them, by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the instest and best smoothed way of getting of goodes. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and ftu Philopame-

dy apon it, as one that thought it fit for every noble man & gentleman fo to travaill, governe, nes fludy and and increase his owne, that he should have no occasion to couet or vsurpe an other mannes. Hetookeno pleasure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all fortes of bookes of Philoso-

phy but those onely that would teache him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much n care to read Homers workes, fauinge those places onely that stirred vp mens hartes most vnto valliantnes. But of all other stories, he specially delited to read Euangelus bookes, which wear Philopanne ted of the discipline of warres, how to set battells, and declared the actes and geastes of walks nes deline to xander the great, fayinge: that men shoulde euer bringe his wordes vnto deedes, onlessent lue booker of would take them for vaine stories, and thinges spoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes in distipline of the feates of warre, and how battells shoulde be ordered, he was not onely contented to fee; of warre. them drawen and fet out, in cartes and mappes: but would also put them in execution, in the places them selues as they were set out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of hattell in the fielde, he woulde confider and study with him selfe, the sodaine euentes and approches of the enemies, that might light upon them, when they comming downe to the valky, or going out of a plaine, were to passe a river or a ditche, or through some straight : also when he should spread out his army, or else gather it narrow; and this he did not only forecast by him felfe, but woulde also argue the same with the Captaines that were about him. For Philonamen doubtlesse was one of the odde men of the worlde, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, (and fometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the most large field and most frutefull ground that valliantnes could be exercised in: so that he despised & contemned

all that were no fouldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares? ofage, Cleomenes kinge of LACED E'MON, came one night vpon the fodaine, and gaue an aft fault to the city of M EG AL IPOLIS, so lustely, that he draue backe the watche and got into the market place, and wanne it. Philopamen hearinge of it, ranne immediatly to the refcue. Ne-1 Philopamen D verthelesse, though he fought very valliantly, and did like a noble souldier, yet he coulde not faued the repulse the enemies, nor drive them out of the city. But by this meanes he got his citizens lead the from clefure, and some time to get them out of the towne to faue them selues, staying those that fold omenes king lowed them: and made Cleomenes still waite vpon him, so that in the end he had much a do to of Spara. faue him selfe being the last man, and very fore hurt, & his horse also slaine vnder him. Shorte: very fore ly after, Cleomenes being aduertised that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gotten into the city of hour. MESSINA, sent vnto them to let them understad, that he was ready to deliuer them their city. lands, & goods againe. But Philopamen feeing his contrymen very glad of these newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in half:he stayd them with these perswasions, shewing them that Cleomenes deuise was not to redeliuer the their city, but rather to take the together!

E with their city: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked? walles and empty houses, and that him selfe in the ende should be compelled to goe his way. This perswasion stayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue Cleamenes occasion to burne and plucke downe a great parte of the city, and to cary away a great fumme of money. and a great spoyle, Afterwardes, when kinge Antigonio was come to aide the ACHAIANS 24 King Antigo. gainst Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the toppe of the mountaines of Sollafia, and kepelnus came to all the passages and wayes vnto them out of all those quarters; king Antigorus set his army in chair against battel hard by him, determining to fet upon him, and to drive him thence if he could possibly clement Philopemen was at that time amongest the horsemen with his citizens, who had the It with the way Ans on the fide of them, being a great number of footenen & excellent good fouldiers, which is the state of them being a great number of footenen & excellent good fouldiers, which is the state of the p, did thut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to fland ftil, and tokepe their were commaunded to fland ftil, and tokepe their were commaunded to fland ftil, and tokepe their were commanded to fland ftill the commanded the commanded to fland ftill the commanded the commanded the commanded the commanded the command

place, vntill fuch time as they did show them a redde coate of armes on the toppe of a pyke france hards from the other wing of the battell, where the king him selfe stoode in persone. Notwith a dis viscomme.

ding this straight commundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no lengtr. A but went to fee if they could force the LACED EMONIANS that kept on the top of the mount taines. The ACHAIANS contrariwife, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded Euclidas. Cleomenes brother, perceiuing thus their enemies footemen were feuered from their horsemen lodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers & lustiest fellowes he had in his bands, to geue a charge voon the ILLYRIANS behinde, to proue if they could make them turne the faces on them, bicause they had no horsemen for their garde. This was done, and these links armed men did marueloufly trouble and diforder the LLYRIANS. Philopamen perceiuinge that, and confidering howe these light armed men would be easily broken and driven backe. fince occasion selfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he faw he could not make them understand it, and that they made no reckening of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, bicause he had not yet attained any credit or estimacion to be judged a man, that could invent or execute any stratageame of warre the went thither him felfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his first comming, he so trous bled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and slue a number of them. Moreover

to encorage the better king Antigonus men, and to make them geue a lufty charge vpponthe enemies, whilest they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horse, and marcheda foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and ftony wayes, full of springs and quauemyres, being heavely armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fightinge in this forte very painefully and vneafily, he had both his thighes past through with a dart, havinge a leather thonge on the middeft of it. And though the blow did not take much holde of the fleshe, yet was it a stronger blow for it pearced both thighes through & through that the iron was seene on thother side. Then was he so combered with this blow, as if he had bene shackled with irons on his seen.

maruelously, when they thought to have pulled the darte out of the place where it entred in fo as never a man about him durft fet his handes to it. Philopemen on the other fide, feeingthe fight terrible on either fide, and would soone be ended: it spited him to the guttes, he would to faine have bene among them. So at the length he made fuch struggling, putting backeone thigh, and fetting forward an other, that he knapped the staffe of the darte a funder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this fide, and the other on the other fide. Then when he faw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his fword in his hande, and ranne throughthe) middeft of them that fought, vnto the foremost ranckes, to meete with the enemy: so thathe gaue his men a newe corage, and did fet them on fyre with enuy, to followe his vallianmelle, After the battell was wonne, Antigonus asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them: who moued the horfemen to deuide them felues, and give the charge, before the fignethan was commaunded. They aunswered him, that they were forced to doe it against their willes. bicause a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentleman gaue a charge with his company, beforethe figne was given. Then Antigonus laughing, told them: the young gentleman played theparte of a wife and valliant Captaine. This exployte, together with Antigonus testimony, gaue great skill of a foul. reputacion vnto Philopamen, as we may eafily imagine. So king Antigonus maruelously interted him he would ferue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great enter-

> tainement, if he would go with him. But Philopamen refused his offer, and chiefly, bicauselse knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Nothwithstan-

> dinge, bicause he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into CRETA, where he know

there were warres, onely to continue him felfe in exercife thereof. So when he had ferueda

and knew not what to doe: for the leather fastened in the middest of the darte, did greue him

longe time with the CRETANS, which were valliant fouldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of warre, and moreouer were men of a moderate and spare diver he returned home againe to ACHAIA, with so great credit and reputation of every one, that he was presently chosen Generall of all the horsemen. So when he entred intohis charge, he founde many horsemen very ill horsed, upon litle Iades, such as might be gotten cheapest, & how they yet buttomen of norto goe them selves in persone to the warres, but did sende other in their steade: and to be shorte, how they neither had hartes, nor experience of the warres, and all bicause the Generalls and Captaines of the people of the Acharansthat ferued before him, did take no heat

A to those matters, as fearinge to offende any, bicause they had the greatest authority in their handes, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopamen fearinge none of all these thinges, would leaue no parte of his charge and duety vindone, but went him felfe in persone to all the cities, to perswade and encorage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might winne honor in the fielde, be able to defende them felues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perswasion could doe no good, there he would set fynes vnon their heades that so refused, and did vie to muster them oft, and did acquainte them with rilring, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at fuch times and places fpe-B perty is, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when necessitie ferued for the

cially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to give them the lookinge on : that in thorte space he made them very forwarde, proper, andready horsemen, whose chiefest prowhole company of horsemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else euery man by him felfe: they were fo throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe fet in battell ray. did seeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and fooft, as turne they woulde on the one fide, or on the other. Now in a great hattell the Achaians had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the river of Lariffus: Demoblantus, Generall of the horsemen of the Æ TOLIANS, came from his company to fight with i hilopamen, who also made towardes him, and gave him first such a blow with his speare,

that he strake him starke deade. When Demophantus fell to the grounde, his fouldiers fled by Philopanners and by vpon it. This wanne Philopamen great honor, who gaue no place to the youngest men flue Democ infighting most valliantly with his owne handes: nor to the oldest men in wisedome, for the phonous Gewise leading of his army. In deede the first man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in po- horsemen of wer and greatnes, was Aratus: for before his time ACHAIA was of small reckeninge, bicause the AEtothe cities of the same stoode deuided between them selues, and Aratus was the first manne The praise of that made them iowne together, and stablished amonge them an honest civill government, Philopamen Whereby it happened, that as we fee in brookes and rivers where any litle thinge stoppeth Aratus raifed Achaia to and falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there greaters. the rest that followeth doth vie to stay, and goe no further : even so in the cities of GREECE that were in harde state, and fore weakened, by faction one against an other, the ACHAIANS were the first that stayed themselues, and grewe in amity one with the other, and afterwardes

Aratus lived, they depended most apon the strength and power of the MACED ONIANS: first with stickinge vnto kinge Ptolomie, and then vnto Antigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in manner all the state of GREECE. But when Philopamen came to gouerne, and to be the chiefest Philopamen man, the ACHAIANS beinge stronge enough to resist the strongest, woulde marche then no and Aratus more under any other bodies enfigne, nor woulde fuffer any more thraunge gouernors or Araus a lefe Captaines ouer them. For Aratus (as it seemed) was somewhat to softe and colde for the manin wares. E warres, and therefore the most thinges he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kinges frendshippes with whome he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopamen beinge a manne of execution, hardy and valliant of persone, and of

rage and hartes of the ACHAIANS: bicause vnder his charge they ever foiled their enemies, and alwayes hadde the vpper hande ouer them . The first thinge Philopæmen beganne withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of fettinge of their tables, and their facion of arminge them sclues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which bicause they were der and discithinne and narrowe, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vied speares farre shorter then pline of wars, pykes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmishe and fight a farre of:

very good fortune, in the first battell that he euer made, did maruelously encrease the co-

D drewe on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederats.

Some by helpinge and deliueringe them from the oppression of tyrans, and winninge other

also by their peaceable gouernment and good concorde: they had a meaninge in this wife, to bringe all the contrie of PELOPONNESUS into one body and league. Neuertheleffe, while

F but when they came to joyne battell, their enemies then hadde great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knewe not what it ment, nor to cast them selves into asnaill or ringe, but onely vsed the square battell, nor yet gaue it any such fronte where the

pykes of many ranckes might pushe together, and where the fouldiers might stande so close that their targettes should touch one an other, as they do in the squadron of the battell of the MACEDONIANS: by reason whereof, they were soone broken, and ouerthrowen. Philopenes. reformed all this, perswading them to vie the pyke and shielde, in steade of their litle target, fpeare. or borestaffe, and to put good morryans or burganettes on their heades, corfelenes on their bodies, and good taffes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not geuinge a foote of grounde, as light armed men that runne to and fro in a skirmishe. And thus havinge perswaded and taught the younge men to atme them selues throughlie, first he made them the bolder and more coragious to fight, as if they had bene menne that coulde not have bene overcome : then he turned all their vaine fuperfluous charge, into necessarie and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them al. R together from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceede an other: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beddes, hanginges, curious service at the table, and delicate kinde of dishes. But to beginne to withdrawe thisde. fire in them which they hadde, to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous and vnnecessarie

things, and to like of thinges necessarie, and profitable: he wished them to looke more nere-

breakinge of younge horses, and younge men exercisinge armes. Womens handes also were

full of morryans and heade peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of

fundry colours, and were also full of imbrodered arminge coates and cassockes, with curious

and very riche workes. The fight of which brauerie did heave vppe their hartes, and made

them gallant and lively: fo as enuy bred straight in them who shoulde doe best service, and

no way spare for the warres. In deede, sumptuousnesse and brauerie in other sightes, dothse

cretely cary mens mindes away, and allure them to feeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanishe persones: bicause this sweete ticklinge, and intifinge of the

outwarde sence that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and li

corage of the minde. But againe, the fumptuous cost bestowed apon warlike furniture, doth

to exercise them continuallie in armes: wherein they did not onely shewe them selues obdient to him, but did moreouer striue one to excell an other, and to doe better then their

fellowes. For they liked maruelous well the orderinge of the battell he hadde taught them,

bicause that standinge so close together as they did, they thought surely they coulde hard !

ly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuaunce of time, beinge muche vied to weare their ar-

ly to their ordinarie charge about them felues, takinge order as well for their apparell, as also for their diet, and to spare in them, to come honorablic armed to the fielde, for defence of their contrie. Thereuppon, if you had looked into the goldesmithes shoppes, ye should have into brane & feene nothinge else in their handes, but breakinge and batteringe of pottes of golde and filuer, to be cast and molton downe againe, and then gildinge of armors and targettes, and silver uering of bittes. In the showe places for the runninge of horses, there was mannedging and

incorage and make great a noble harte. Euen as Homer fayeth it did Achilles, when his moincorageth ther brought him newe armor and weapons, the hadde caused Vulcan to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who feeinge them, coulde not tarie, but was straight fette on fire with defire to occupie them. So when Philopæmen hadde brought the youth of ACHAIA to this good passe, to come thus brauely armed and furnished into the fielde, he begannethen

Philopamen made warres with Macha-Lacedemon.

mor, they founde them a great deale easier and lighter then before, besides the pleasure they tooke to fee their armor fo braue, and fo riche: infomuch as they longed for fome occasion to trye them straight uppon their enemies. Now the Achains at that time were at warrs with Machanidas, the tyranne of LACED EMON, who fought by all deuise he coulde with a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was brought that Machanidas was come into the contrie of the MANTINIANS, Philopemen straight marched towardes him with his army : so they mett bothe not farre from the citie of MANTINEA, where by and by they put them selves in order of battell. They both hadde entertayned in paye a great number of straungers to serue them, besides the whole force F of their contrie : and when they came to joyne battell, Machanidas with his straungers gaue such a lustie charge vppon certainessinges and archers being the forlorne hope whome

a Philopamen had cast of before the battell of the Achaians to beginne the skirmishe, that he Battell fought overthrew them, & made them flie withal. But where he should have gone on directly against bemene Phithe ACHAIANS that were ranged in battellray, to have proved if he could have broken them: Machanidas, he was very busie, and earnest still, to follow the chase of them that first fled, and so came hard by the ACHALANS that stoode still in their battel, and kept their ranckes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but call away. But Philangemen made as though it had bene nothinge, and that he fet light by it, and foving the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the fourre, whom they had overthrowen, and straying so farre from the battell of their footemen, whome they had left naked, and the field open apon them: he did not make towardes them to stay them, nor did striue to stop R the that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered the to take their course. And when he faw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his mensmarche apon

the LACED & MONIANS, whose sides were naked, having no horesemen to gardthem: and so did fet upon them on the one fide, and ranne so hastely on them to winne one of their flancks. that he made them flie, and flue withall a great number of them. For it is faid, there were foure thousand LACED & MONIANS slaine in the field, bicaule they had no man to leade them: and our came moreouer, they fay they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the fielde. Machanidas whe they faw Machanidas chasing stil those vpon the spurre, whom he had ouerthrowe. After amp spran of this. Philopamen retyred to mete Machanidas, who came backe from the chase with his straungers. But by chaunce there was a great broade ditch between them, so as both of them rode v-

conthe banckes sides of the same, a great while together, one against an other of them:thone

fide feking fome convenient place to get over and flie, & the other fide feking meanes to kepe

them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sorte, it appeared as they

had bene wild beaftes brought to an extreamity to defend them felues by force from fo fierce

ahunter as Philopæmen was. But whileft they were striuing thus, the tyrans horse that was lu-

fly and coragious, and felt the force of his masters spurres pricking in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comminge to the banckes fide, floode apon his

hindemost legges, and aduaunced forward with his foremost feere, to reach to the other side.

Then Simmias and Polyanus, who were about Philopamen when he fought, ran thither straight to kepe him in with their bore staues that he should not leape the ditche. But Philopamen who D was there before the, perceiving that the tyrans horse by lifting up his head so high, did cover all his maisters body: for sooke by and by his horse, and tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyran with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the Philopamer A CHALANS that did highly esteeme this valliant acte of his, and his wisedome also in leadinge sue Machaof the battell: did fet up his image in braffe, in the temple of Apollo in DELPHES, in the forme nidsa. he flue the tyran. They fay, that at the affembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they folemnife in honor of Hercules, not farre from the citic of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the second time of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and beinge at good leafure also by reason of the feast: he first shewed all the GREEC IANS that were comethither to fee the games and pastimes, his army raunging infor-E der of battell, and made them see how easily they remoued their places every way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troublinge or confoundinge their ranckes, and that with a maruelous force & redines. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the musitians play, and sing to their instrumentes, who should winne the best game, being accompanied with lufty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple clokes, and in skarlet coates & cassockes they ware apon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well given & disposed:who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & besides that, shewed the selves: inwardly of noble hartes, being incoraged by many notable battells they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victory, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chauce,

as they were entred into the Theater, Pylades the mulitian, finginge certaine poemes of Time-

F theus, called the Perfes, fell into these verses. O Greekes, it is even he, wwhich your prosperity Hath given to you: and there with all a noble liberty.

the Bœotians flee for feare.

Nabis tyran of Lace-Mc fina.

Philosemen. bis the tyran of Lacede-Philopame nes seconde jorney into Creta difcom-

mended.

When he had sweetely song out allowde these noble verses, passingly well made: the whole A affembly of the GREBCIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to fee the games, caff all their eyes straight vpon Philopamen, and clapped their handes one to an other for iov, bi. cause of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should foone recourt their auncient reputacion, and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy mindes of their auncesters. And as younge horse that doe alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinario riders, if any straunger get vp on their backes, do straight waxe straunge to be handeled, and make great a do: euen fo, when the ACHAIANS came to any daungerous battell, their harres were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then Philopamen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they fawe him ener, the whole army rejoyced, and defired straight to be at it, they had fuch confidence in his valliantnesse and good fortune : and truely R not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stande before him: bicause they were asrayed to heare his name only, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip kinge of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to dispatche Philopemen out of the way, how soeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would straight take parteagaine with him: fent men fecretly into the city of ARG os, to kill him by treason. How beit the practise was difcouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GREECIANS generally, and no ken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIAN slayed fiege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to have wonne it at the first affault: there role a rumor fodainely amongest them, that Philopamen came to aide the city, and was not same Legamin made from it with his army. But it was a falle reporte. Notwithstandinge, the Bobotianswere of scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behinde them, which they had set against the walls to have scaled the towne, and fled straight to save them selves. An other time, when Nabis the tyran of LACED EMON, that succeeded Machanidas, had taken the city of Messi-NA vppon the sodaine: Philopamen being then a private man, and havinge no charge of souldiers, went vnto Lylippus, General of the Achaians that yere, to perswade him that he would fend present aide vnto them of MESSINA. Lysippus told him, it was to late now to goe thither. and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it already, Philopæmen perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither him selfe with the force of MESSINA only, not staying for the affembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that were in confell about it, to give him commission by voyces of the people to take them with him: butthey D all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continual! Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieft of all other to commaunde them. Now when he came neere vnto MES-SINA, Nabis hearinge of his comminge, durst not tary him, though he had his army within the city, but stale out at an other gate, and marched away in all the hast he could, thinking him selse a happy man and he could so escape his handes, and retyre with safety, as in dede he acomerca inte na from Na- hitherto concerning Philopamen, falleth out doutlesse to his great honor and glory: but afterwardes he was greatly dispraised for a iorney he made into CRETA, at the request of the Gor-TYNIANS, who fent to pray him to be their Captaine, being fore troubled with warres at that time. Bicause Philopamen went then to serue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyranne Nabis had E greatest warres with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their owne contry: they laid it to his change, either that he did it to flie the warres, or else that he fought honor out of feafon with foreme nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in fuch distresse, that their contry being loft and destroyed, they were driven to keepe them within their city, and to low all their voide groundes and streetes in the same with corne, to susteine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their towne gates. And the rather, bicause him felfe making warres with the C RET ANS, and feruing straungers beyonde the sea in the meane time, gaue his enemyes occasion to slaunder him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his contry. Againe, there were that fayd, bicause the Achaians did choose other for their Generall, that he being a private man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruelously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that coulde not abide to liue idlely, and that defired specially about

A all things to ferue continually in the warres, and to put in practife his skill and discipline in the leading of an army. The wordes he spake one day of king Ptolomie doth witnesse as much. For when there were some that praised king Ptolomie highly, saying that he trained his army well, and that he still continued his persone in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (favd he) of his yeares, to delite in traininge his men to exercise armes, but to doe some acto him selfe in persone. Well, in the ende, the MEGAL OPOLITANS tooke his abscence in such cuil parte, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needes have banished him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIANS fent their Generall Ariflanetty vnto them, who would not fuffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was euer contention between them about matters of the common R wealth. Afterwards, Philopamen perceiuing his contrymen made no more accompt of him, Philopamen to fright them withall, he made diverse small villages and cities rebell against them, & taught made diverse them to say, & to give it out, that they were not their subjects, neither payed them tribute from the beginning : and he made them stande to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the Achaians. city of MEGALIPOLIS, before the councell of the ACHAIANS. These things happened shortly after. But whilest he made warres in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he shewed not himself APELOPONNE SIAN, nor like a man borne in Arc ad Ia, to make plaine & open warres; but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vie their owne policies, fine deuiles, & ambushes The Cretans against them selues. And made them know also, that all their crafts, were but childish sportes politicke men as it were : in respect of those that were deuted, and put in execution, by a wife experienced Captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So, Philopamen having wonne great fame by his actes done in CRETA, returned against to PELOPONNESVS, where he founde, that Philipkinge of MACED ON had bene ouercome in battell, by Titus Quintius Flaminius: and that the ACHAI-ANS joyning with the ROMAINES, did make warre against the tyran Nabis, against whome he was made Generall immediatly ypon his returne, and gaue him battell by fea. In the which it feemed he fell into like misfortune, as Epaminondas did: the event of this battell fallinge out Philosomen much worse with him, then was looked for, in respect of his former corage and valliantnesse, made Gene-But as for Epaminondas, some say he returned willingly out of Asia, and the Iles, without any rall of the Asian a exployte done, bicaufe he would not have his contrymen fleshed with spoyle by sea, as fearing gainst Nabie, leaft of valliant fouldiers by lande, they would by litle and litle (as Plato favd) become diffolute n mariners by sea. But Philopæmen contrariwise, presuming upon the skill he had to set the battellingood order by lande, woulde needes take vppon him to do the same by sea. But he was Philopamen taught to his cost to know what exercise and experience ment, and howe stronge it maketh our come by them that are practifed in thinges. For he loft not onely the battell by fea, beinge vnskilfull of fea. that feruice: but he committed besides a fowler errour, For that he caused an old shippe to be rigged, which had bene very good of feruice before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and imbarked his contrymen into the fame, which were all likely to perish, bicause the shippe had diverle leakes, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his enemies despise him vtterly, who persivaded them selues he was fled for altogether, and had given them sea roome: whereupon they laved siege to the citie of GYTHIVM. Philopemen beinge aduertised thereof, Nationales imbarked his men fodainely, and fet vpon his enemies ere they wift it, or had any thought of geth the city his comming : and founde them straggling vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reason of Gythium. of the victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and fet fyre vppon his enemies campe, and burnt it every whitte: and in this feare and hurly burly, flue a great number of them. Shortely after this stealing apon them, the tyran Nabis also stole apon him againe vnwares, as he was to goe through a maruelous ill and daungerous way. Which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the first, thinking it vnpossible for them that they could euer scape that daunger, considering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabours. But Philopamen bethinking him felfe, and confidering the nature & scituacion of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefest point of a good fouldier, and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, accordinge to the time and sci-

tuacion of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and forted it accor-

ding to the scituacion of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doinge this without

ANS beinge aduertised of it, beganne to prepare to punish them. The LACED EMONIANS OR

the other fide preparinge for the warres, did fet all the contry of PELOPONNES VS in armes.

Hereupon Philopamen lought to pacific Diophanes anger, declaring vnto him, that king Antiochus, and the Romaines, being at warres together at that present time, and they both having

Laced.emon. in battell.

PHILOPOEMEN. 404 Philippamen trouble or busines, he tooke away all feare of daunger, and gaue a charge upon his enemies in A overcome Nat fuch fierce wife that in a shorte time he put the all to slight. And when he perceived that they did not flie all in troupes together towardes the city, but scattering wife, abroade in the fieldes in every place; he caused the trompet to found the retreate. Then he commaunded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the contry thereabout was full of thicke woddes and groues, very ill for horsemen: and also bicause there were many brookes, vallies, and quane myres which they should passe ouer, he encamped him selfe presently, being yet broade day And so, fearing e least his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after ano. ther, and by couples: he fent a great number of ACHAIANS, & laid them in ambush amongest the brookes and hilles neere about it, which made great flaughter of Nabis fouldiers, bicause they came not altogether in troupes, but featteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, R an other there, and so fell into their enemies handes, as birdes into the fowlers net. These acts made Philopamen singularly beloued of the GREECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters and common affemblies. Whereat Titus Quintius Flaminius, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honor: did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of Rome should have place & honor amongest the Achaians, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deferued better of all GREECE, then Phi-Lypemen had: confidering, howe by the onely proclamation of an heraulde, he had reftored

GREECE againe to her auncient liberty, which before his comminge was subject vnto kinge

Philip, and vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwardes, Titus Quintius made peace with the tyran

fmale encrease of their power, and being joyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan

by this meanes, the love and good will of all the honest men of LACED EMON, of the hope

they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyran

to winne and corrupt with money, confidering they might commaund their vertue vpon any

occasion, without cost vnto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with mo-

in the common wealth. For, faid he, it is more necessarie to stoppe your enemies mouthes, and to fowe vp their lippes from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your frendes from it.

Nabis. Nabis was thortely after very traiteroully flaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Whereupponthe C citie of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and Philopamen straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handeled the matter fo wifely: that partely for loue, and partely by force, he wanne the city, &iovned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruelously commended and effeemed of the ACHALANS for this notable victory, to have wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimacion. For the city of Spartawasm

Nabis house and goodes were solde, as forfitted to the state: they resolved in their counsellw make him a present of the money therof, which amounted to the summe of fixe score talents, D and fent Ambassadors purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then Philopæmen shewed himselfe plainely to be no counterfeate honest man, but a good man in deede. For first of all, there was free from couetoulnes. not one of all the LACED EMONIANS that durft prefume to offer him this money, but every man was afrayed to tell him of it: and enery body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for them selves. Notwithstandinge, in the ende they made one Timolaus to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar frend, and also his hoste. And yet the same Timelaw when he came vnto MEGALIFOLIS, & was lodged & entertained in Philopamenes house, did so much reuerence him for his wife talke and conversation, for his moderate diet, and just dealing with all men: that he fawe there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, fo as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, E but founde some other occasion to excuse the cause of his comminge vnto him. And beinge fent vnto him againe the second time, he did euen as much as at the first time. And makinga third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of Spart a did beare him. Philopamen became a glad man to heare it : and whenhe had heard all he had to fay to him, he wenthim selfe vnto the citie of Sparta. There he declared vnto the counfell, that it was not honest men, and their good frends, they should seeke nes wife coun-

fell to the Laced.emonians. hore they Should be. ney, and fuch as by feditious orations in counfell did mutine, and put a whole citie in vprote: flowe their to the ende that having their mouthes stopped with giftes, they should trouble them the leffe F giftes.

pullant armies one against an other in the middest of GREECE: it was meete for a good Generall and wife gouernor, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the fame, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thinge within his contry at that instant, but then rather to differible it, and not to feeme to heare any fault whatfoeuer they did, Diophanes would Diophanes of R not be perswaded, but entred the territories of LACED E MON with a great army, and Titus T. Quinius Outstills Flaminius with him: and they together marched directly towardes the city of Spar-TA. Philopæmen was fo madde with their doings, that he tooke apon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iust: neuerthelesse, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, and Philopamegreat corage. For he got into the citie of Sparta, and beinge but a private persone, kept out the General of the ACHAIANS, & the Confull of the ROMAINES for entring the city: & when he had pacified all troubles and feditions in the fame, he delivered it vp againe as it was before. into the handes of the communaltie of the ACHAIANS. Neuertheleffe, him felfe being afterwardes Generall of the ACHAIANS, did compell the LACED & MONIANS to receive those Philopame. home agains whom they had banished for certaine faultes, and did put foure score naturall inest cinetity to borne citizens of Sparta vnto death, as Polybius wryteth. Or three hundred and fifty, as Arifourates an other historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and rased them to the grounde, and tooke away the most parte of their territories, and gave them to the MEGAL OPOLITANS. All those whome the tyrannes had made free denizens of Spar-TA, he compelled them to departe the contry of LACED EMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commaundement: all those he folde for flaues, and with the money he made of them (to fpight them the more) he built a goodly fayer walke within the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACED E-MONTAN'S all the mischiefe he coulde, and as it were, to treade them under the feete in their most grieuous misery : he did a most cruell and vniust acte towarde them. For he compelled Philopamen D them to leaue the discipline and maner of education of their children, which Lycurgus had of made the oldetime instituted: and made them to follow the maner the A CHATAN SVEEd, in liew of their fake Lycanyua olde grounded contry custome, bicause he sawe they would neuer be humble minded so long as they kept Lyourges order and inflitucion. Thus were they driven to put the heades in the choller, by the milerable milhappe that befell them: and in all despight, to suffer Philopemen in this maner to cut a funder (as it were) the finewes of their common wealth. But afterwardes they made fute to the ROMAINES, that they might be fuffered to enjoy their auncient discipline againe, which being graunted them, they straight left the maner of the Achaians and did fet vp againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie and corruption of their maners) their olde auncient customes and orders of their contry, Now about the time the warres begannein GREECE, betwene the ROMAINES and king Antiochus, Philopamen was then a prinate man, and without any authority. He feeinge that kinge Antiochus lay still in the citie of Antiochus fo-Chalcis, and did nothing but feaft and loue, and had maried a younge maide farre ynmeete lace and mafor his yeres: and perceiuing that his Syrian fouldiers wandered up and downe the townes in ... ingreat disorder, playing many lewde partes without guide of Captaines: he was very fory he was not at that time Generall of the ACHATANS, and tolde the ROMATNES, that he envied Philopametheir victory, having warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For (favd he) if ner counted fortune fauored me that I were Generall of the ACHAIANS at this present, I woulde have kil-Romaines. led them enery man in the cellers and tippling houses. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome Antiochus, they beganne to haue furer footing in GREECE: and to compaffe in the A-CHAIANS of all fides, and specially, by reason the heades and gouernors of the cities about them did yeelde to the ROMAINES, to winne their fauor. And now their greatnesse grewe in halt, by the fauor of the goddes, so as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde,

chofen the eight sime Generall of

Philonamegainst Dino-

who brought them nowe to the ende that fortune had determined. Philopamen in the means A time did like a good pylot, bare hard against the billowes and roughnesse of their waves; and though for the time he was forced to give place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the ROMAINES, and did withstande them in the most parte of their proceedinges, by feeking euer to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence & well doing caried great authority among the ACHAIANS. And when Ariftanetus MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great authority among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES fayd in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should deny the ROMAINES nothinge. nor shew them selues ynthankefull to them: Philopamen hearing what he sayd, held his peace a while, and fuffered him to speake (though it boyled in his hart, he was so angry with him) and in the ende, breaking all pacience, and as one ouercome with choller, he fayd. O Ariffe h netwo, why have you such hast to see the vnfortunate ende of GREECE? An other time, when Manius, Consult of Rome (after he had conquered king Antiochus) did make request to the counsell of the A CHAIANS, that such as were banished from LACED EMON, might returne home into their contry againe, and that Titus Quintius Flaminius also did earnestly intrease them: Philopamen was against it not for any hatred he bare vnto the banished men, but bicante he would have done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the ACHAIANS, to the ende they shuld not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto Titus, nor yet to the Romaines. Afterwardes he him felfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did restore them wholly to their owneagaine. Thus was Philopæmen formtime, a litle to bolde and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomake: and specially when any man of authority sought for to haue thinges. Lastely, C beinge three score and tenne yeares of age, he was the eight time chosen Generall of the A. CHAIANS, and hoped well, not only to passe the yeare of his chrage in peace and quietnes, but also all the rest of his life without any sturre of new warres, he saw the affaires of GREBCE take fo good fuccesse. For like as the force & strength of sickenes declineth, as the natural strength of the fickely body empaireth: fo through all the cities and people of GREECE, enuy of quarrell and warres surceased, as their power diminished. Neuerthelesse, in the end of his years gouernment, the goddes divine (who iustly punish all infolent wordes and deedes) threw him to the grounde, as they fuffer a ryder vnfortunately to take a fall of his horse, beinge comeamost to the ende of his cariere. For they wryte, that he beinge in a place on a time amonget good companie, where one was maruelously praised for a good Captaine, sayed vnto them: D why, mafters, can ye commende him that was contented to be taken prisoner aliue of his enemies? Shortely after came newes that Dinocrates MESSENIAN (a private enemy of Philopemenes for certaine controuerfies past between them, and a man generally hated besides, of all honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawen the city of MES-SINA from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer that he came with an army to take a towne called Colonide. Philopamen was at that time in the city of Argos, ficke of an agew, and yet hearing these newes, tooke his iorney toward MEGALIPOLIS, making al the hast he could possible, so that he came aboue soure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at arms of the lustiest and wealthiest MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of theci-E ty, and willingly offered them felues to goe with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for the defire they had to follow his valliantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of Mont Euan- MESSINA, and marched so longe, that they came nere vnto the hill of Euander, where they met with Dinocrates & his copany, & gaue so fierce an onset on them, that they made themal turne taile: how beit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of fine hudred men to Dinocrates, which he had left to keepe the contry of MESSINA. The flying menthat were scattered here & there, feeing this supply, gathered them selues againe together, and shewed vpon the hills. Philopamen fearinge to be enuironned, and being desirous to bring his men safe home again, who most of loue had followed him: beganne to marche away through narrow bushy places, him felfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes upon his enemies, & skirmifhed with F them, onely to drive them away from followinge of the rest of his company, and not a man that durft once fet apon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him.

Howebeit Philopamen fundry times venturinge farre from his company, to gene these young noble men leafure to faue them selues one after an other: tooke no heede to him selfe that he was alone, enuironned on euery side with a great number of ennemies. Notwithstandinge, of all his enemies there was not a man that durft come to hande strokes with him, but still slinging and shooting at him a farre of, they draue him in the end amongest stony places between hewen rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horse, although he had spurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might have faued him selfe, for he was strong and lusty by the continuall exercise he tooke: but by cursed happe, his body being weake with fickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that dav, he founde him felfe very heavy and ill disposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threwe him to the grounde. His fall was very great, and brused all his head, that he lay for dead in the Thilopene place a great while, and neuer sturred nor spake: so that his enemies thinkinge he had bene numberdead, came to turne his body to strippe him. But when they saw him lift vp his head and open Philippanen his eves, then many of them fell all at once apon him, and tooke him, and bounde both his saken. hands behinde him, and did all the villany and mischiese they could vnto him, and sitch, as one would little haue thought Dinocrates would haue vied in that forte, or that he could haue had suchan ill thought towardes him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of MESSINA, were maruelous glad when they heard these newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to see him brought in. When they faw him thus shamefully bounde, and pinnioned, against the dignity of somany honors as he had received, and of so many triumplies and victories as he had pased: the most parte of them wept for pitie, to consider the mishappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so little certainety, as in maner it is nothing. Then beganne there some curreous speeche to runne in the mouthes of the people by litle and litle, that they should remember the great good he had done vnto them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them vnto, when he expulsed the tyran Nabis out of MESSINA. But there were other against (howbeit very few) that to please Dinocrates, sayed they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would neuer forgive man that had once offendedhim: and the rather, bicause he would be more terrible to Dinocrates, then ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Nevertheles, in the end they caried him into a certen dungeon under the ground, called the treasury, (which had neither D light nor aver at all into it, nor dore, nor half dore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these younge noble ACHAIAN horsemen had fled vppon the spurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred them selues, & looked round about for Philopamen: & finding him not in fight, they supposed straight hehad bene slaine. Thereuppon they stayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he aunswered not, they beganne to say among them selues, they were bealtes and cowardes to flie in that forte: and how they were dishonored for euer so to haue for saken their. Captaine, to faue themselues, who had not spared his owne life, to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon ryding on their way, and enquiring still for him: they were in the end adjectiledhow he was taken. And then they went & caried those newes through all the townes and cities of Achara, which were very fory for him, and tooke it as a figne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to fend Ambaffadors forthwith to the MESSENIANS, to demaunde him : and in the meane time every man should prepare to arme them selves, to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the Achalan's had thus fent, Dinocrates, feared nothing fo much, as that delay of time might faile Philopemenes life : wherefore to preuent it, as foone as night came, and that the people were at reft, he straight canfed the stone to. berolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to Philopemen with a cuppe of poison to offer him, who was commaunded also not to goe from him, vntill he had dronke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found Philopamen layed on Philopamen the grounde apon a litle cloke, having eno lift to fleepe; he was fo grievously troubled in his postned by minde. Who when he sawe light, and the man standing by him, holding a cuppe in his hande Dimocrate. with this poison, he sate vpright vpon his cowch, how beit with great paine he was so weake:

nes last words.

Phikpamenes déath.

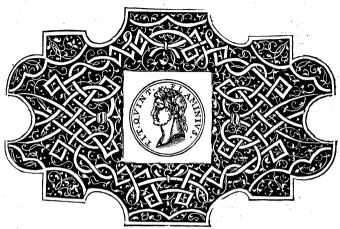
The Achaias didreninge nes death.

Dinocrates

Philopamenes funerall.

that came with him, and specially of Lycortas. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them were faued. Then he cast his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merely on him he fayd: it is well, seeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no moe wordes, nor makinge other a doe, he droncke vp all the poison, and layed him downe as before. So nature straue not much withall, his body being brought so lowe, and thereupon the poison wrough his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through all Achara, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the Achara youth and counsellors of their cities and townes, affembled them selues in the city of Maga-LIPOLIS, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made Lycortas there Generall, vnder whose conduct they inuaded the MESSENIANS, with force and violence, R puttinge all to the fire and fword : fo as the MESSENIANS were fo feared with this mercileffe fury, that they yelded them felues, and wholly confented to receive the ACHAIANS into their city. But Dinocrates would not give them leafure to execute him by inflice, for he killed him flue him felfe. felfe: and fo did all the rest make themselves away, who gave advise that Philopamen should be put to death. But those that would have had Philopamen hanged on a gibbet, Lycortas caused the to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of tormets. That done, the burnt Philopamenes body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from MESSINA, not in disorder, one apon an others necke as every man listed : but in such an order and ray, that in the middest of these funeralles they did make a triumphe of victorie. For the fouldiers were all crowned with garlandes of lawrell in token of victory, notwithstanding, the C teares ranne downe their cheekes intoken of sorowe, and they led their enemies prisoners, shackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were Philopamenes ashes, was so covered with garlandes of flowers, no legaies, and laces, that it could feart be feene or difference, and was carried by one Polybius a young man, the sonne of Lycortas, that was Generall at that time to the Achaians: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the Achaians and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so forowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which have great cause of sorow; nor yet so joyful, as those that came conquerers from so great a victory. Those of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented them selves vinto them, to touche the funerall pot of his ashes, euen as they were wont to take him bythe] hande, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of MEGALIPOLIS. At the gates whereof, were olde men, women, and children, which thrustinge them selues amongest the souldiers, did renewe the teares, to rowes, and lamentacions of all the miferable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had lost with their citizen, the first and chiefest place of honor among the ACHAIANS. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of MESSINA, were all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of ACHAIA, besides many other honors they did vnto him, did fet vp flatues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeated. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of GREECE, when the city of CORINTHE was burnt and destroied by the ROMAINES, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did what he could to hauethe fame pulled downe againe, by burdening & accufing Philopemen (as if he had bene aliue) that he was alwaies enemy to the ROMAINES, and enuied much their prosperity and victories, But after Polybius had aunswered him: neither the Conful Mummius, nor his counsellers, nor liesttenaunts, would fuffer them to deface & take away the honors done in memory of fo famous & worthy a ma, although he had many waies done much hurtvnto Titus Quintius Flaminius & vnto Manius. So, these good men then made a differece between duery & profit: & did thinks numents from honesty & profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and inflice. Moreoner they were perswaded, that like as men receive curtesie and goodnessel any so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindenes and duety. And as men vie to acknowledge the same: euen so ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much soft the life of Philoparmen. The ende of Philopamenes life. อด้วย พ.ศ. วิจากอดีต จักสาคาจ

THE LIFE Titus Quintius Flaminius.



T is easie to see Titus Quintius Flaminius forme, and stature, by Philo-I pamenes statue of brasse, to whome we compare him : the which is now fet vppe at Rome, neere to great Apollo that was brought from CARTHAGE, and is placed right against the comming in to the show place, under which there is an inscription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they fay of him thus: he would quickely be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men againe. For, if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continew with him. He did good allo to many, and euer

loued them whom he had once pleafured, as if they had done him some pleafure: & was ready to do for them still whom he founde thankefull, bicause he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honorable a thinge, as he could purchase to him selfe. Bicause he greatly fought honor about all thinges, when any notable feruice was to be done, he would dont him felfe, and no man thould take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans state, when the citie of Rome had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to cary weapon, were fent to the warres to learne to traile the pyke, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he cutred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against Time Quin. C Hannibell of CARTHAGE, where the was made Colonell of a thousande footemen, under Mar- www single cellus the confull: who being flaine by an ambitth Hanniball had tayed for him between the cities of BANGTA, and VENVEA, then they did choose Titus Quintius Flaminius gouetnor of the prouince and city of TARENTVM, which was now taken againe the seconde time. In this gouernment of his, he wanne the reputacion as much of a good and just man, as he did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the Romathes were requested to send men to inhabite the cities of NARNIA & Cossa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them,

which chiefely gaue him hart and corage to aspire at the first to the Consultinge; passinge

Degrees of offices before one came to be Confull.

ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other younge men were wont to attaine the Consulshippe. Therefore when the time came that the Consulls should be elected, he did present him selfe amonge other, accompanied with a great number of those he hadde brought with him, to inhabite the two newe towners who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes Fuluius, and Manlius, spakes gainst him, and sayed: it was out of all reason, that so youngea man should in such manner prease to have the office of the highest dignitie, against the vie and custome of Rome, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, the Se nate preferred it wholly to the voyces of the people: who prefently pronounced him Con. full openly, with Sextim AElim, although he was not yet thirtie yeare olde. Afterwardes MElius and he deuidinge the offices of the state by lotte : it fell apon T. Quintius to make n

nius, Sexuius warre with Philip kinge of MACEDON. In the which me thinkes fortune greatly fauored the ROMAINES affaires, that made such a man Generall of these warres : for, to have pointed Generall that by force and violence woulde have fought all thinges at the MACED ONLANS handes, that were a people to be wonne rather by gentlenesse and perswasions, then by some & compulsion: it was all against them selves. Philip, to maintaine the bront of a battell against the ROMAINES, had power enough of his owne in his realme of MACEDON: but to make warre any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and vittailes, to have a place and cities to retyre vnto, and lastly, to have all other necessaries for his men and army: it stoode himapon to get the force of GREECE. And had not the force of GREECE bene politickely cut from him, the warres against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreouer, GREECE (which (neuer before bare the ROMAINES any great good will) would not have delethen fo inwardly

Titus curtefie Greecians more then his force.

in frendthippe with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle persone, lowly, and tractable, that wanne them more by his wisedome, then by his force, & could both eloquently vtter his minde to them, and curteoufly also heare them speake, that had to doe with him. and chiefely, ministred instice and equity to enery manalike. For it is not to be thought that GREECE would otherwise so some have withdrawen them selves from the rule of those, with whome they were acquainted, and gouerned: and have put them selves vinder the rule of straungers, but that they saw great instice and lenity in them. How beit that may more plainly appeare, by declaring of his actes. Titus was informed, that the Generalls before him fento the warre in Macedon (as Sulpitius, and Publius Iulius) vied to come thither about the later D end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmifhes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in an other against Philip, and all to take some straite, or to cut of vittells: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, confumed the most of their Consulshippe at Rome, in matters of gouernment, and so enjoyed the honor of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would fet out to the wares, of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that spending one yere in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroade. But Titus not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Consulfhippe at Rome, and the other abroade in the warres did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might have enjoyed by his office at Rome, and befought the Senate that they would appoint his brother Lucius Quintius Lieutenant of E their army by fea. Furthermore, he tooke with him felfe about three thousandeolde souldiers of those that had first ouerthrowen Asdrubal in Spayne, & Hannibal afterwardes in Africa, under the conduct of Scipio, which yet were able to ferue, and were very willinge to goewith him in this iorney, to be the strength of his army. With this companie he passed the seas T. Q. Londed without daunger, and landed in EPIRVs, where he found Publius Iulius encamped with his atmy before kinge Philip, who of longe time had lien in campe about the mouth of the river of Apfus, to kepe the straight and passage which is the entry into E PIRVS. So that Publius Iulius had lienstill there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then Titus tooke the army of him, and fent him to Rome. Afterwards, him felfe went in perfone to view and confider the nature of the contry, which was in this forte. It is a longe valley F walled on either fide with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe

in Epiruc. Apfius flas.

in THESSALIB. Howbeit it had no fuch goodly woods, nor grene forrests, nor fayer medowes,

apoit. Nothwithstading, there were not slaine aboue two thousand of the, bicause the hardnes nian slee. &ftraightnes of the place did so gard them, that they could not be chased. But the ROMAINES spoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaues, & wan the passage into the moutaines, by the which they entred the cotry of Epiros. & did passe through it so quietly, & with so great abstinece, that though they were farre from their ships & the sea. MM ii

T. Q. FLAMINIVS. A nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deepe marrishe or mianemyre, through the iniddest whereof the riner called Apfus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnes of streame, very like to the river of Peneus. The river did occupie all the ground arthe feete of the mountaines, fauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight pathe by the waters side, very vnhandesome for an army to passe that way, though they found not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled Titus to fetche a great compasse about by the contry of DASSARET IDE, and by the city of Lynevs, where the contry is very plaine, and the way maruelous easie. Howebeit he floode in great feare he should lacke vittells, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happely if he fell into any barren or leane contry, (Philip refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should he constrained in the end to returne againe towardes the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to ser your his enemy, and to proue if he could winnethe paffage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get up the hilles, they were receiued with dartes, slings, and shot, that lighted amongest them here & there insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slavne and hurt on either side. But this was not the ende of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neateherdes of the contry vnto Titus (who did vie to keepe beaftes on these mountaines) and tolde him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not by the which they promifed to guide his army fo, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bringe them on the top of the mountaine. And bicause they might be affured that their wordes were true, they sayed they were lent to him by Charopus, the sonne of Machatas. This Caropus was the chiefest man of the Charopus. EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINES very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare (Machanus of Philip. Titus gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with source shirts man thousand sootemen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went of the Epirata before still, fast bounde; and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke wooddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the ful. Titus having fentthese men away, rested all the rest of his campe: saning that some daies he entertayned them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compaffe about, shoulde come vnto the top of the mountaine abouethe campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, &c deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he himselse went on that side of the riuer where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hil. The MACED ONIANS againe, they shot lustely at them from the height of the hill, and in certenplaces amongest the rockes they came to the sworde. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hande of him did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hill, and as it were enuying one an other, they climed vo with great corage against the sharpe and steepe hanginge of the mountaine. When the funne was vp, they might fee a farre of as it were a certen fmoke, T. Q. poffer not very bright at the beginning, much like to the miftes we fee comonly rife from the tops of fed the the mountaines. The enemies could fee nothing, bicaufe it was behinde them, & that the top the mountaines. of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the middest of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they faw it increased stil more, & more, & in such sorte, that it darkened all the ayer: then they did affure them selues it was certainely the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they beganne to crie out, clyminge vp the hills with fuch a lufly corage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, even vnto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did aunswer the with like lowde cries

from the top of the moutaine: wher with the enemies were fo aftonied, that they fled prefently The Maxedo.

T.Q.Flamiforbearing frendes.

tells were very scant with the at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the cotry, though they founde great store & plenty of all riches in it. For Titus was advertised, that Philip passing Philips flying by THESSALIE, and flying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountaines, & then to fet fire on their houses, & to leave those goodes they could not carva.

way, by reason of the weight & vnhandsome carriage therof, to the spoyle of his souldiers: & so (as it feemed)he left the whole contry to the conquest of the ROMAINES, Whereuppon Titus looking colideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to passe through the contry with footening for the court doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they taried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly and wife forbearing of the contry. For fo foone as they were entred THESSALIE, the cities willingly yeelded them felnes VII to them: & the GREECIANS inhabiting beyond the contry of THERM OPYLES, did marile. loufly defire to fee Titus, asking no other thing, but to put them felues into his hands. The A. CHAIANS also on the other side, did renouce the league & alliance they had made with Philine and furthermore did determine in their counsell, to make warre with him on the Romaines fide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time frendes and confederates with the Ro. MAINES, & that they did show the selues very louing to take their parte in these warres nevertheles when they defired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their city into their hands and were offred that it should be kept & defended fro Philip: they would not harke therto but few for Titus, & put the felues & their goods wholly into his protection. They fay, that when kine Prerus first faw the ROMAINES army range in order of battel from the top of a hill, he faidthis c order of the barbarous people, setting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous maner. And those also that neuer had seene Titus before, & came for to speake with him:were

that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that destroyed all before him by force of

armes, & fubdued whole contries by violence: they fayd to the contrary, that they found him?

man, in dede young of yeres, how beit gentle, & curteous to looke on, & that spake the Greeke

tongue excelletly wel, & was a louer only of true glory. By reason wherof they returned home

maruelous glad, & filled all the cities & townes of GREECE with goodwill towardes him and

fayd: they had seene Titus the Captaine, that would restore them to their auncient liberties

gaine. Then it much more appeared, when Philip (hewed him felfe willing to have peace, and I)

that Titus also did offer it him, and the frendthippe of the people of ROME, with these condi-

tions: that he would leave the GREECIANS their whole liberties, & remove his garrifons out

of their cities and strong holdes: which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all GREECE, and

euen those which fauored Philip, sayed with one voyce: that the ROMAINES were not come

to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauor of the GREECIANS.

Wherupon all GREECE came in, & offred them felues vnto Titus without copulfion. And as

compelled in a manner to fay as much. For where they had hearde the MACEDONIANS fay.

he passed through the contry of BOE OTIA, without any shew at all of warres, the chiefest meet the city of THEBES wetto mete him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON bicause of a private ma called Brachylelis, yet they would honor Titus, as those which were cotented to keepe league & frendship with either side. Titus embraced them, & spake very cuite E oufly vnto the, going on his way stil faver & fostly, entertaining the sometime with one matter, & somtime with an other, & kept them talke of purpose, to the end his souldiers being weared with iornying, might in the meane time take good breath: & so marching on, by litle & litle, he entred into the city with the. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any nuber of souldiers about him. Whe he was within THEBES, he praied audiece, & began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already) that they woulde rather take parte with the ROMAINES. King Audus then with the king of MACEDON. And to further Titus purpose, king Attalus being by chance at that time in the affembly, did help to exhort the THEBANS very earnestly, that they would doe as Titus perswaded them. But Attalus was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, F for the defire he had (as was imagined) to shewe Titus his eloquence: who did so straine and moue him felfe withall, that he founded fodaynely in the middest of his oration, whereby the

A rewme fell downe fo fast vppon him, that it tooke away his sences, so as he fell in a traunse before them all, and few dayes after was conceyed againe by fea into Asia, where he lived not log after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came into the ROMAINES, & tooke their parte. The Basilans And Philip having fent Ambassadors to Rome, Titus also sent thither of his men to solicite for yeld winto the him, in two respects. The one, if the warres continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it with Philip. For Titus of his owne nature being very ambitious did feare least they would fend a successor to continew those warres, who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his frends made such earnest sute for him, that neither king I hilip attained that he prayed: neither was there fent any other generall in Titus place, but he still continued his charge in these warres. Wherfore, so soone as he had received his comission & authority from the Senate, he went straight towards THESSALIB, with great hope to ouercome Philip. For he had in his army aboue fix & twenty thousand fighting men, Onimite arwhereof the ATOLIANS made fix thousand footemen, and three thousande horsemen. King my philips army on thother fide was no leffe in number, & they began to march one towards the

other wntill at the length they both drew neere the city of Scotus, where they determined King Philip to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid, to see them selves one so neere an and Quinina

other: but rather to the contrary, the Romains on the one fide tooke greater hart & corage mensuch their vnto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great honor they should win to Scoula. ouercome the MACEDONIANS, who were so highly esteemed for their valliantnes, by reason of the famous acts that Alexander the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other fide also, taking the ROMAINES for other maner of souldiers then the PERSIANS, began to haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make king Philip more famous in the world, then euer was Alexander his father. Titus the calling his men together, spake, & exhorted the

tofland to it like men, & to flow the felues valliant fouldiers in this battel, as those which were

when the proofe of their valliantnesse in the hart of GREECE the goodliest Theater of the world & against their enemies of most noble same. Philip then by chaunce, or forced to it by thespede he made, bicause they were both ready to ity ne; did get yp ynwares vpon a charnell house, (where they had buried many bodies, being while hill raised up about the rest, & neere the trenches of his campe) and there began to encorage his foundiers, as all generals do before D they give battel. Who when he faw them all discoraged, for they tooke it for an il signe that he was gotten up on the top of a graue to speake unto them: he of a conceite at the matter, did of himselfe deferre to give battell that day. The next morning bicause the night was very wet by reason the sowthewindes had blowen, the clowds were turned to a miste, & filled all the valley with a darke groffe thicke ayer coming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the field between both campes with a mift all the morning by reason wherof the skowtes on both sides that were sent to discouer what the enemies did, in very shorte time met together, & one gaue charge upon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are pointes of rockes placed upon litle hills one before an other, and very nere one voto an other, which have bene called to, bicaute they have had fome likenes of it. In this skirmith there were many changes. E as camonly falleth out when they fight in fuch ill fauored stony places. For sometime the Ro-WAINES fled and the MAGED ONIAN'S chafed them an other time the MAGED ONIAN schao followed the chafe, were glad to fly themselves, & the Roman had who fled before nowe had

the in chase. This chaunge & alteracion came by lending new supplies still from both campes, to relieue them that were dultselled & driven to flie. Now began the milte to breake vp, & the ayer to clere to the about Benerals might be should be water in either campe by reafor wherei both of the drew on their army to the field & bartel. So Philiphad the vantage on theright wing of his army, which was placed on the light of an hanging hill fro which they came to fet you the Roman state of the state

ogether, & their wall of pykes was fo through But on his left wing it was not fo, bicause the racks! of his battel could not joine to nere mor close target to target the place being betwixt the hills

&therocks, where the hattel was coming to 34 they, were copelled by realo of the straightnes o'Cac w

T. Q. FLAMINIVS.

Battell betim and Philip kinge of Macedon.

& vneuennes of the ground to leaue it open, & vnfurnished in many places. Titus finding the disaduatage, went fro the left wing of his battel which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, & going fodainly toward the left wing of king Philips battell, he fet vpon the Mach DONIANS on that fide, where he saw they could not close their ranckes in the front, nor joyne them together in the middest of the battel (which is the whole strength & order of the Macro

16/4

DONIAN fight) bicause the field was up hill & downe hill: & to fight hand to hand they were fo pestered behind, that one thronged & ouerlaid an other. For the battel of the MACHDONIANS hath this property, that fo log as the order is kept close & joyned together, it semeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, & that they are fundered & not joyned together, it doth not only loofe the force & power of the whole body but also of euery private souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diversity of the weapons a wherewith they fight, & partely for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing

& iovning together of their ranckes & orders which doth ftay vp one an other more the dorh

euery private fouldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACED ON IANS was broken &

felfe by flyinge as he did. For whileft the ROMAINES had their enemies in chafe, the ATOLL C.

that they ran their way: one parte of the ROMAINES followed the chase, & the other rannem giue a charge vppon the flanckes of the right winge which fought yet, and they made great flaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to flagger and breake, & in the enderanne away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their weapons infomuch as there were flaine of them eight thousande in the fielde, and five thousandersken prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault bene in the ÆTOLIANS, Philip had not saued him

ANS taried, and rifled all kinge Philips campe, fo as they had left the ROMAINES nothingem Mutinie bespovle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell, & hot words betwene them &

Alceus verses in disgrace of kinge Thi-

the Romainer. One with an other. But afterwardes they angered Titus worse, chalenginge the honor of this victory to the selues, bicause they gave it out through GREBCE, that they alone had overthrowen king Philip in the battell. So that in the fongs and ballets the Poets made in praise of this victory, which enery cotry & townes man had in his mouth they alwaies put the Arollans before the ROMAINES, as in this that followeth, which was currantly fongineuery place. Oh frend, which pasself by : here the wie weretched pheares, VVishouten honor of the grave, without lamenting teares. We thirty thousand overe, which endedhaue our dayes:

In cruell coasts of The Malie, wwhich caused our decares. VVe have bene overthrow ven by th A Etolians men of warre: And by the Latine crewves like wife, wwhom Titus led from farre. Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie lande. Vs to distroy, he (captaine like) did come with mighty bande.

And Philip Stoute, therewhiles for all his provude fierce face: Is fled more swift, then hartes doe runne, wwhich are pursued in chace. The Poet was Alcaus that made these verses for to singe, who did them in disgrace of kinge

Philip, falfely increasing the number of his men which died in the battell, only to thame and fpite him the more: how beit he fpited Titus thereby, more then Philip, bicause it was fong in E enery place. For Philip laughed at it, & to effection ter him again with the like mocke the made a fong to counterfeate his, as followeth. tonishi .uni This gibbet on this hill, which paffers by may marke.

Philips verses against Alceus.

VV as fet to hang Alcans up, verthousen leaner or barke. But Titus tooke it greuously, who chiefly defired to be honored amongent the GREE class

by reason wherof from that time forwards he delt in the rest of his matters alone, without me Detricit and king accompt of the Ær o LIAN swherwith they were maruelous angry, & specially when he the Alexburg received an Ambassador from Philip and gaine care vinto a treasy of peace which the office of the control of the contr then they were so netled against him, that they gave it out through all GREECE, that 77

4 mouble the ROMAINES frendes and confederates; but Philip felfe pulled this fufpicion out of their heades, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit him selfe wholly to the discretion of Titus and the ROMAINES. Titus then graunted him peace, and delinered to him T. Onimin.

his realme of MACEDON, and commaunded him he should give over all that he helde in graunted GREECE, and besides, that he should pay one thousande talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by fea, fauing only tenne shippes: and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sonnes for hostage, whome he sent to Rome. Wherein Titus certainely did very well, and wilely did forefee the time to come. For then Hanniball of CARTHAGE, (the great enemy of Hannibal was the ROMAINES) was banished out of his contry, and commen to kinge Antiochus, whome he with kinge nut in the head, and earnestly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increase of his Em-R pire. Whom Hanniball to followed with these perswasions, thatkinge Antiochus at length was

come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable acts, whereby in the warres before he had attained the furname of great: he began now to afpire to the monarchy of the whole world, & fought how to finde occasion to make warres with the Romaines. So that if Titus forefeeing that a far of) had not wifely inclined to peace, but that the wars of Antiochus hadfallen out together with the warres of king Philip, and that thefe two the mightiest Princes of the worlde had iouned together against the city of Rome: then it had bene in as great mouble and daunger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres against Hannibal, Howbeit Titus havinge happely thrust in this peace between both warres, he cut of the warre that was present, before the other that was comminge: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kinges his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time, the tenne commissioners that were sent by the Senate from Rome to Titue, to aide and affish him in the order of the affaiers of GREECE: did counsell him to set all the rest of GREECE at liberty, and onely to kepe in their handes with good garrison, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTHE, and of DE-MET READE, to make fure that by practife they should not enter into league and alliance with

Antiochus. Then the ATOLIANS (that were the common flaunderers of Titus proceedinges) beganne openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summone Titus to loose the chaines of chalide.Co-GREECE: for fo did kinge Philip call these three cities. Then they asked the GREECIANS in rinthe, De-Meriade, calmockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier fetters on their legges, then before, the by Philip

being somwhat brighter and fayrer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether of Macedon,) they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking of the fetters from the GRERCIANS legs, the Chaines of and tyinge them about their neckes. Titus beinge maruelously troubled and vexed with this, moued the tenne counsellers so earnestly, that he made them graunt his request in the ende, that those three cities also should be delivered fro garrison: bicause the GREECIANS thence-

forthmight no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed,

and accomplished in every respect on them all. Wherefore, when the feast called Isthmia was 18thmia.

come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to fee the sporte of the games played there: for GREECE having bene long time troubled with warres, they feeing them selues now in sure peace, & in very good hope of ful liberty, looked after no other thing,

had ouerthrowen kinge Philip and the MACED ONLANS in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, and impositions for ever, to live after their olde auncient lawes, and in full liberty: the Corint HIANS, the LOCKIANS, those of Procede, those of the Ile of Evenes, the Achaians, the Phiniotes, the Magnesi-ANS, the Thessalians, and the Perrhoeberans. At the first time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the heraulde, and the most parte of those that hearde him, coulde not tell diffinctly what he fayed: for there ranne vp and downe the showe place where the games were played, a confused brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, fo as the heraulde was driven againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after filence made, the herauld puttinge out his voice farre lowder then before,

but delited only to fee games, and to make mery. Proclamation was then made by founde of

trompet in the affembly, that every man shoulde keepe silence. That done, the heraulde went

forward, and thrust into the middest of the multitude, and proclaimed out alowde: that the

Senate of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius, Conful of the people of Rome (now that they

had folde peace vnto Philip, when he might altogether have ended the warre, and vice ily have F destroyed Philips whole power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage. These slaunderous reports & falle tales which the Arrous and spred thus abroade, did much

D

did proclaime it in fuch audible wife, that the whole affembly heard him: and then rofethere A fuch a lowde showte and crie of joy through the whole people, that the found of it was heard to the fea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were fet to fee the Swordplaces play, rose vp all on their feete, lettinge the games alone, and went together with greation to falute, to embrace, and to thanke Titus the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of GREECE. Then was seene (which is much spoken of) the power of mens voyces: crowes flying, for crowes fel downe at that prefent time among the people, which by chaunce flew ouer the show place at that time that they made the same out showte. This came to passe, by reason the aver was broken and cut a funder, with the vehemency and strength of the voyces, so as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driven of necessis. ty to fall to the grounde, as flyinge through a voide place where they lacked ayer. Vnlesse we a will rather fay, that it was the violence of the crie, which strooke the birdes passinge through the ayer, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and so made them fall downe dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurlinge winde in the ayer, as we doe see sometime in the fea, when it rifeth high, and many times turneth about the waves, by violence of the storme So it is, that if Titus hadde not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to fee him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly scaped from being stifled amongest them, the people came so thicke about him from every place. But after that they were weary of crying, and finging about his pauillion vntill night in the ende they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, frendesor citizens, they did kiffe and embrace one an other for ioy, and fo supped, and made mery together, C In their more rejoycinge yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table. but of the warres of GREECE, discoursing amongest them what fundry great warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet for all that, they could never fo joyfully nor more affuredly obtaine it, then they did even a that present, receiving the honorablest reward, & that which deserved greatest fame through the worlde: that by the vallianmesse of straungers who fought for the same (without any spik blood of their ownein comparison, or that they lost the life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their auncient freedome and liberty. It is a very rare thinge amongest men, to finde a man very valliant, and wife withall: but yet of all fortes of valliant men, it is harder to finde a just man. For Agesilaus, Lylander, Nicias, Alcibiades, D and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and to winne the battell, as well by fea as by lande: but to turne their victories to any honorable benefit, or true honor among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you doe except thebattell against the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell Cimon fought about CIPRVS, and upon the river of Eurymedon: all the other warres & battels of GREECE that were made, fell our against them selves, and did euer bringe them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumphe which euer were fet vp for the fame, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, GREECE was veterly deltroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and felfe will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying an others doing. Where a E straunge nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to moue them to doit (for that they have had no great familiarity with auncient GREECE, & through the counsel & good wifedome of the which it should seemevery straunge that GREECE coulde receive any benefit) haue notwithstanding with daungerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from oppression, and seruitude, of violent Lordes and tyrans. This, and such like talke, did at that time occupy the GREECIANS heades: and moreover, the deedes following did aunswer and performe the words of the proclamatio. For at one selfe time, Titus sent Lentulus into A \$1,4,00 fet the BARGYLIAMS at liberty, and Titillius into THRACIA, to remoue the garrifons out of the lles & cities which Philip had kept there: and Publius Iulius was sent also into Asia, vnto king Quintinueare Antiochus, to speake vnto him to set the GREECIANS at liberty which he kept in subjection. F And as for Titus, he went him selfe vnto the city of CHALCIDE, where he tooke sea, and went into the prouince of Magnesia, out of the which he tooke all the garrifons of the cities, and redeliuered

A redelivered the government of the common wealth vnto the citizes of the same. Afterwards when time came, that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of Argos in the honor The feet of Hercules, Titus was chosen judge, & rector of the games that were plaied there: where, after Nemea keps he had fet all thinges in very good order, pertaining vnto the folemnity of the feast, he caused at Argon. againe solemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore, visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed instice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other; and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified all oldequarrells and diffentions amonge them. The which did no leffe please and content him. that by perswasions he could bring the GREBCIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then a fhe had by force of armes ouercome the MACED ONLANS. Infomuch, as the recouery of the libertie which Titus had restored vnto the GREECIANS, seemed vnto them the least parte of the goodnesse they had received at his handes. They say, that Lycurgus the orator seeinge the Lycurgus the collectors of taxes, cary Zenocrates the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment orator, refund ofacertaine imposition, which the straungers inhabiting within the citie of ATHENS were to the Philoso pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreouer prosecuted law so hard against them, pher, or sand that he made them pay a fyne for the iniury they had done vnto fo worthy a person. And they for tell, how the same Philosopher afterwardes meeting Lyeurgus children in the city, sayed vnto them. I doe wel requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cause that he is praifedand commended of euery man, for the kindenesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good C deedes of the ROMAINES, and of Titus Quintins Flaminius vnto the GREBCIANS, did not onbyreapethis benefit vnto them, in recompence that they were praifed and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasinge their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the worlde afterwardes had great affiance and trust in them, and that most instly. So that the people and cities did not onely receive the Captaines and governors the Romaines fentthem: but they also went to Roma vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put them selves into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings & princes allo(which were oppressed by other more mighty than them selues) had no other refuge, but to put them selues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very shorte time (with the fauor and helpe of the goddes as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit them selues to D their obedience, and vinder the protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more, that he hadrestored GREECE agains vinto liberty, then in any other seruice or exployte he had euer done. For when he offered up vnto the temple of Apollo in the citie of DELPHES, the targets offilter with his owne shielde, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as fol-

> O noble touynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare: Thrown out lounde shoutes of ioy, and mirth, reionce and make good cheare. O noble kings of Spartan Soyle, wwhich take delight to ryde, Your trampling steedes, with funy byt, and trappings by their side: Reioyce you novv, for Tithis he, the valliant Romaine knight, These giftes so great to you hath got, even by his force and might. That having taken cleane avvay, from of the Greekishe neckes, The heavy yoke of servitude, wwhich held them thrall to checkes, Vnto their former liberty, he hath restorde them free, Which altogether perisht wwas, as men might plainely fee.

He gaue a crowne of maffie gold vnto Apollo, vppon the which he made this inscription to bewrytten.

loweth.

A valliant Romaine knight, euen Titus by his name, A captaine wworthy by defert, of high renow one and fame: To thee (Apollo god) this crow ine of pure fine golde, Hath genen thy godhead to adorne, wwith inells manifolde; Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace) VVith fauor to requite this love, to him and to his race:

And blased through the vvorlde so vvide to sheve wwhat life he led.

Nero did fes Greece as li-

So hath the city of CORINTHE enjoyed this good happe, that the GREECIANS have bene twife proclaimed to be fet at liberty: the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time, by Nero in our time, and at the felfe fame instant when they folemnly kept the feast called Isthmia. Howebeit the first proclamation of their liberty (as we have tolde ye before) was done by the voyce of a herauld: and the seconde time it was done by Nero him selfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open affembly, in the market place of the city of CORINTHE. But it was a longe time after. Furthermore, Titus beganne then a goodly and full warre against Nabis, the curfed and wicked tyran of LACED & MON. Howebeit in the ende he deceaued the expectation of GREECE. For when he might have taken him, he would n not doe it, but made peace with him, for fakinge poore Spart a vnworthily oppreffed vnder VVhy Quinthe yoke of bondage: either bicause he was afrayed that if the warre helde on, there shoulde

peace with Nabis the syran of Lace-The honor of Philopanien

come a fucceffor vnto him from ROME, that should cary the glory away to ende the same; or elfe he stoode Iealous and envious of the honor they did vnto Philopamen. Who having the wed him felfe in enery place as excellent a Captaine as ener came in GREECE, and havinge done notable actes and famous feruice, both of great wifedome, and also of valliantnesse, and specially in the A CHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reverenced of the ACHAIANS. in the Theaters and common affemblies, even as Titus was. Whereat Titus was marveloully offended, for he thought it vnreasonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene generallof an army but in small little warres against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and ho. nored, as a Confull of Rome, that was come to make warres for the recourry of the liberie of GREECE. But Titus alleaged reasonable excuse for his doinges, saying that he saw very well he coulde not destroy this tyran Nabis, without the great losse and misery of the other Spar-TANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deferuing, but one onely present they offered him, and which he aboue all the rest most esteement and this it was. Duringe the seconde warres of Africke, which the Romaines had against Hanniball, many ROMAINES were taken prisoners in the fundry mattells they lost, and beinge folde here and there, remained flaues in many contries: and amongest other, there were di-

fperfed in GREECE to the number of twelve hundred, which from time to time did movemen D

with pitie and compassion towardes them, that faw them in so miserable chaunge and state of

fortune. But then much more was their miserie to be pitied, when these captives found in the

ROMAINES army, some of them their sonnes, other their brethren, and the rest their fellows

and frendes, free, and conquerours, and them felues flaues and bondemen. It grieved Tam

much to fee these poore men in such miserable captivity, notwithstanding he would not take

Trelue bundred Romaines folde for flanes.

The Achaian, them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIAN'S redeemed and bought redeemed the them for five hundred pence a man, and havinge gathered them together into a troups, mere folde for Castes in

they presented all the ROMAINE captines vnto Titus, even as he was ready to take ship tore-

The ceremony of flanes T. Quintine riumphe.

turne into I TALIE: which prefent made him returne home with greater joy and contentacion having received for his noble deedes so honorable a recompence, and worthy of himselfe, B that was fo louing a man to his citizens and contry. And furely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie histriumphe. For these poore redeemed captives did that, which the flaues are wont to doe on that day when they be fet at liberty: to witte, they shaue their heades, and doe weare litle hattes apon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and so followed Titus charret, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into Rome in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly fight alforto fee the spoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the show of this triumphe; as store of helmets after the GREECIANS facion, heapes of targets, shieldes, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull fumme of gold and filuer. For Itanus the historiographer writeth, that there was brought a maruelous great maffe of treasure in niggots of golde, of three thousand seuen F hundred and thirteene pounde weight, and of filuer, of forty three thousande, two hundred, three score and tenne pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called Fhilipsfourea teene thousand, fine hundred, and foureteene, besides the thousand talents king Phills should payfor a raunsome. The which summe, the Romaines afterwardes forgane him, chiefly as Titus fute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a frend and confederate of the people of Rome, and his sonne Demetrius to be sent voto him againe, who remained before as an hoftage at Rome. Shortely after, king Antiochus went out of Asia into Greece with a great fleete of shippes, and a very puisant army, to ftirre vp the cities to forfake their league and allyance with the ROMAINES, and to make a diffention amongest them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the ETOLIANS did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and secrete malice against the Romaines, and desiredmuch to haue had warres with them. So they taught king Antiochus to say, that the warre which he tooke in hande, was to fet the GREECIANS at liberty, whereof they had no neede,

bicause they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make warre. they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he coulde. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearinge greatly the rifing of the people, & the rumor of the power of this great king, they fent thither Manius Scilius their generall, and Titus, one of his Lieutenaunts for the GREECIANS fakes. Manius Act-Which arrivall did the more affure them that already bare good will to the Romaines, after hun Conful, or they had once seene Manius and Titus: and the rest that beganne to slie out, and to shrinke T. Quintius from them, those Titus kept in obedience from starting, remembringe them of the frendship for intering and good will they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull phisitian that coulde geue his pa- Greece. cient phisicke to preserve him from a contageous disease. In deede there were some (but sewe

the poore people of GREECE thus spoiled and turned out of all went out of PELOPONNESV \$

D (where he was then) vnto Manius Acilius campe, and there reproued him for fuffering king

Queene which he had maried, and his golde, his filuer, and frendes, he tooke the feaes incon-

tinently, and returned into As 1A. For this cause the Consult Manim having wonne the bat-

rell, did marche straight with his army towardes the citie of CHALCID sin afteat rage and

fury. But Titus that followed him, did alwayes lye vppon him to pacific his anger, and did fo

much intreate him, together with the other Romain's of flate and authorite in counfell:

Cofthem) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the Ætolians: and though hehad iuft cause of offence towardes them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king In-

tischus being ouercome in the contry of THERM OPYLES, fled his way, and in great haft tooke the sea to returne into Asia. And the Consult Manius following his victory, entred into the westloom in contry of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a Thermopyles, pray vnto kinge Philip. So Philip kinge of Macedon on the one fide, spoyled and sacked the the Conful. DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMANIANS, and the APBRANTINES: and the Confull Manius on the other fide, destroyed the city of HERACLEA, and layed siege to the citie of NAVPACIVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But Titus takinge compassion of them, to see

Philip to vsurpe the benefit and reward of his honorable victory, still conqueringe many people, kings, and contries, whileft he continued fiege before a city, and only to wreake his anger voonthem. Afterwardes, when they that were befreged faw Titus from their walles, they calledhim by his name, and helde up their handes unto him, prayinge him he would take pitie vpon them : but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them; he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with Manius, and appealing his anger, got him to graunt

the ATOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might fende Ambassadors to Roue, to see if they could obtain grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and require for difficulty he had, was to intreate for the Chalcadians, withwhome the Confull (Manies the Mentital was more grieuously offended, then with all the rest: bicause that kinge Antiochus after the

warres was begonne, had maried his wife in their cirie, when he was past yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very olde, and beinge in his extreame age, and in the King Antiomiddeft of his warres, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewome, the daughter of Cleoptoleones, Chaptalenus the fayrest woman that was at that time in all GREECE. Therefore the CHAICADIAN swert daughter in much affected unto king Antiochus, and did put their city into his handes, to ferue hien in this the city of warre, for a strong & safe retyring place. Wherupo, whe Antiochus had lost the barrelibe came thither with all possible speede, and takinge from thence with him his passinge faver younge

ans and the

that in the ende, he gotte him to pardone them of CHALCIDE also. Who, bicause they were preserved from perill by his meanes, they to recompence this fact of his, did consecrate vitto him, all their most stately and sumptuous buildinges and common workes in their citie, as an peareth yet by the superscriptions remaininge to be seene at this day. As in the show place of

exercises: The people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this show place of exercises, vnto Time vmoT. Quin- Hercules. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of CHALCIDE did confectate thus for faming this temple, vnto Titus, and vnto Apollo. And furthermore, vnto this present time, there is a priest chosen by the voyce of the people, purposely to do facrifice vnto Titus: in which facrifice, after that the thing facrificed is offered vp, and wine powred aponit, the people standing by, do fing a fong of triumphe made in praise of him. But bicause it were to long to wryte it all out, we have only drawen in briefe the latter end of the same: and this it is. The cleare unspotted faith, of Romaines uve adore,

And vovv to be their faithfull frendes, both novv and euer more. Sing out you Muses nyne, to Ioues eternall fame, Sing out the honor due to Rome, and Titus worthy name. Sing out (I (ay) the praise, of Titus and his faith:

By wwhom you have preserved bene, from ruine, dole, and death. Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone only honor & reverence Titus, but he was generally Quanting com. honored also by the GREECIANS as he deserved, &was marvelously beloved for his current refie and good and good nature: which argueth plainely that they did not fainedly honor him, orthrough

compulsion, but even from the hart. For though there was some iarre betwixt him and Phi-C Emulation lopamen at the first about service, for emulation of honor, and after betwixt him and Diophahemist T. nes also, both generalls of the ACHAIANS: yet he neuer bare them any malice in his hart, ne-Quintitu and Philopamen. ther did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heate of his wordes, in counsell and assemblies, where he vittered his minde franckely to them both,

T. Quintius

Therefore none thought him ener a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him rathe, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as postbly could be, and would vie as pleafaunt wife mirthe as any man. As when he fayed to the A-CHAIANS, on a time, who would needes unjustly usurpe the Ile of the ZACYNTHIANS, to diffivade them from it: my Lordes of Achaia, if ye once goe out of Peloponnes vs, you put your felues in daunger, as the torteyfes doe, when they thrust their heades out of their shell. I And the first time he parled with Philip to treate of peace: when Philip said vnto him, you have brought many men with you, and I am come alone. In deede it is true you are alone, faydhe, bicaule you made all your frendes and kinne to be flaine. An other time, Dinocrates MESSI-NIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feast where he was, he disguised him felfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: and the next day followinge he went

vnto This; to pray him to helpe him through with his fute, which was, to make the cities MESSINA to rebell, and leave the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Titus made him aunswer, that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (fayd he) howe you can daunce in womans apparell, and finge at a feast, havinge such matters of weight in your head. In the counsel of the A CHAIANS, king Antiochus ambaffadors beinge come thither, to moue them to break ! their league with the ROMAINES, and to make alliance with the king their mafter, they made a maruelous large discourse of the great multitude of souldiers that were in their masters ar-

Ambaffador dee boat of mys and did number them by many diverse names. Whereunto Titus aunswered, and tolk their kinges how a frend of his hading bidden him one night to supper, and having served so many dillies of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost apon him, as won-Time Quinsites witty anderinge howe he could so fodainely get so much store of meate, and of so diverse kindes. My frende faved to me againe, that all was but porke dreffed fo many wayes, and with fo fundiy Amba Tadors bragges. fawces. And even fo (quod Titus) my Lords of ACHAIA, esteeme not king Antiochus arthythe

Antiochue

more, to heare of so many men of armes, numbered with their launces, and of such a numbered footemen with their pykes: for they are all but Synians, diverfely armed, only with ill fato F red litle weapons. Furthermore, after Tirus had done these thinges, and that the warre with Antiochus was ended, he was chosen Censor at Rome, with the sonne of that same Marcellas,

A who had benefiue times Confull. This office is of great dignities, and as a man may fave the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of Rome can have in their common wealth: They pur of the Senate, foure men only; but they were not famous. They did receive all imo the numher of citizens of Rome, that would present them selves to be enrolled in their cismimon regester : with a prouiso, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to doe it, by Terentius Culeo, Tribune of the people, who to despight the nobility, perswaded the Deople of Rome to commaunde it fo. Nowe at that time, two of the noblest and most fa-

molismen of Rome were great enemies one against an other: Publius Scipio African, and P. Schio and Marcus Porcius Cato. Of these two, Titus named Publius Scipio AFRICAN, to be prince of the M.P. Cato Senate as the chiefest and worthiest persone in the citie : and got the displeasure of the other, great enemies, which was Cato, by this mithappe. Titus had a brother called Lucius Quintius Flaminius, no- Secret groups bearing Time thing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was fo dissolutely and licentiously given over to and caid. his pleasure, that he forgatte all comlinesse and honesty. This Lucius loued well avourge boy. and caried him alwayes with him when he went to the warres, or to the charge and gouernment of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day fayd vnto Lucius Quintius; that he loued him so well, that he did leave the sight of the Swordplayers at the sharpe, which were

making ready to the fight, although he had neuer seene man killed before: to waite you him. Tuins being very glad of the boyes wordes, aunswered him straight, thou shalt loose nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by please thee as well. So he commaunded a condemned man A cried dide tobe fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whome he willed to strike of of their Chishead in the middest of his supper, that the boy might see him killed, Valerius Antias the hiforiographer wryteth, thatit was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But Titus Livius declareth, that in an oration which Cato him selfe made, it was wrytten, that itwas one of the GAV LES: who beinge a traitor to his contry men, was come to Flaminius

gate with his wife and children, and that Flaminius making him come into his halle killed him with his owne handes, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howebeitit is very likely that Cato wrote in this forte, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue wrytten it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offendor condemned to dye: and amonge other, Cicero the orator doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be tolde vnto Catoes owne persone. Howesoeuer it was, Marcus Cato being chosen Censor, and clensing the Senate of all vnworthy persones, he put of the same Cato being Luius Quintius Flaminius, although he had bene Confull: which disgrace did seeme to re- cenfor did pur downeto his brother Titus Quintius Flaminius also. Whereupon both the brethren came we- Lucius Quinping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that feemed very reasonable & ut of the St-

cuill: which was that they would commaunde Cato to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with fuch open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. Cato then without delay, or shrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked Titus out alowde, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed.

tions, home vnto his owne house. But Titus beingemuch offended at the disgrace of his bro-

ther, became enemy to Cato, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by T. Quimius practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leases, and all deedes of sales made by Catoduring his office, were called in, and made voyde: and caused many sures also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I can not say he did wisely or civilly, to become mortall enemy to an honest man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinfeman, who had justly deserved the shame layed voon him. Notwithstanding, shortely after when the people were affembled in the Theater to fee games played, & the Senators were ftraccording to their custome, in the most honorable places: Lucius Flaminius came in also, who in lowly and humble maner went to fit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honor: which when the people faw, they tooke pity of him, & could

Titus aunswered, he knewe not of it. Then Cato opened all the whole matter as it was, and in

the ende of his tale, he bad Lucius Quintius sweare openly, if he would deny that he had sayed

wastrue. Lucius aunswered not a worde. Whereuppon the people judged the shame was iufly layed vpon him : and fo to honor Cato, they did accompany him from the pulpit for ora-

tim reftored to his place by T. Quintius

Lucius Quin. not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to have him come and fit among the other Senators the Confulls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But tope. turne againe to Titus. The naturall ambition & couetous greedy minde he had of honor, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the

warres, which we have spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consull, of his owne secking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he beganne to stoupe for age, and that he had given over as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they saw plainely he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himself.

T. Quintius

in olde age to be ouercome with fuch youthfull violence, being farre vnmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the only cause that moued him to procure Hannibale comfe of Han- death, which bred him much difliking and ill opinion with many. For, after Hanniball had fed a out of his owne contry he went first vnto king Antiochus: who, after he lost the battel in PHRY. GIA, Was glad the ROMAINES grauted him peace with fuch conditions as them felues would Wherefore Hanniball fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered up and downe at the length he came to the realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king Prulias the ROMAINES knowinge it well enough; and bicause Hanniball was then an olde broken man, of no force nor power, and one whome fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more

reckening of him. But Titus being fent Ambassador by the Senate, vnto Prusias kinge of Bi-

Ambas Lador Hannibal deceined by an oracle concerninghis death.

THYNIA and finding Hanniball there, it grieued him to fee him aliue. So that notwithstanding king of Birhy. Prussias maruelously intreated him, to take pitie apon Hanniball a poore olde man. & his frend who came to him for fuccor : yet he coulde not perswade Titus to be content he should line s Hanniball long before had received aunswer of his death from an oracle, to this effect. The lande of Lybia, shall couer under moutelde.

The valliant corps of Hanniball. when he is dead and colde.

So. Hanniball vnderstoode that of Lybia, as if he should have dyed in Africke, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine fandy contry in BITHYNIA neere to the seaes side. where there is a little village called LIBYSSA, and where Hanniball remained continually, He

Hanniball

mistrusting king Prusias faynte harte, and fearing the ROMAINES malice also, had made seven priny caues and vaultes under groundelonge before, that he might fecretly go out at either of them which way he woulde, and every one of them came to the maine vault where himfelfe did lye, and coulde not be discerned outwardly. When it was tolde him that Titus had willed ly Prulias to deliver him into his handes he fought then to faue him felfe by those mynes; buthe found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward apon them by the kinges commaundement.

Hanniballs death.

So then he determined to kill him felfe. Now foine fay, that he wounde a linnen towell harde about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should fet his knee vpon his buttocke, and waying hard vpon him, holding the towell fast he should pull his necke backeward with all the power and strength he could, and neuer linne pressing on him, till he had strangled him, Other fay that he drancke bulles blood, as Midas and Themistocles had done before him, But Midas and Titus Linius wryteth, that he had poyfon which he kept for fuch a purpose, and tempereditin Themistocles a cuppe he helde in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes. Come on letvs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, fith my life is fo grieuous to them, that they think E it to long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate fo much: and yet Titus by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient Ro-MAINES, who aduertifed king Pyrrus their enemy, even when he made warres with them, and

had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towards

Celsees. Hanniballs last worder.

run life for the Rome vnto the Senate, many of them thought Titus to violent and cruell, to have made Harniball kill him felfe in that forte, when extreamity of age had ouercome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers fallinge from her for age: and fo much the more, bicaule there was no inftant occasion offered him to vrge him to doe it, but a couerous minde of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of Hanniballs death. And then I in contrariwife they did much honor and commend the clemency and noble minde of Scipio A FRICAN. Who having ouercomen Hanniball in battell, in A FRICKE selfe, and being then

Looke in Por- him. And this was Hanniballs ende, as we finde it wrytten. The newes whereof being cometo

a indeede to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before : yet he did not cause him to be

driven out of his contry, neither did aske him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, & before the battel, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke Hannibal curreoully by the hand, and after the battell, in the condicions of peace he gaue them, he never spake word of hurt to Hanniballs person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how af- Talke bernixe

retwardes they met againe together in the city of Ephesys, and as they were walkinge, that Scipio African Hanniball tooke the upper hand of Scipio : and that Scipio bare it paciently, and left not of wal-

king for that, neither shewed any countenaunce of misliking. And in entring into discourse of

many matters, they discended in the ende to talke of auncient Captaines: and Hanniball gaue Hannibale indgement, that Alexander the great was the famousest Captaine, Pyrrus the second, and him indgement of 3 felfe the thirde. Then Scipio finilinge, gently asked him : what wouldest thou fay then, if I had Capraines. not overcome thee? Truely, quod Hanniball, I would not then put my felfe the third man but the first, and about all the Captaines that ever were. So divers greatly comending the good-

le savinges and deedes of Scipio, did maruelously missike Titus, for that he had? as a man may (av) laved his handes upon the death of an other man. Other to the contray againe favd, it was well done of him, favinge, that Hanniball fo longe as he lived, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hande nor body that troubled the ROMAINES, fo much, but his great wifedome and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towardes the Ro-MAINES, which neither yeares, neither age would diminishe or take away. For mens naturall condicions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but chaungeth stil, and then quickeneth vp our defires to fet willingly vppon those that warre against vs, bicause they have vs in their hartes. The thinges which fell out afterwards, did greatly proue the reafons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of Titus. For one Aristonicus, sonne of a daughter of a player vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glory of Eumenes, whose bastard he was,

and Generall of his horsemen and sootemen in the field. Marine also went vound downe A

FRICKE a begging for his living, infomuch as his enemies at Rome mocked him to fcorne: &

fooneafter notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they faw they were

could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any nota-

ble thing written of Titus worthy of memory, neither in peace.

nor in warres. For he died quietely of naturall death

at home in his contrie.

filled all Asia with warre & rebellion, by reason the people rose in his favor, Againe Mithri- Minhridges, dates, after fo many losses he had received against Sylla and Fimbria, and after so many armies ouerthrowen by battell and warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed : did

yetrecouer againe, and came to be of great power both by fea and land against Lucullus. True-

y Hannibal was no lower brought then Caius Marius had bene. For he had a king to his frend, Marius n that gaue him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his thippes.

whipped, murthered, and flaine within Rome by his commaundement. Thus we fee no man To be meane

can fay certainely he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertainty of thinges to come: con- or great in this fidering ethere is but one death, and chaunge of better life. Some say also, that Titus did not bin death, this act alone, and of his owne authority : but that he was fent Ambassador with Lucius bringeth the Scipio to no other end, but to put Hanniball to death, by what meanes foeuer they defining cion.

A very expert and valliant, that were but meane and greene fouldiers before. And whereas Phi-

THE COMPARISON OF

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nterior Gentle



Tis time nowe we come to compare them together. Therefore as A touchinge the great benefits that came to the GREECIANS, neither Philopamen, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared With Titus. For all the auncient Captaines almost being GREECIANS Bridge Marres with other GREECIANS: but Titus beinge a ROMAINS, 2 and no GREECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GREECE. When Philopemen was not able to helpe his poore citizens diffressed fore. & vexed with warres, he fayled away into CRBTA. Titus having out come Philip kinge of MACEDON in battell, did restore againe toli-

rall of the Achaians, made more Greecians to be flaine, then Titus did of the Macabo NIANS, fightinge with them for the liberty of the GREECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and sodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. Titus left kinge Philip his realme and crowne after he had ouercome him, and vied great elemency towardes the ÆTOLIANS: where Phie lopamen for fpite, & malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne native contry, and city, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, Titus continued a founde frend to them, to whome he had once professed frendshippe, and done pleasurevinto : and Philopamen, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to ouerthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For Philopæmen when he had done the C

LACED EMONIANS great pleafure, did afterwards rafe the walls of their city and spoyled and

destroyed all their contry: and lastly, ouerthrew their whole gouernment. It seemeth also by

reason of his immoderate choller, he was him selfe cause of his owne death, for that he made

berry all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any wil

narrowly examine the battells of either partie : they shall finde, that Philopamen being Gene, B

Time Oning more hast then good speede, to go out of time to set vpon those of MESSINA: and not as Ti-

Quintitu co. manndedgood Souldiers: Philopamen made good fuldiers.

tius wifer the tus, who did all his affaires with wifedome, and euer confidered what was best to be done. But Philipamen. if we looke into the number of battells, and victories: the warre which Titus made against Philip was ended with two battells. Whereas Philopamen in infinite battells in which he had the better, neuer left it doutfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, Titus wanne honor by meanes of the power of Rome, when it florished most, and was in best prosperitie: Philopamen made him selfe famous by his D deedes, when GREECE beganne to stoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the ROMAINES: & the dedes of the other, were private to himselfe alone. For Titus was General ouer good and valliant fouldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and Philopamen being chosen Generall, didtraine his men him selfe, & made them afterwards

labamen had continuall warres with the GREECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he lad. but that it made a certaine proofe of his valliantnesse. For where all other thinges are aunswerable to his, there we must judge that such as ouercome, have the most corage. Now Phi-Inhamen making warres with the most warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACED EMONIANS) did ouercome the fubtillest of them, by finenesse and policy : and the most valliant, by prowes and hardinesse. But Titus ouercame, by putting that only in practife. which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his fouldiers had longe before bene trained. Whereas Philopamen brought into his contry, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed vnto. So that the chiefest point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neaer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vie it, and had founde it out already before. Againe, touching the valliant actes done in the person of them selves, many notable actes may be told of philonemen, but none of Titus: but rather to the contrary. For there was one Archedemus an ETOLIAN, who flowtinge Titus one day, fayd in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when Philopamen ranne with his fword in his hande, to that fide where he faw the MACEDONIANS fighting, & making hed against the enemy, Titus held vp his hands vnto heaven, and was busic at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the sword, & to fight of all handes. All the goodly deedes Titus ever did, were done alwaies as a Conful, must not be at Cor Lieutenant, or a Magistrate: whereas Philopamen shewed him selfe vnto the Achans, a his process, man no lesse valliant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For except his when he was a Generall, he did drine Nabis the tyran of the LACED EMONIANS out of MES- food. SINA, and deliuered the MESSENIANS out of bondage: and being a private man, he shut the gates of the city of SPARTA, in the face of Diophanes (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of Titus Quintius Flaminius, and kept them both from comminge in, and thereby faued the city from facking. Thus being borne to commaunde, he knew not only how to commaunde according to the law, but could commaund the law it selfe apon necessity, & when the common wealth required it. For at fuch a time he would not tary, while the Magistrates which should gouerne him did geue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of him felfe, and vied them when D the time ferued: esteeming him in deede their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they chose of them selues. And therefore they doe well, that doe commende Titus actes, for his clemency, and curtefie, vied to the GREBCIANS: but much Quinitus clemore the noble and valliant actes of Philopamen unto the Romaines. For it is much easier to mency to the pleasure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therfore, sithence we have throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to judge altogether the difference that is between them. Peraduenture therefore the judgement woulde not seeme very ill, if we doe gene the Greecian, for discipline of warre, the preheminence and praise of a good Captaine; and to the ROMAINE, for iustice and clemency, the

> curteous gentleman. The ende of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

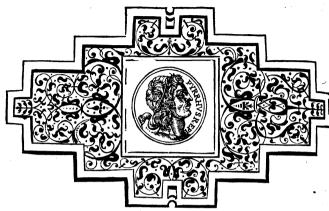
name and dignity of a most just and

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Poilopamenes loue so

she Romaines.

THE LIFE Pyrrus.



P) rrus kinred, and beginning of the kingdome

T is writte, that fince Noes thoud, the first king of the The Sprotians, A and of the Molossians, was Phaëton, one of those who came with Pelasgus, into the realme of Epirvs. But some say otherwise, that Deucalion, and his wife Pyrra remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the contry of the MOLOSSIANS. But howfocuer it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the some of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the contry, and after him left a succession of kinges, which were called after his name, the Pyrrides: bicaufe that from his infan-

Pyrrus, redd. cy he was furnamed Pyrrus, as much to fay, as redde: and one of his legittimate fonnes whom he had by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodes, the sonne of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. } And this is the cause why Achilles is honored as a god in Epiros, beinge called in their language, Aspetos, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kinges of that racevntll the time of Tharrytas, there is no memory nor mencion made of them, nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, bicause they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voyde of ciuility. Tharrytus was in deede the first that beautified the cities of his contry with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in civill lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharryt is left a fonne called Alcetas, of Alcetas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his wife, came AEacides, who maried Phthia, the daughter of Menon THESSALIAN A famous man in the time of the warres furnamed Lamiacus, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after Leosthenes. This AEacides had two daugh C ters by his wife Phthia, to fay, Deidamia and Troiade, and one sonne called Pyrrus. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, & put the crowne into the hands of the sonnes of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the frends of AEacides that could be taken, were generally murdered, and flaine outright. Androclides, & Angelus in the meane time stale away Pirrus, being yet but a fuckling babe (whome his enemies neuerthelesse egerly fought forto haue destroyed) and sled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few servauntes, his nurses and necessary women only to looke to the childe, and give it sucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great iorneys, but that they might easily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the handes of

How Pyrrus being an infant was fa-

Androclion, Hippias, and Neander, three lusty young men, whome they trusted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and Megares a they them selves in the meane time, partely by intreaty, & partely by force, made stay of those sit of Mactthat followed them till night. So as with much a doe havinge driven them backe, they ranne after them that caried the childe Pyrrus, whom they ouertooke at funne fet. And now wening they had bene fafe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrary. For when they came to the river vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they faw it fo rough and fwift, that it made them afrayed to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpoffible to wade through, it was so fore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darkenesse of the night made every thing feeme feareful vnto them. So as they now that caried the child, thought it not good to venter the paffage ouer of themselves alone, with the women that tendedthe childe: but hearing certaine contrymen on the other fide, they prayed and befought them in the name of the goddes, that they would helpe them to passe ouer the child showing Pyrrus vnto them a farre of. But the contrymen by reason of the roaringe of the river vnderfloode them not. Thus they continued a longe space, the one cryinge, the other lystning, yet could they not vinderstand one an other, til at the last one of the company bethought him selfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, & vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tyed to a stone to gene it weight, and so threw it ouer to the other fide of the river: other fay that he did pricke the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast ouer. The contrymen on the other side of the river, havinge redwhat was wrytten, and understanding thereby the present daunger the childe was in : felled downe trees in all the hast they could possibly, bounde them together, and so passed ouer the river. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed over, and tooke the child, was called Achilles: the refidue of the contrymen passed ouer also, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hads, by easie iorneys they came at the length vnto Glaucias king of ILLYRIA, whom they Glaucias king found in his house sitting by his wife: and layed downe the childe in the middest of the flower of Illyria. before him. The king hereuppon stayed a fong time without vttering any one word, waying with him selse what was best to be done : bicause of the searche had of Cassander, a mortall enemy of AEacides. In the meane time, the childe Pyrrus creeping of all foure, tooke hold of D the kinges gowne, and scrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the childe : but after it pitied him againe, bicause the child feemed like an humble futer that came to feeke fanctuary in his armes. Other fay that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongest the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods prouidence, presently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortely after, his enemies sent to demaunde the childe of him: and moreouer, Caffander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the childe Fyrrus into his handes. Howebeit Glaucias would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was comen to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his contry of E-E PIRV S with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. Pyrrus had a great maiesty in his countenaunce, but yet in deede more fearefull then frendly. He had also no teeth in his Portus Countenaunce. vpper iawe that stoode distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone through out his tenamee and gomme, marked a little at the top only, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth should teeth. bedeuided. Men helde opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by Pyrrus heafactificinge a white cocke, and touchinge the place of the splene on the left side of them that tid them that were sicke of were sicke of were sicke of the splene was not so poore were sicke of were ficke, fostely with his right soote, they lying on their backes: and there was not so poore the filing. nor simple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he facrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foote had some secrete vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had p burnt all partes of his body, and confumed it to ashes: his great to e was whole, and had no hurt The fire could atall. But of that, we will wryte more hereafter. Now, when he was seuenteene yeares of age, not burne thinking him Cold. Government of the latest and the second of the s thinking him selfe sure enough of his kingdome, it chaunced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

battell of Hipfus.

ter of Philip his wife Bere-Pyrrus reftokingdome againe.

RIA. where he maried one of Glaucias daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. Buthis A backe was no fooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe against him, & draue on Pyrrurealme his frends, & servaunts, and destroyed all his goods, and yelded themselves vnto his adversary inhis absence. Neoptolemus. King Pyrrus having thus lost his kingdom, & seeing himself forsaken on all sides. went to Demetrius (Antigonus sonne) that had maried his fister Deidamia, who in her youngape was affured to Alexander, the sonne of Alexander the great, and of Roxane, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked ende, Demetrius then maried her, he Pyrrus valli- ing come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was striken neere to the citient anines at the HIPSVS, where all the kinges fought together, Pyrrus being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthely reputed for the valliantest prince amongest them all. Furthermore, when Demetrius was ouercome, and had lost a the battell: Pyrrus neuer forfooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GREECE. which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt Demetrize and Ptolomie. Pyrrus was fent an oftage for Demetrius into the realme of ÆGIPTE: wherehe made Ptolomie know (both in huntinge, and in other exercises of his persone) that he was very ftrong, harde, and able to endure any labor. Furthermore perceiving that Berenise among all king Ptolomies wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husbande, both for her verme and wisedome: he beganne to entertaine and honor her aboue all the rest. For he was a man Pirtus beha- that could tell how to humble him felfe towardes the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knewe also how to creepe into their credit; and in like manner was he a great scomer and despifer of such as were his inferiors. Moreover, for that he was found marvelous home. rable and of fayer condicion, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the help. P) 1744 mari- bande of Antigona, the daughter of Queene Berenice, whom the had by Philip, before the was maried vnto Ptolomie. From thenceforth growing through the allyance of that mariage, more and more into estimacion and fauor by meanes of his wife Antigona, who shewed her selfeyery vertuous and louing towardes him: he found meanes in the ende, to get both men and money to return again into the realme of Epirvs, and to conquer it: fo was he then very well received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to Neoptolemus, bicause he det both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstandinge, Pyrrus fearinge least Neoptolemus would repaire vnto some of the other kings, to seeke ayde against him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that they should both togetherbe D kinges of Epiros. But in processe of time, some of their men secretly made strife againeberealme of E- twene them, and fet them at defyance one with an other: and the chiefest cause as it is sayed that angered Pyrrus most, grew apon this. The kinges of Epinks had an auncient customeof great antiquity, after they had made folemne facrifice vnto Impiter Martiall, (ina certaine place in the province of Molosside, called Passaron) to take their othe, and to be sworne to the EPIROTES, that they would raigne well and justly, according to the lawes and ordinaunces of the contry: and to receive the subjectes othes interchaungeably also, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kinges, and they with their frendes did both gene and receive presentes eche of other. At this meetinge and solemnity, amonge other, one Ge-E lon a most faithfull servaunt and assured frend vnto Neoptolemus, who besides great showes of frendshippe and honor he did vnto Pyrrus, gaue him two payer of draught oxen, whichone Myrtilus a cuppebearer of Pyrrus beinge present, and seeinge, did craue of his master. But Pyrrus denyed to geue them ynto him whereat Myrtilus was very angry. Gelon perceiuinge that Mytilus was angry, prayed him to suppe with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse Myrtilus, bicause he was fayer and younge: and beganne to perswade him after supper to take parte with Neoptolemus, and to poylon Pyrrus. Myrtilus made as though he was willing to geue eare to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his master of it, by whose commaundement he made Alexierates, Prime chiefe cuppebearer, to talke with Gelon about this practife, as though he had also genenhis consent to it, and was willinge to be partaker of the enterprise. This did Pyrrus to hauetwo witnesses, to proue the pretended poysoninge of him. Thus Gelon beinge finely deceived, and

a Neobtolemus also with him, both imagininge they had cunningly sponnethe threde of their reason: Neoptolemus was so glad of it, that he could not kepe it to him selfe, but told it to cerraine of his frendes. And on a time going to be mery with his fifter, he could not keepe it in. but must be practing of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her selfe, bicause there was no living creature neere them, faving Phanareta Samons wife, the kinges chiefe heardman of all his beaftes, and yet she was layed apon a little bed by, and turned towards the walk: so that the feemed as though the had flept. But having heard all their talke, and no body miltrusting her the next morning the went to Antigona king Pyrrus wife, and told her enery words what the had heard Neoptolemus fay to his fifter. Pyrrus hearing this, made no countenaunce of any thing at that time, But havinge made facrifice vnto the goddes, he bad Menpelemus to supper n to his house, where he flue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefest men of the realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatch Neoptolemas, & not to content him selfe with a peece of Epirvs only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great thinges : and for this cause therefore, this suspition fallinge out in the meane while, he preuented Neoptolemus, and flue him first. And furthermore, remembringe the pleasures he had Pyrus flue received of Ptolomie and Berenice, he named his first some by his wife Antigona, Ptolomie, and Responsement having built a city in the PRESCOVE, an Ile of EPIRVS, did name it BARENIEUDA. When he Berenicida, a had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined city of Epiric with him selfe howe to winne that which lay neerest vnto him: and so tooke occasion by this Presique. meanes, first to set foote into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldest some of Cassander, called Prints first Antipater, put his owne mother The falonica to death, and draue his brother Alexander out Macedon, of his owne contry, who fent to Demetrius for helpe, and called in Pyrrus also to his ayde. Demetrius being troubled with other matters, could not fo quickely go thither. And Pyrrus being arrived there, demanded for his charge fusteined, the citie of NYMPHEA, with all the fea coastes of MACEDON: and besides all that, certaine landes also that were not belonginge to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kinges of MACEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All thefe, the young king Alexander leaninge vnto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good garrisons into the same in his owne name : and conquering the rest of MACED ON in the name of Alexander, put his brother Antipater to great distresse. In the meane time kinge Lysimachus lacked no good will to helpe D Antipater with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the meane to doe it. Howbeit knowinge very well that Pyrrus in acknowledginge the great pleasures he had received of Ptolomie, woulde deny him nothinge: he determined to wryte counterfeate letters to him in Ptolomies name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leave of the warres begonne against Antipater, and to take of him towardes the defrayinge of his charges, the summe of King Lyfine. three hundred talentes. Pyrrus opening the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and thus craft to deuise of Lysmachus. For king Ptolomies common manner of greeting of him, which hevsed deceive Pyratthe beginning of his letters, was not in them observed: To my some Prerss, health. But in those counterfeate was, king Ptolomie, vnto king Pyrrus, health. Whereupon he presently pronounced Lysimachus for a naughty man: neuerthelesse, afterwardes he made peace with an-E tipater, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworne vpon the sacrifices vnto the atticles of peace. There were three beaftes brought to be facrificed, a goate, a bul, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downedead of him felfe before he was touched, whereat all the funders by fell a laughinge. But there was a Soothfayer, one Theodotus, that perswaded Pyrrus notto sweare: saying, that this signe and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings indgenen, a with sodaine death. For which cause Pyrrus concluded no peace. Now Alexanders warres bo. Southfaver. inge ended, Demetrius notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his comming that Alexander had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it only but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but thone beganne to mistrust thother, and to spie all the wayes they could to intrappe eche other: but Demetrius embracing the first occasion offered, r preuented Alexander, and flue him, being a young man, and proclaimed him felfeking of M 4- Pyrrus quar-CEDON in his roome. Now Demetrius had certaine quarrells before against Pyrrus; bicause he rill and some had our runne the common of Transaction and further with Demehad ouerrunne the contry of THESSALIE: and furthermore, greedy couetousnes to have the miss.

PYRRVS. 430 more(which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being so neere neight a bours, the one stoode in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the deather Deidamia. But now that they both occupied all MACED ON between them, and were to make division of one selfe kingdome. Now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Whereupon Demetrius went with his army to fet apon the Aro. LIAMS, and havinge conquered the contry, left Pantauchus his Lieutenaunt there with a great

army: and him felfe in person in the meane time, marched against Fyrrus, and Pyrrus on that

ther fide against him. They both missed of meetinge, and Demetrius goinge on further on the

one fide, entred into the realme of EPERVS, and brought a great spoyle away with him: Pro-

Denteuchus. Demetrius Lieutenant it AFrolia.

rus on the other fide marched on, till he came to the place where Pantauchus was. To whome he gaue battell, and it was valliantly fought out betwene the fouldiers of either party, but spe. A cially betwene the two Generalls. For doutlesse, Pantauchus was the valliantest Captaine, the flowtest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of all the Captaines and souldiers Demetrius had. Whereupon, Pantauchus trusting in his strength and corage, aduaunced him selfe forwardes, and luftely chalenged the combat of Pyrrus. Pyrrus on the other fide being inferior to no king in valliantnes, nor in desire to winne honor, as he that would ascribe vnto himselfe the glory of Achilles, more for the imitacion of his valliancy, then for that he was discended of his blood: paffed through the middest of the battell vnto the first rancke, to buckle with Pantauchus. Thus they beganne to charge one an other, first with their dartes, and then comming nearer, fought with their fwordes, not only artificially, but also with great force and fary: vntill fuch time as Fyrrus was hurte in one place, and he hurte Pantauchus in two. The one C

neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: fo as in the ende Pyrrus made him turnehis

backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuerthelesse killed him not. For, so soone as he was

ry of their kinge, and the admiration of his valliantnesse, stucke to it so lustely, that in the end

they brake the battell of the MACED ONIAN footemen: & having put them to flight, followed

them so lively, that they slewe a great number of them, and tooke five thousande prisoners.

This ouerthrowe did not so much fill the hartes of the MACEDONIANS with anger, forthe losse they had received, nor with the hate conceived against Pyrrus: as it wanne Pyrrus great

fame & honor, making his corage and valliantnes to be wondred at of all uch as were prefent

in his face the very life and agility of Alexander the great, and the right shadow as it were, ho-

wingethe force and fury of Alexander him selfe in that fight. And where other kinges didbut

only counterfeate Alexander the greatin his purple garments, and in numbers of fouldiers and

gardes about their persones, and in a certaine facion and bowing of their neckes a litle, andin vttering his speech with an high voyce: Pyrrus only was like vnto him, and followed himin

more, they reporte, that kinge Antigonus being asked, whome he thought to be the greatest

Captaine: made aunswer, Pyrrus, so farre foorth as he might live to be olde, speaking only of

experience and skil in warres of all other, Seipio the second, and him selfe the third: as we have

wrytten in the life of Scipio. So it seemeth that Pyrrus gaue his whole life and study to the difcipline of warres, as that which in dede was princely and meete for a king, making no recke-

ning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they reporte that he be-

at the battell that faw him fight, and how he layed about him. For they thought that they faw D

Promovido- downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the EPIROTES encoraged by the victo-

ned to Alexander the great.

Pyrous kil in his marshall deedes and valliant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlikediwantike difer fcipline, the bookes he wrote him felfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifest. Furtherpline.

Hanniballs indgement of the Captaines of his time. But Hanniball generally fayd, Pyrrus was the greatest Captaine of E

Pyrrus wife

ing at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the flute, Python or Cephesias: whereunto he aunswered, that Polyperchon in his opinion was the best Captaine, as if he would have fayd, that was the only thing a prince should seeke for, and Proving good- which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his frendes, easie to forgeue when any had offended him, and maruelous desirous to requite and acknowledge any curtefie or pleasure by him received. And that was the cause why he did very vnp2-F ciently take the death of AEropus, not fo much for his death (which he knewe was a common thing to every living creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the time

a follong that time it felfe had cut him of from all occasion and meanes to require the currelies he had received of him. True it is that money lent, may be repayed again evintothe heires of the lender; but yet it greueth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of certains witthe lender, of whom he hath received the goodturne. An other time Pyrrus being in the city 19 Jayinges of of A MB RACIA, there were certaine of his frends that gaue him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he aunswered, it is better (quod he) mkeepe him here still, speakinge ill of vs but to a fewe : then driving him away, to make him fneake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youthes were brought before him on a time, who making mery together, drinking freely, were bolde with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vinduetifull forte. So, Pyrrus askinge them whether it was true they fayed fo or no: it

istrue, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in deede, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of Antigona, he maried many wives to increase his power withall, and to gette Pyrous wines moe frendes. For he maried the daughter of Autoleon kinge of P EONIA, and Bircenna the and children. daughter of Bardillis, king of ILLYRIA, and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, tyran of Sy-RACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken. By Antigona his first wife, he had a sonne called Ptolomie: By Lanassa, an other called Alexander: and by Bircenna, an other (the youngest of all) called Helenus: all which though they were marshall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought up by him in warres, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradell, They wryte, that one of his fonnes beinge C but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leave his kingdome: Pyrrus auniwe-

red the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sworde. That was much like the tragical curse wherewith Oedipus curfed his children. Let them(for me) denide, both goodes, year entes and lande:

VVith trenchaunt sovord, and bloody blowves, by force of mighty hande. So cruell, hatefull, and beaftly is the nature of ambition and defire of rule. But after this battell, Pyrrus returned home againe to his contry, full of honor and glory, his hart highly exalted, and his minde throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTES his subjectes Pyron called

called him an Eagle, he aunswered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for an Eagle. your weapons are the winges that have raifed me vp. Shortely after, beinge advertised that Demetrius was fallen ficke, and in great daunger of death, he fodainely went into MACEDON, Pyrus imusonly to inuade it, and to make pray thereof: howbeit he had in deede almost taken the whole don. realme, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as farre as the city of Edessa, and found no relistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the contry willingly cameto his campe, and fubmitted them selues. The daunger Demetrius was in to loose his realme, did moue him more: then the disease and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his frendes, feruauntes, and Captaines, having gathered a great number of men of warre together in maruelous shortetime, marched with great speede towardes Pyrrus, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come into MACED ON but to make a roade

only apon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, loft parte of his men, bicause the E MACED ONI ANS followed him hard, and fet apon him by the way. But now, though they had driven Pyrrus thus easily out of MACEDON, Demetrius for all that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater thinges, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fine hundred sayle which he put to my both by the sea) would not stande to make warres against Pyrrus, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS land and sea. (whileft he was absent) so daungerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leafure to make warres with Pyrrus, concluded a peace with him, to the ende he might with the

more liberty fet apon the other kinges. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt Demetrius &c Pyrrus, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out Demetrius intent, and why he had made so great preparation and being afrayed therof, wrote vnto Pyrrus by their Ambassadors, that they wondred how he could let go such oportunity and occasion, and to tary till Demetriw might with better leafure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary & fight with him for the aulters, temples, and sepulchers of the Molossians, when he shoulde be

of greater power, and have no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might easily a drive him out of MACED ON, having fo many things in hand, & being troubled as he was in a ther places. And cofidering also that very lately he had taken one of his wives from him, with the city of CORPHVE. For Lana ffa millikinge, that Pyrrus loued his other wives better then her, (they being of a barbarous natio) got her vnto Corphy E:& desiring to mary some other king, fent for Demetrius, knowinge that he of all other kinges would foonest be wonne there.

maried Lanassa Pyrrus

unto, Whereuppon Demetrius went thither, and maried her, and left a garrifon in his citie of CORPHVE. Nowethese other kinges that did aduertise Pyrrus in this forte, them selues did trouble Demetrius in the meane while: who tracted time, & yet went on with his preparacion notwithstading, For on the one side, Ptolomie entred GREECE with a great army by sea, where he caused the cities to revolt against him. And Lysimachus on the other side also, entring into a high MACED ON by the contry of THRACIA, burnt and spoyled all as he went. Pyrrus also atminge him selfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwardes it sell out) that Demetrius goinge against Lysimachus, would leave all the lowe contry of MACEDON

Pytrus

naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that Pyrrus departed, heimagined that king Alexander the great did call him, and that also he went vnto him, & found him ficke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainment: infomuch as he promifed to helpe him throughly. And Pyrrus imagined also that he was so bolde to demaundos him againe: how(my Lord)can you helpe me, that lye ficke in your bed? and that Alexander made aunswer: with my name only. And that moreouer he sodainely therewithall got voon his horse Nisea, & rode before Pyrrus to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dreame. C. which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterprise. By which occasion, marching forward with all speede, in few dayes he ended his intended iomer to the city of BERROEA, which fodainely he tooke at his first comming to it: the most parte of his army he layed in garrison there, the residue he sent away under the conduct of his Cap-

icrney into Macedon.

taines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. Demetrius having intelligence hereof, and hearing also an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongest the MACED ON IANS dust not leade them any further, for feare least (when he should come nere to Lysimachus beingea MACEDONIAN king by nation, & a prince estemed for a famous captaine) they would shrinke from him, & take Lysimachus parte: for this cause therefore he turned againe vpon the sodaine against Pyrrus, as against a straunge prince, & ill beloued of the MACED ONIANS. But whenhe D came to incampe nere him, many cominge from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroadethe praises of Pyrrus, saying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in warres, & one that curteoully intreated all those he tooke to his party. & amongest those, there were other that were nonatural MACED ONIANS borne, but fet on by Pyrrus, & fained them selves to be MACED ONIANS,

full, infomuch as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to fee if they could finde out Pyrruto yelde them selues vnto him. He had at that present left of his head peece : by meanewhereof, perceiuing he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a farre of, by the E fight of his goodly fayer plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his creaft. Whereupon there came a great number of M ACED ONIANS to his parte, as vnto their foueraine Lord and king, and required the watche word of him. Other put garlandes of oken bowes about their heades, bicause they saw his men crowned after that forte. And some were fo bolde alfo, as to go to Demetrius him felfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wifely to geue place to fortune, and referre all vnto Pyrrus. Demetrius hereupon, feeing his campe in fuch vprore, was fo amased, that he knewe not what way to take, but stale away fecretly, difguifed in a threde bare cloke, & a hoode on his head to kepe him from knowledge. Pyrrus foorthwith scafed vppon his campe, tooke all that he founde, and was presently proclaimed in the fielde, king of MACEDON. Lysimachus on thother side, camestraight thither F

who gaue out, that nowe occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from Demetrius prowde

and stately rule, and to take kinge Pyrrus parte, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued

fouldiers and men of warre. These wordes made the most parte of Demetrius army very dout-

claimed kings after him, and fayed that he had holpen to chase Demetrius out of his realme, and therefore

ueth inflice and equity. So Pyrrus being come home agains to his kingdome of Epirys, forfakinge MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to line peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could have contented him felfe only with the fouerainty ouer his owne naturall subjectes. But thinking, that if he did neither hurtother, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace heshould pyne away for sorow, as Homer sayd of Achilles: He languished and pynde by taking ease and rest: And in the warres where transile was, he liked ener best. words of the And thus feeking matter of newe trouble, fortune presented him this occasion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chaunce made warre with the TARENTINES, who could nether beare

thereupon deuided all the cities and provinces of the realme of MACEDON between them, Macedon de-This particion was profitable for them both at that prefent, and stoode then to good purpose prime Prime to pacifie the warre, that otherwise might sodainely haue risen betwene them. But shortly af- and Lysinater, they found that this particion was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diffention between them. For they whose auarice and insatiable greedy appetite.neither the fea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable defertes coulde containe, nor yet the con- Compton free funes that separate Asia from Evrope determine: howe should they be content with their owne, without viurping others, when their fronters joyne so necretogether, that nothing demides them? Sure it is not possible. For to fay truely, they are willingly together by the eares. hauing these two cursed thinges rooted in them : that they continually seeke occasion how to furprile eche other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparaunce they vie these two tearmes, of peace and warres, as they doe money : vinge it as they Peace, and thinke good, not accordinge to right and inflice, but for their private profit. And truely they warre, wed are men of farre greater honesty, that make open warre, and auow it: then those that disguise and colour the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy name of instice or frendship. Which

aidethe Greecians against him, and was at Athens, where they suffered him to come in-

their currefie, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to requite them againe,

he gaue them counsell, neuer to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their ci-

wif they were wife, nor once open their gates vnto them. So, after that he made peace with

Demetrius, who within shorte time beinge gone to make warres in Asia, Pyrrus yet once a-

gaine (perswaded thereunto by Lysimachus) caused all THESSALIE to rise against him, & went

him selfe to set upon those garrisons which Demetrius had left in the cities of GREECE, liking

better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leave them in peace : besides that

ictes) and to have turned all those out of MACED ON, that had bene familiar frendes of king

Alexander the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were wonne by these perswasions, which

fact to feared Pyrrus, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIRO-

TES, and other his confederates: and so lost MACED ON by the selfe same meanes he wanne

it. Kinges and princes therefore must not blame prinate men, though they chaunge and after

fometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teache

them all difloyalty, treason, and infidelity, judging him most worthy of gaine, that least obser-

Fritus did truely then verifie. For defiring to kepe Demetrius downe from rifing an other time, and that he should not reuiue againe as escaped from a long daungerous disease: he went to

to the castell, and doe sacrifice there vnto the goddesse Minerua. But comming out of the ca- the Gracians Chleagaine the same day, he tolde the Athenians he was greatly beholding evinto them for against De-

him felfe also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. Demetrius thus in the ende being vtterly ouerthrowen in Syria, Lysimachus seeing him selfe free from seare on that Dide, and being at good leasure, as having nothing to trouble him otherwayes: went straight 1, Sanathan to make warre apon Pyrrus, who then remained neere vnto the city of EDESSA, & meeting by makesh mare the way with the conuoy of vittells comming towards him, set vpon the conducters, and rifled with Pyrmu.

them wholly. By this meanes, first he distressed Pyrrus for want of vittels: then he corrupted the princes of M ACED ON with letters & meffengers, declaring vnto the, what shame they sustein ned to haue made a straunger their king (whose auncesters had euer bene their vassalls & sub-

claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, Pyrrus not trustinge the MACEDONIANS

other kinges about them, and was esteemed of every man also to be a noble souldier, and he

So ne other feeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, woulden

more repayre to their common affemblies. Among the reft, there was one Meton, an hone

worthipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people fhoulde conclude in com-

in the Theater, this Meton put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his head, and can h

ing a torch in his handeas though he had benedronke, and having a woman minstrell before

affembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in every hurly burly of people that will be

other burst out in a laughter, and every man suffered him to doe what he lust : but they

cried out to the woman minstrell, to play on and spare not, and to Meton him selfe, thathe

should fing, and come forward. So Meton made thewe as though he prepared him selfe your

wordes of Meton moued many of the TARENTINES, and fodainly there ran a rumorthrough

all the affembly, that he had fayed truely. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, feating

if peace were made, that they should be delivered into their handes, they checked the peo-

ple, asking them if they were fuch fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withallto

their teeth: and with those wordes all ranne uppon Meton, and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voyces of the people, they fent Ambaffadors into Epirysm

cary prefents vinto king Pyrrus, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GREECIANS

also that dwelt in ITALIE, saying that they stoode in neede of a wise and skilful Captaine, that I

was reputed famous in marthall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good foul-

diers, they had men enough in I TALIE, & were able to bring an army into the field, of the Lie

CANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thowsande horse,

& three hundred thow and footemen being all affembled together. These wordes of the Am-

baffadors did not only lift vp Pyrrss harte, but made the Erino resalfo maruelous defirousto

tines havings for him for to conduct these warres: bicause he was lesse troubled at that time, then any of the warrewith the Romaines, demous Captaine. The elders, and wife men of the city, vtterly misliked that counsell: but some of them were put to filence, through the noyle and fury of the people, who cried for warres make king Generall.

Meton counsurfearing the fel, the decree for the calling in of Pyrrus: all the people of TARENTYM being affembled. We not to fend for him playing on a pype, went daunfinge in this goodly aray through the middest of the whole city in Italie. masters them selues, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their handes

it: and when they had geuen silence to heare him sing, he spake vnto them with a lowd voice Meters count in this manner. My Lordes of TARENT VM, ye doe well fure, not to forbid them to play and fell to the Ta- to be mery that are so disposed, whilest they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, enery of your also (as many as you be) will take your liberty whilest you may enjoy it. For when king Pyrru shalbein this city, you shall live I warrant ye after an other forte, and not as ye now do. These

The Taren. sines fende Ambaffadors to Porrat.

in Privile

go this iorney. There was in kinge Fyrrus courte one Cineas Thessalian, a man of great with derstanding, and that had bene Demosthenes the orators scholler, who seemed to be the onely falian borne, man of all other in his time in common reputacion, to be most eloquent, following the lines image and shadow of Demosthenes passing eloquence. This Cineas, Pyrrus euer entertaineda-CONTIA. bout him, and fent him Ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verefied E Euripides wordes.

taike with moderate his minde.

quence, then him felfe had done by the fword for which he did greatly honor and imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. Cineas perceiuinge that Pyrrus was marueloufly bent to thefe wants Of ITALIB, finding him one day at leafure, discoursed with him in this sorte. It is reported, and it please your maiesty, that the ROMAINES are very good men of warre, & that they comaund many valliant and warlike nations: if it please the goddes we doe ouercome them, what benefit shall we have of that victory? Pyrrus aunswered him againe, thou doest aske me a question F that is manifest of it selfe. For when we have once ouercome the ROMAINES, there cannel ther Greec ian nor barbarous city in all the contry withfrande vs, but we shall straight con-

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe.

So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer too.

And therfore Pyrrus would often fay, that Cineus had wonne him moe townes with his ele-

a querall the rest of I TALIB with ease: whose greatnes, wealth, and power, no man knoweth hencer then thy felfe. Cine as pawfing a while, replied: and when we have taken I TALLE, what halwe do then? Pyrrus not finding his meaning yet, faid vnto him. Sicilia as thou knowest. is hard adioyning to it, & doth as it were offer it felfe vnto vs, & is a maruelous populous and richelande, and easie to be taken: for all the cities within the Ilande are one against an other, hauing no head that gouernes the, fince Agathocles died, more the orators only that are their Pyrmindee-

counsellers, who will soone be wonne. In dede it is likely which your grace speaketh, quod Ciness: but when we have wonne Sicilia, shall then our warres take enderlf the goddes were corruption. pleafed, fayed Pyrrus, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broade open for vs to attaine great conquestes. For who would not afterwardes goe into Africke, and so Car-THAGE, which also will be an easie conquest, since Agathoeles secretly flying from Syrac VSA. and having passed the seaes with a fewe shippes, had almost taken it? And that once conquered.it is most certaine there durst not one of all our enemies that now doe daily vexe and troublevs, lift up their heades or handes against vs. No surely, sayd Cineas: for it is a cleare case, that with fo great a power we may easily recouer the realime of MACEDON againe, and commaundeall GREECE besides, without let of any. But when we have all in our handes: what hall we doe in the ende? Then Pyrrus laughing, tolde him againe: we will then (good Cineas) bequiet, & take our ease, and make feasts every day, & be as mery one with an other as we can

nossible. Cineas having brought him to that poynt, fayd againe to him: my Lord, what letteth vs now to be quiet, and mery together, fith we enjoy that prefently without further trauel and r mouble, which we will now go feeke for abroade, with fuch sheading of blood, and so manifest daunger ? and yet we know not whether euer we shall attaine vnto it, after we have both suffered, and caused other to suffer infinite sorowes and troubles. These last wordes of Cine as, did A damgerous rather offende Pyrrus, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignorant of the hap-thing to withpy state he shoulde thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue of the hope of that he did so much stande the defire. So he fent Cineas before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thousand footemen : and

north winde blew very roughly, out of feafon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithstandinge,

their course into ITALIE, were cast into the seas of LIBYA, and SICILIA. The other notable

to recouer the pointe of Apv LIA, were benighted, and the lea being hie wrought, by violence

calthem apon the shoare, and against the rockes, and made shipwrackes of them, the Admi-

rallonely referred, which through her strength, and the greatnes of her burden, refisted the

force of the fea that most violently bet against her. But afterwards, the winde turning & com-

afterwardes the TARENTINES having lenthim great store of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all forces of paffengers, he shipped into them twenty elephantes, three thousand horsemen, and Pyrrus ionney two and twenty thowfande footemen, with fine hundred bowe men and flinges. All thinges into Italy. thus ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyfed fayles, and was no fooner in the maine fea, but the

theship which he was in him selfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windeward, and with much a do, and maruelous daunger recovered the coast of ITALIE. Howbeit ger by sempes

therest of his sleete were violently dispersed here and there, whereof some of them failinge on the sea.

ming from the lande, the sea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecastell: in fyne brought her in manifest perill of openinge, and splitting, and in daunger to be driven from the coast. puttinge her out against to the mercy of the windes, which channged enery hower. Wherefore Pyrrus castinge the perill enery way, thought best to leape into the sea. After him foorthwith lept his gard, his feruauntes, and other his familiar frendes, venturing their lines to faue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the shore breakinge, forced beto rebound backe vpon them) with the great noyle also, did so hinder their swimming that itwas euen day before they could recouer any lande, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for Pyrrus, he was so sea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more:though of himselfe he had so great a harte, & stowte a corage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (vpon whose coast the storme had cast him) ran out Print cest

to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they coulde possible to saue him, and received also on sheare acertaine of his shippes that had scaped, in which were a few horsemen, about two showsande for the control footemen, and two elephantes. With this small force, Pyrrus marched on his iorney to goe pians. 00 ij

receined of the Taretine reformed their vaine 2 oluptworse

by lande vnto TARBNTVM: and Cineas being aduertifed of his comming, went with his men ! P) run being to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the first he would doe nothing force, nor against the goodwill of the inhabitantes: vntill such time as his shippes that hade scaped the daungers of the sea, were all arrived, and the greatest parte of his army coments. gether againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, feeing that the people of TARPH. TVM could neither faue them felues, nor be faued by any other, without straight order & com. pullion, bicause they made their reckening that Pyrrus should fight for them, & in the means time they would not stirre out of their houses from bathing them selues, from banketing and making good chere: first of all he caused all the parkes & places of shew to be shut vp, where they were wont to walke and disporte them selues, in any kind of exercise, and as they walked to talke of warres as it were in pastime, & to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. A And further he forbad all feastinges, mommeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time

Mashall dif- were out of season. He trained them out also to exercise their weapons, and shewed him felle very feuere in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to serue in the warres; infomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with fuch rough handling & gouernment) for sooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to have liberty to live at their pleasure. Furthermore, Pyrrus having intelligence that Leuinus the Romaine Conful came against him

gainst Pyrrus

with a great puisant army, and that he was already entred into the lande of Lycania, where he destroyed and spoyled all the contry before him: albeit the TARENT INES aide of their confederates was not as yet comen, he thought it a great shame to suffer his enemies approches nere him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the fielde against o Leuinus. Howbeit he fent a herauld before to the ROMAINES, to vnderstand of them, iff before they entred into this warre) they could be content the controuerfies they had with all the GREECIANS dwellinge in ITALIE, might be decided by inflice, and therein to referre them felues to his arbitremet, who of him felfe would vndertake the pacification of the, Whereman the Confull Leuinus made aunswere, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a indee. neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherfore Pyrrus going on stil, came to lodge in the plaine which is between the cities of PANDOSIA, & of HERACLEA: & having newes brought him that the ROMAINES were encamped very nere vnto him on the other fide of the river of Siris, he tooke his horse, and rode to the rivers side to view their campe. So having throughly

Pirrus camped in the plaine,besacre Pando fig and Hera- considered the forme, the scituacion, and the order of the same, the maner of charging their h Siris fl.

watche and all their facions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And speaking to Megalis, one of his familiars about him, he fayd: this order Megacles (quod he) though it be of batharous people, yet is it not barbaroufly done, but we shall shortely proue their force. After he had thus taken this view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed to tary till the whole aide of their confederates were comen together, leaving men at the rivers fide of Siris to kepe the paffage, if the enemies ventured to paffe ouer as they did in dede. For they made hast to preuent the aide that Pyrrus looked for, & passed their footenen ouer atom a bridge, and their horfemen at diverse fordes of the river: infomuch as the GREECIANS fearinge least they shoulde be compassed in behinde, drew backe. Pyrrus advertised thereof, and being a litle troubled therwithall, commanded the Captaines of his footemen presently to put F. their bandes in battell ray, and not to sturre till they knew his pleasure; and he him selfe in the meane time marched on with three thowsande horse, in hope to finde the Romaines by the river side, as yet out of order, & vtterly vnprovided. But when he saw a farre of a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this fide the river, and their horsemen marching towardes him in very good order: he caused his men to joyne close together, and him felfe first beganne the charge, being easie to be knowen from other, if it had beneno more but his passinge riche glisteringe armor and furniture, and withall, for that his valliant dedes gaue manifest proofe of his well deserved fame and renowne. For though he valliantly besturred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet heforgate not him felfe, nor neglected the judgement & forefight, which should never be wanting F in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discretly gate

order for eueric thinge, rydinge to and fro, to defende and encorage his men in those places,

conflict with the Romaines

a where he fawe them in most distresse. But even in the hortest of the battell, Leonatus MACE-DONIAN, spyed an I TALIAN a man of armes, that followed Pyrrus vppe and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hande with him, to fet apon him. Wherefore he favd to Pyrrus: my Lord doe you not fee that barbarous man there vppon a baye horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe some notable feate and mischiefe with his delivering his armor and cloke to one of his familiars called Megacles, and being hidden as it Permy thanwere in Megacles armor, returned againe to the battell against the ROMAINES, who valiantly ged his armor refisted him, so that the victory depended longe in doubt. For it is fayd, that both the one fide of clake. Meracles, that ware the kings armor: and the partie that flue him dead, and threw him starke Meracles with grounde, was one Dexiss by name, who quickely fnatched of his head peece, tooke a- flaint, salen way his cloke, and ranne to Leuinus the Conful, crying out alow de, that he had flaine Pyrrus, for Pyrus. The at the fight thereof, made his Thessallanhorsemen to gene a charge aponthem whilest they were in this disorder, and that so lustely, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and su-ry of Leuinum fleine great flaughter, For Dionysius wryteth, that there dyed few leffe, then fifteene thowfand the confull. looke, and wan many of their cities from their allyance, spoyled, and ouercame much of their contry. Infomuch as he came within fix and thirty mile of Rome, whither came to his aide as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked bicause they came to late to the battel. How beit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not alitle glad and proude to have overthrowen so great an army of the ROMAINES with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On thother fide, the ROMAINES hartes were so great, that they would not depose Leuinus from his Consull thippe, notwithstandinge the losse he had received : and Caius Fabricius sayed openly, that they were not the Epino-TES that had ouercomen the ROMAINES, but Pyrrus had ouercome Leuinus: meaning thereby, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the fubtilty and wife conduction of the Generall, then through the valliant feates and worthines of his army. And hereuppon

owne handes: for his eye is neuer of you, but wayteth only apon you, being sharpe set to deale with your felfe & none other, & therefore take hede of him. Pyrrus aunswered him, it is imposfille Leonatus, for a man to auoyde his destinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatfoeuer, shall have any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talkinge thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his speare in the middest, and setting spurres to his horse, charged apon Pyrrus and ranne his horse through and through with the same. Leonatus at the selfe same instant ferued the I TALIAN'S horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit Pyrrus men that were about him, faued him presently, and slew the ITALIAN in the fielde, although he fought it out right valliantly. The ITALIANS name was Oplacus, borne in the city of FERBNIV M, and was Captaine of a bande of men of armes. This mile haunce made kinge Pyrrus looke the better to him selfe afterwardes, and seeinge his horsemen geue backe. fent presently to hasten his sootemen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and and the other did chase, and was chased, aboue seuen times in that conslict. The chaunginge of the kinges armor ferued very well for the fafety of his owne persone, howebeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him loofe the fielde. For many of his enemies fet vppon and with all shewed foorth the spoyles he supposed to have taken from him. Which being caredabout through all the bands, & openly thewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruelous ioyfull, and the GREECIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right forowfull; vntill time as Pyrrus hearing of it, went and passed alongest all his bandes bare headed, and n bareleed, holdinge up his hande to his fouldiers, and geuinge them to understande with his ownevoyce, that it was him felfe. The elephantes in the ende were they in deede that wanne the battell, and did most distresse the ROMAINES: for, their horses seeing them a farre of, were foreafrayed, and durst not abide them, but caried their masters backe in despite of them. Pyr-ROMAINES at that battell, But Hieronymus speaketh onely of seven thowsande. And of Pyrrus side, Dionysius wryteth, there were flaine thirteene thowsande. But Hieronymus fayth lesse then foure thow fande: howebeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whome most E hemusted.King Pyrrus presently hereupon also tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they for-

they speedily supplied their legyons agains that were minished, with other news souldiers

OO iii

Cineas fent Ambaffad:r so Rome. minde of the

warre, like men whose hartes were nothinge appawled. Whereat Pyrrus maruelinge much thought good first to send to the Romaines, to proue if they would geue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of Rome was no easie matter to copaffe, or attaine, with that strength he presently had : and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valliant victory. And hereupon he lent cineas to Rome, who spake with the chiefest of the city, and offred presentes to them and their wines, in the behalfe of the king his mafter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any at his handes, but aunswered all with one voyce: that if the peace might be general to all ded the Ro-

they all privately woulde be at the kinges commaundement, and woulde be glad of his frendshippe. Moreover, when Cineas had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many cur- R teous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulacions of peace: they accepted none. nor shewed any affection to geue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their prisoners home againe without raunsome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promised alfo to aide them in the conquest of I TALIE, requiring no other recompence at their handes. fauing their goodwills only to his master, & assurance for the TARENTINES, that they should not be annoyed for any thinge past, without demaunde of other matter. Neuerthelesse in the ende, when they had hearde these offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willingeto make peace: alleaginge that they had already loft a great battell, and howe they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE should joyne together with king Prerus power. But Appius Claudius, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor deltin C matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partely bicause he was blinde: when he vnderstoode of king Pyrrus offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, howethe Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulacions of peace propounded by Cineas, he could not abide, but caused his servauntes to cary him in his chaver apon their armes ynto the Senate dore, his fonnes, and fonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him fo into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honor the comming in of so notable & worthy a perfonage; and he so some as they had sette him in his seate, beganne to speake in this sorte. His therunto with great impacience (my Lordes of Rome) have I borne the loffe of my fight, but ration to
the Strate, " now, I would I were also as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the " now, I would I were allo as deate as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the me " of your dishonorable consultacions determined you in Senate, which tende to subtract the D " glorious fame and reputacion of Rome. What is now become of all your great and mighty " bragges you blased abroade, through the whole worlde? that if Alexander the great himselfe " had come into I TALIB, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not have faved every where that he was altogether inuincible, as now at this present they doe: but either he should have left his body saine herein battell, or at the least wife have bene driven to flic, and by his death or flyinge shoulde greatly ,, have enlarged the renowne and glory of Rome? you plainly show it now, that all these words » spoken the, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of foolish pride. Considering that you tremble " for feare of the Molossians & Chaonians, who were ever a pray to the Maced Onlans " and that ye are afrayed of Pyrrus also, who all his life time served and followed one of the gard E " vnto Alexander the great, and nowe is come to make warres in these partes, not to aidethe GREECIANS inhabiting in ITALIE, but to flie from his enemies there about his owne contry, offering you to conquer all the rest of ITALIE with an army, wherewith he was nothing able ,, to kepe a small parte of MACEDON only for him selfe. And therefore you must not perswade " your selues, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him: but rather shall " you draw others to come & fet apon you belides. For they will vtterly despise you, when they " that heare ye are fo easily ouercome, and that you have suffered Fyrres to escape your handes, " before you made him feele the just reward of his bolde prefumptuous attempt vpon you: carying with him for a further hier, this advantage ouer you, that he hath geuen a great occasion both to the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After F ", that Appine had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, every one through the whole affembly, defi-" red rather warre then peace. They dispatched Cineas away thereupon with this aunswere, that

a if Pyrrus fought the ROMAINES frendshippe, he must first departe out of ITALIE, and then fende vnto them to treate of peace: but folonge as he remained there with his army, the Ro-HAINES would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and flaine tenne thowfand fuch Captaines as Leninus was. They fav that Cineas, during the time of his abode at Rome, intreating for this peace, did curiously laborto consider and understande, the manners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their common weale, discoursing thereof with the chiefest men of the city: and how afterwards he made ample reporte of the same vnto Pyrrus, and tolde him amongest other thinges, that the Senate appeared to him, a counsell house of many kinges. And furthermore (for the number The maisslife of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a ferpent, as that which was in of the Senate olde time in the marifes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut of one heade, seuen other as Rome. came up in the place: bicause the Consull Leuinus had nowe leavied an other army, twise as great as the first was, and had left at Rome also, many times as many good able men to cary armor. After this, there were fent Ambassadors from Rome vnto Pyrrus, and amongest other. Cajus Fabricius touching the state of the prisoners. Cineas tolde the kinge his master, that this caius Fabri-Fabricius was one of the greatest menne of accompt in all Rome, a right honest man, a good cias, Am-Captaine, and a very valliant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was not with standing, Privis, Privas taking him secretly a side, made very much of him, and amongest other thinges, offe- Caius Fabrired him bothe golde and filuer, prayinge him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he courses, but ment towardes him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and frendshippe that should be betwene them. Fabricius would none of his gift: so Pyrrus left him for that time. Notwithstan-Fabricius reding, the next morninge thinkinge to feare him, bicause he had neuer seene elephant before, Print with Pyrrus commaunded his men, that when they fawe Fabricius and him talkinge together, they shoulde bringe one of his greatest elephantes, and set him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine figne by Pyrrus geuen, fodamly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was ouer Fabricius heade, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. Fabricius foftely geuing backe, nothing afrayed, laughed and fayd to Fyrrus smiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yesterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whileft they were at supper, fallinge in talke of diuerse matters, specially touchinge the flate of GREECE, and the Philosophers there: Cineas by chaunce spake of Epicv Rvs, and rehearfed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the goddes and gouernment of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all office & The opinion publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: howethey maintained that the goddes were immortall, neither moued with pity nor anger, and led an idle life felleity. full of all pleasures and delightes, without taking any regarde of mens doinges. But as he still continued this discourse, Fabricius cried out alowde, and sayd: the goddes graunt that Prrrus and the Samnites were of fuch opinions, as long as they had warres against vs. Pyrrus marueling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deale to have peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And privately prayed Fabricius very earnestly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him. faying: that he would give him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongest all his frendes. Whereunto Fabricius aunswered him softly: that were not good (oh king) for your selfe, gliod he: for your men that presently doe honor and esteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather choose me for their kinge, then your selfe. Such was Fabricius talke, whose wordes Pyrrus tooke not in ill parte, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyran woulde hauebene: but did him felfe reporte to his frendes and familiars the noble minde he founde in him, and delivered him apon his faith only, all the ROMAINE prisoners: to the ende that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet fee their frendes, and kepe the feast of Saturne with them, and then to fend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate establi- King Porm thed by decree, vpon paine of death to all fuch as should not performe the same accordingly. Phistian Afterwardes Fabricius was chosen Consull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to Fabricius, & him that brought him a letter from kinge Pyrrus Phisitian, wrytten with his owne handes: in offereth to which the Philitian offered to poylon his mailter, so he would promise him a good reward, for muster,

Fabricius lester to Pyrrus. aduertifing hims of his Philitions

The wryters

ending the warres without further daunger. Fabricius detestinge the wickednesse of the Phis. tian, and having made Q. AEmilius his colleague, and fellowe Confull also, to abhorre the fame: wrote a letter vnto Pyrrus, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poylon him. The contentes of his letter were these: Caius Fabricius, and Quintus AEmylius Confuls of ROME, vnto king Pyrrus greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choife, both of your frendes and of your enemies, as shall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter, which one of yours hath wrytten vnto vs : for you make warres with iust and honest men, and do your selfe trust altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therfore we have thought good to aduer. tise vou, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare least the missortune of your death might make vs vniustly to be accused : imagining that by trechery of treason, we have sought to end this warre, as though by valliantneffe we coulde not otherwise atchieue it. Pyrrus having red R this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phisitian as he had deserved and to requite the aduertisement of the Consulls, he sent Fabricius and the ROMAINES their prisoners, without payinge of raunsome, and sent Cineas againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the Romaines, bicause they would neither receive pleasure out raunsome. Of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not vnto so wicked a deede did not only refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe so many SAM-NITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace, and his frendshippe, they would gene no eare to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had fent away his army againe by fea. into his kingdome of EPIRVS. Wherefore Pyrrus feing no remedy, but that he must needes fight an other battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his army, drewe towardes the cities of ASCVLVM, where he fought the seconde time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into battelwith the maruelous ill grounde for horsemen, by a very swift running river, from whence came many brookes and deepe marishes, infomuch as his elephantes could have no space nor ground to ioine with the battel of the footemen, by reason wherof there was a great number of menhun and slaine on both sides. And in the ende, the battell being fought out all day longe, the darke night did seuer them: but the next morninge, Pyrrus to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephantes, fent first certaine of his bandes to feafe vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thrust in amongest his elephants, store of shot, and slingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well set in order) with D great furie against his enemies. They missinge thother dayes turninges and places of retyre. were now compelled to fight all on a fronte in the plaine fielde: and striuing to breake into the battell of Pyrrus footemen before the elephantes came, they desperately preaced in apon their enemies pykes with their fwordes, not caring for their owne persones what became of them, but only looked to kill and destroy their enemies. In the ende notwithstandinge, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES lost it, and they first beganne to breake and flie on that fide where Pyrrus was, by reason of the great force and furie of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephantes: against which, the Romaines valliantnes nor corage coulde ought preuaile, but that they were driven to geve them place (much like the rage of furging waves, or terrible tremblinge of the earth) rather then tary to be troden under E feete, and ouerthrowen by them, whome they were not able to hurte againe, but be by them most greuously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothinge eased. The chase was not long, bicause they fled but into their campe: and Hieronymus the historiographer writeth, that there died fix thowsande men of the ROMAINES, and of Pyrrus parte about three thowsande fine hundred and fine, as the kinges owne Chronicles doe witnesse. Neuerthelesse. Dionysius makes no mencion of two battell's geuen neere vnto the city of Ascvivm, nor that the Ro-MAINES were certainely ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battellonly that continued vntil funne set, and that they scarcely seuered also when night was comeon, Pyrrus being hurte on the arme with a speare, and his cariage robbed and spoiled by the Sam-NITES besides. And surther, that there died in this battell, aboue sisteene thowsande men, as F well of Pyrrus fide, as of the ROMAINES parte: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retyre. And some say, that it was at that time Pyrrus aunswered one, who rejoyced with

him for the victory they had wonne: if we winne an other of the price, quod he, we are vitterly vidone. For in dede the had he lost the most parte of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his frendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the least there lacked lirle of it: and besides that, he had no meanes to supplie them with other from thence, and perceiued also that the consederates he had in ITALIE, beganne to waxe colde. Where the Ro-MAINES to the contrary, did eafily renue their army with freshe souldiers, which they caused to come from ROME as neede required, (much like vnto a lively spring, the head whereof they had at home in their contry) and they fainted not at all for any losses they received, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stowtely determining to abide out the warres, what ener betyde. And thus whilest Pyrrus was troubled in this forte, newe hopes, and newe enterprises were offred vnto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For eue at a clap came Amhaffadors to him out of Sicilia, offering to put into his handes, the cities of Syracy sa, of ambelladors AGRIGENTYM, and of the LEONTINES, and befeeching him to aide them to drive the CAR- out of Sicilia THAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrannes. And on the other 10 pray aide fide alfo, newes was brought him from GREECE, howe Ptolomie furnamed the lightning was flaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell against the GAVLES, and that now he shoulde come in good hower for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he curfed his hard fortune that presented him all at once, such fundry occasions to doe great thinges: and as if both enterprifes had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of necessitie he must loofe one of them. So, long debating the matter with him felte, which of the two wayes he should conclude uppon: in the ende he resolved, that by the warres of Sicilia, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, considering that A FRICKE was not farre from them. Wherefore, disposinge him selfe that way, he sent Cineas thither immediatly to make his way, and to speake to the townes and cities of the contry as he was wont to doe; and in the meane time left a strong garrison in the city of TARENTVM, to kepe it at his deuotion, wherewith the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made request vnto him, either to remaine into Sicilia. in their contry to maintaine warres with them against the ROMAINES, (which was their meaning why they fent for him)or elfe if he would needes go, at the least wise to leave their city in as good state as he founde it. But he aunswered them againe very roughly, that they shoulde freake no more to him in it, and that they should not choose but tary his occasion. And with this aunswere tooke shippe, and sailed towardes Sicilia: where so soone as he was arrived, he found all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingely put them selues into his handes. And where necessity of battell was offered him to employ his army nothing at the beginning could stande before him. For, with thirty thowsande footemen, two thowsande fine hundred horsemen, and two hundred sayle which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIans before him, and conquered all the contry under their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of ERIX was the strongest place they had, and there were a great number of good foul- Pyrrus name diers within it to defende it. Pyrrus determined to proue the affault of it, and when his army the tip of E-vix in Sicilia. was ready to geue the charge, he armed him felfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walls, yowed ynto Hercules to geue him a folemne facrifice, with a feaft of common playes, so that he would graunt him grace to shew him selfe vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting in Sicilia, worthy of the noble auncesters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vowe ended, he straight made the trompettes found to the affault, & caused the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retyre with force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders were set up, him selfe was the first that mounted on the walle, where he found diverfe of the barbarous people that refifted him. But some he threw over the walles on either fide of him, and with his fword flew many dead about him, himfelfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the harte to looke him in the face, his countenaunce was so terrible. And this doth proue that Homer spake wisely, and like a man of experience, when he favd: that valliantnesse onely amongest all other morall vertues is that, which hath Homer of fomtimes, certaine furious motions and divine provocations, which make a man befides him vallianimes. felfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed facrifice to Heronles, & kept a feast of all kindes and fortes of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GREECIANS the. abouts, makinge many of them pay taxe and tribute: for they were a great number of them and all men of warre and good fouldiers, and had their name also of Mars, bicause they were marshall men, and geuen to armes. Pyrrus led his army against them, and ouerthrew themin battell; and put their collectors to death, that did leavy and exact the taxe, and rafed many of their fortresses. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his frendship, offering him shippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a shorte aunswere, that there was but one way to make peace and loue between them, to forfake Sicilia altogether and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt GREECE and them. Forhis good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did fet him aloft, and further allured hims follow the hope that brought him into Sicilia, aspiring first of all vnto the conquest of Li- 1 BYA. Now, to passe him ouer thither, he had ships enough, but he lacked owers & mariners wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of S. CILIA, and in anger compelled, and seuerely punished them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his first comminge, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, speaking more curteously to them then any other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But fodainly being altered from a populer prince, vnto a violent tyran, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worst of all is, vn. faithfull and ingratefull: neuertheleffe, though they received great hurt by him, yet they fulfered it, and graunted him any needefull thing he did demaund. But when they faw he been to mistrust Thanon and Sostratus, the two chiefe Captaines of Syracvsa, and they who first caused him to come into Sicilia, who also at his first arrivall delivered the city of Syracve s a into his hands, & had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compasse that he had done in Sicilia: when I fay they faw he would no more cary them with him, nor leaue thembehinde him for the mistrust he had of them, and that Softratus fled from him, and absented him felfe, fearing least Pyrrus would doe him some mischiefe; and that Pyrrus moreover, had pur Thenon to death, mistrusting that he would also have done him some harme. Then all things fell out against Pyrrus, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at one inftant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to fetvpon him. But when all Sicilia was thus bent against him, he received letters from the Samnites & Ta-D and Taren. RENTINES, by which they aduertised him, how they had much a doe to defende them selues tines for fir within their cities and strong holdes, and that they were wholly driven out of the field:wherfore they earnestly befought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came happely to him, to cloke his flying, that he might fay it was not for dispaire of good successe in Sich Linthat he went his way: but true it was in dede, that when he saw he could no longer keepe it, then a shippe could stand still among the waves, he fought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that furely was the cause why he returned againe into I TALIE. Neuertheleffe, at his departure out of SICILE, they fay that looking backe apon the Ile, he faid to thole that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my frendes, doe we leaue to the Ro-MAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight thone with thother? And verily fo it fell out shortely after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiringe together against Pyrrus, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one side watching his passage, gaue him battel on the sea, in the veraly suref Si. ry straight it selfe of MESSINA, where helost many of his ships, and fled with the rest, & tooke the coast of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thowsande fighting men: durst not present him battell inopen fielde, but taried for him in certaine straites of the mountaines, & in very hard places, and To fet vpon his rereward, and disordered all his army. They slew two of his elephants, and cut of a great number of his rereward, so as he was compelled him selfe in persone to come from

his vangard, to helpe them against the barbarous people, which were lusty valliant men, and

much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous then

olde trained fouldiers. And there Pyrrus caught a blow on his head with a fworde, and was in I great daunger: infomuch as he was forced to retyreout of the prease and fight, which didso

therest, a goodly man of personage, fayer armed in white armor, who aduauncing him selfe farre before his company, cried our to the king with a bolde and fierce voyce, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. Pyrrus beinge mad as it were with this brauery, turned againe with his garde, in spight of his men, hurt as he was. And besides that he was all on a fre with choller, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men and rameat the length to this barbarous villen that had challenged him: & gaue him fuch a blow Pyrous with a on his head with all his force and power, that what by the strength of his arme, and through him the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the fword, the blow claue his head right in the mid- his entities delt, downe to the shoulders: so that his heade beinge thus deuided, the one parte fell on the bead in the one (houlder, & the other parte on the other. This matter fodainly stayed the barbarous neoa ple, and kept them from goinge any further, they were so asrayed and amaled both to see so his Coulders. great a blowe with ones hande, and it made them thinke in dede that Pyrrus was more then a man, After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. Pyrrus holding on his iornev. artined at the length in the city of TARENT VM, with twenty thowfand footenen. & three thowfand horse. And with these (ioyning thereto the choycest pyked men of the TARBNTINES) he went incontinently into the field to feeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were then in very hard state. For their hartes were killed bicause that in many battells and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were ever overthrowen. They were very angry befides with Pyrrus, for that he had forfaken them, to goe his voyage vnto Sicilia, by reason whereof there came no great number of souldiers into his campe. But notwithstanding, he deuided all his strength into two partes, whereof he sent the one parte into L v c A N I A, to occupy one of the R O M A INE Confulls that was there, to the end he should not come to aide his companion: and with the other parte he went him selfe agaith Manius Curius, who lay in a very straunge place of aduantage nere to the citie of BE- Manius Curi-NEVENTO, attending the aide that should come to him out of L v c ANI A, besides also that the w confid. Soothfayers (by the fignes & tokens of the birdes and facrifices) did counfell him not to sturre from thence. Prerus to the contrary, defiring to fight with the danius before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of Ly CANIA, tooke with him the best souldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikest elephantes, and marched away in the night, supposing to steale vpon Marius on the fodgine, and geue an affault vnto his campe. Now Pyrrus having a long way to ngo, and through a woddy contry, his lightes and torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his fouldiers loft their way, and they loft a great deale of time also before they could again begathered together; fo as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceived plainely how he came downe the hills. This at the first fight made the muse awhile, and put them in a litle feare: nevertheleffe Manius having had the fignes of the facrifices fauorable, and feeing that occasion did presse him to it, went out into the field, and set a- Processing pon the vowarde of his enemies, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the battell with reft in fuch wife, that there were flaine a great number of them in the fielde, and certaine elephantes also taken. This victory made Manius Curius leave his strength, and come into the thronen by plaine field, where he fet his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on Manius Curitheone side: but on the other he was repulled by violence of the elephantes, and compelled "in basell. to drawe backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he faw them upon the rampers of his campe all armed ready to fight he called them out and they comming fresh out of places of advantage to charge vpon theielephantes, compelled them in a very (horte time to turne their backes, & flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and disorder : so as in the ende, the whole victory fell apon the Ro-MAINES fide, and confequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the Romannes being growen more coragious by this battell, and hauing increased their force, and wonne the reputation of men vinconquerable simmediarly after conquered all ITALIE besides, and soone after that, all SICILIA. To this ande as you see, came king Pyrrus vaine hope he had to conquer ITALLE and SICILIA, after he had spent sixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed & his army confumed. Notwithstanding, his noble corage remained alwayes inuincible, what losses socuet he

PYTTM COREared to a dyce player. Privatetiane into E.

had fusteined:and moreover whilest he lived, he was ever esteemed the chiefest of all the kinns & princes in his time as well for his experience & fufficiency in warres, as also for the valliant nes and hardines of his person. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he lost by vaine hope defiring fo earnestly that which he had not, as he forgate to kepe that which he had. Where fore Antigonus compared him vnto a dice player that casteth well, but can not vie his lucke Now having brought backe againe with him into Epirvs, eight thowfande footemen, and five hundred horsemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuised with him selfem feeke out some new warre to entertaine those souldiers, and kepe them together. Wherefore

yppon a newe aide of certaine of the GAVLES beinge comen vnto him, he entered into the realme of MACHDON (which Antigonus, Demetrius fonne held atthat time) with intent only to make a forrey, and to get some spoyle in the contry. But when he saw that he had taken dis uerfe holdes, and moreouer, that two thowfand men of warre of the contry came and yelded them selves vnto him: he beganne to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for Proper vitte. For you that hope he marched against king Antigonus selfe, whom he met in a very straight valley, and at his first comming, gaue such a lusty charge upon his rereward, that he purall 4 tigonus army in great disorder. For Antigonus had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his army to close it in, which were a convenient number, and did valliantly defend the first charge and the skirmishe was so hotte, that the most of them were slaine. After them, the leaders of the elephantes perceiuing they were enuironned on euery fide, yelded them felues and their beaftes. Pyrrus feeing his power to be now increased with fuch a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might moue him: thrust further into the battel of the Ma. C.

nsu king of

hande, and callinge the Captaines of the bandes by their names, straight wayes made all the footemen of Antigonus turne wholly to his fide: who flying, faued him felfe with a few horses men, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme apon the fea coast. But Pyrrus in all his prosperity, judging nothing more to edownde to his honor and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aside their goodliest and richest spoyles, and offred up the same in the semple of Minerua Itonida, with this inscription.

CED ON I ANS, who were all afraved, and troubled for the ouerthrowe of their rereward, for

they would not once base their pykes, nor fight against him. He for his parte holdinge vp his

VV hen Pyrrus had subdude, the puisant Gaules in fields, He caused of their spoyles to make, these targets, armes, and shields: The which he hanged up, in temple all on high. Before Minerua (godde (le here) in figne of victory. When he had ouercome, the vuhole and hugie hoaft: The which Anticonus did bring, into his contries coaft. Ne maruell should it feeme, though victory he vvonne, Since valliantnes bringes victory, and euermore hath done: And valliantnes alwayes, hath constantly kept place,

From age to age, and time to time, in AEacus his race. Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACED ON yelded vnto him but when he had the citie of ÆGES in his power, he vied the inhabitantes thereof very hard- E ly, & specially because he left a great garrison of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame couetous, as then they shewed them selues: for they spared not to break vp the tombes wherein the kinges of MACEDON lay buried there, tooke away all the gold and filuer they could finde, and afterwards with great infolency cast out their bones into the open winde. Pyrrus was tolde of it, but he lightly passed it ouer, and made no reckening of it either

bicause he deferred it till an other time, by reason of the warres he had then in hande : or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatfoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with Pyrrus, & blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, having not yet made all thinges fure in MACEDO Nanor beingfully possest of the same: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking Antigonus, sayd, he was a mad man to goe apparrelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a private man. Now, Cleonymus king of Spart a being come to procure him to bring A his army into the contry of LACED EMON, Pyrrus was very willing to it. This Cleonymus was of the blood royall of Sparta, but bicause he was a cruell man, and would do all thinges by authority, they loued him not at Sparta, nor trusted him at all : and therefore did they put him out. & made Areus king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell Cleonymus had Areus made

against the comon wealth of Sparta: but besides that, he had an other private quarrel, which has of Sparta. grewe vppon this cause. In his olde yeares, Cleonymus had maried a fayer younge Lady called to, and Cleo Chelidonide, which was also of the blood royall, and the daughter of Leotychides. This Lady be-downe. ing fallen extreamely in loue with Acrotatus, king Areus sonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lufty youth, the greatly vexed and dishonored her husbande Cleonymus, who was ouer heade and eares in loue and lealousie with her : for there was not one in all Sparta, but plainely knewe that his wife made none accompt of him. And thus his home forowes, being joyned with his outwarde common greues, euen for spight, desiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure Pyrrus to come vnto Sparta, to restore him againe to his kingdome. Here-

upon he brought him into LACED EMONIA forthwith, with fine and twenty thowfand foote- ponneju. men, two thowsand horse, and source and twenty elephantes: by which preparacion, though by nothing elfe, the worlde might plainely fee, that Pyrrus came with a minde not to reftore Cleanymus againe vnto Sparta, but of intent to conquer for him felfe (if he could) all the conmie of Peloponnesvs. For in wordes he denied it to the LACED EMONIANS them felues, who fent Ambassadors vnto him when he was in the city of MEGALIPOLIS, where he tolde Press livethem that he was come into Peloponnesvs, to fette the townes and cities at libertie which regeamers the C Antigonus kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to fend his young fonnes Spartans. into SPARTA (fo they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the LAC o-NIAN manner, and from their youth haue this advantage about all other kinges, to haue bene well brought vp, But faining these thinges, and abusing those that came to meete him on his

way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coast of LACONIA, into the which

he was no fooner entred, but he beganne to spoyle and wast the whole contry. And when the

Ambassadors of Spart a reproued and founde fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in such sorte, before he had openly proclaimed it:he made them aunswer:no more haue

telistrunce. For Pyrrus camped before the towne, throughly perswaded with him selfe, that he

shouldfinde none to fight with him: and Cleonymus frends and servauntes also did prepare his

lodging there, as if Pyrrus should have come to supper to him, and lodged with him. When

nightwa: come, the LACED & MONIANS counselled together, & secretly determined to send

stroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counsell, that they should cast a trenche before the ene-

mies campe, and that at both the endes of the same they should bury cartes in the ground vn-

to the middeft of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the

elephantes, and kepe them from passing further. And when they beganne to go in hand withall, there came wives and maides vnto them, some of them their clothes girte vp round about

you your felues vied to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called Mandricidas, replied againe vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue. If thou Mandricidas D be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurt, bicause we have not offended thee : and if thou be a man, flows aunswer thou shalt meete with an other that shalbe better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to SPART A. where Cleonymus gaue him counfell even at the first, to assault it. But he would not Prom before fo do, fearing (as they fayd) that if he did it by night, his fouldiers would facke the city: and demon, faydit should be time enough to affault it the next day at broad day light, bicause there were but few men within the towne, and befide they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king Areus him felfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in their owne contry. And doutlesse, that only was the saving of Spart a from taking, that they made no reckening to affault it hotly: bicause they thought it was not able to make

away their wives, and litle children into CRET A. But the women them selves were against it, The corage of and there was one amonge them called Archidamia, who went into the Senate house with a the women of fword in her hand, to speake vnto them in the name of all the rest, and sayd: that they did their Sparia, wines great wronge, if they thought them so fainte harted, as to line after Sparta were de-

them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at this trenche with the old men, aduising the

Women arroughs in the

menso fight.

vallianines.

P)rru

young men that should fight the next morning, to rest them selues in the meane while, Sobbel women tooke the third parte of the trenche to taske, which was fix cubittes broade, fourer, bits deepe, and eight hundred foote long as Philarchus fayth: or litle leffe as Hieronymus wer. teth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the affair the women them selues setched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands and deliuered them the taske of the trenche ready made, which they before had vndertaken, practicely ing them valliantly to keepe and defend it, tellinge them withall, howe great a pleafure it is ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and fight of their native contry, and what greately city and honor it is to dye in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valliands like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of Sparta. But Chelidonida being gone fide, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to strangle & hang her felt. rather the to fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if by chaunce the city should come to betaken Pyrrus hattel. Now Pyrrus marched in person with his battell of footemen, against the fronte of the Spire. TANS, who being a great number also, did tary his comming on the other side of the trenche the which, besides that it was very ill to passe ouer, did let the souldiers also to fight steadelyin order of battell, bicause the earth being newly cast vp, did yeld under their feete. Wherefore, Ptolomie king Pyrrus fonne, paffing all alongest the trench side with two thowsand Gaviers all the choyce men of the CHAONIANS, affayed if he could get ouer to the other fide at one of the endes of the trenche where the cartes were: which being fet very deepe into the ground and one joyned vnto an other, they did not only hinder thaffaylants, but the defendants also Howbeit in the end, the GAV LES began to plucke of the wheeles of these cartes, and to draw them into the river. But Acroratus, king Areus sonne, a young man, seeing the daunger, range through the city with a troupe of three hundred lufty youthes befides, & went to inclofe Ptalomie behinde before he espied him, for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came events geue the charge vpon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towardeshim. one runninge in an others necke, and foin great diforder were thrust into the trenches, and vnder the cartes:infomuch as at the last, with much a doe, and great bloodshed, Acrotatus and his company draue them backe, and repulfed them. Now the women and old men, that were on thother fide of the trenche, faw plainly before their face, howe valliantly Acrotatus hadrepulsed the GAVLES. Wherefore, after Acrotatus had done this exployte, he returned against through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood, coragious and D lively, for the victory he came newly from. The women of Sparta thought Acrotatus fane more noble and fayrer to beholde, then ever he was : fo that they all thought Chelidonida happy to haue such a frend and louer. And there were certaine olde men that followed him, crying after him, goe thy way Acrotatus, and enioy thy loue Chelidonida: beget noble childrenol her vnto Spart A. The fight was cruell on that fide where Pyrrus was, and many of the Spar TAN'S fought very valliantly. Howbeit amongest other, there was one named Phillius, who a ter he had fought long, and flaine many of his enemies with his owne handes, that forced to passe ouer the trenche: perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of woundede had apon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behinde him, and gening him his place, fell downe deade in the armes of his frendes, bicause his enemies shoulde not have E his body. In the ende, the battell havinge continued all the day longe, the night did eparate them: and Pyrrus being layed in his bed, had this vision in his sleepe. He thought he trakette city of LACED & MONWith lightning, and that he vtterly confumed it: whereat he was sopalfing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked. And thereuppon foorthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the affault: and told his dreame vnto his familiers, fuppoling that out of dout it did betoken he should in that approache take the citie. All that heard it, beleued it was fo, fauing one Lysimachus: who to the contrary, sayed that this vision liked him not, bicause the places sinitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also affraied, that the goddes did signife vnto him, that he should not enter into the citie of S PARTA. Pyrrus aunswered him: that saied he, is a matter F disputable to & fro in an open assembly of people, for there is no maner of certainty in it. But furthermore, euery man must take his weapon in his hand, & set this sencence before his eyes

A right good signe it is, that he would hazard life In iust defence of masters cause with speare and bloody knife.

Alludinge vnto Homers verses, which he wrote for the defence of his contry. And saying thus he role, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the affault. On thother fide also, the LACED EMONIANS with a maruelous corage & magnanimity, farre greater then their force heftirred them felues wonderfully to make refiftaunce, having their wines by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to geue meate & drinke nothem that needed, and did also withdrawe those that were hurt to cure them. The MACE-DONIANS likewise for their parte, endeuored them selues with all their might to fill vppe the menche with wodde and other thinges, which they cast vpon the dead bodies and armors; ly-Bing in the bottome of the ditche: & the LACED & MONIANS againe, labored all that they could noffible to let them. But in this great broyle, one perceived Pyrrus a horse backe to have lept the trenche, past ouer the strength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city, Wherfore those that were appointed to defende that parte of the trench, cried out straight and the women fell a shreeking, and running, as if all had bene lost. And as Pyrrus passed further strikingdowne with his owne handes all that stoode before him, a CRETAN shot at him. & strake Processing his horfe through both fides: who leapinge out of the prease for paine of his wounde, dying, danger of his caried Pyrrus away, and threw him vppon the hanging of a steepe hill, where he was in great firege of Spardaunger to fall from the toppe. This put all his feruauntes and frendes about him in a maruelous feare, and therewithall the LACEDEMONIANS feeing them in this feare and trouble ran Cimmediatly vnto that place, and with force of shotte draue them all out of the trenche. After this retyre, Pyrrus caused all affault to cease, hoping the LACED EMONIANS in the end would weelde, confideringe there were many of them flaine in the two dayes past, and all the rest in maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the citie (whether it were to proue the valliantnes of the inhabitantes them selues, or at the least to shew what power they were of euen in their greatest nede and distresse, when the LACED EMONIANS had small hope left) brought one Aminias Phocian from CORINTHE, one of king Antigonus Captaines with a great band of men. and put them into the city to aide them : and straight after him, as soone as he had entred, king King Atens Areus arrived also on thother side from CRETA, and two thowsand souldiers with him. So the arrived in women went home to their houses, makinge their reckening that they should not neede any Sparta with D more to trouble them selues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty also to goe and rest them selves, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driven to arme them selues, and take weapon in hande: and in order of battell placed the newe come souldiers in their roomes. Pyrrus vnderstanding that newe supplies were come, grewe to greater stomake then before, and inforced all that he could, to winne the towne by affault. But in the end, when whis cost he founde that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the fiege, and went to poyleall the contry about, determining to lye there in garrison all the winter. He coulde not for all this auoide his destenie. For there rose a sedition in the city of ARGOS between two of Sedition in the chiefest citizens, Aristeas and Aristippus: and bicause Aristeas thought that kinge Antigo- the city of Armudid fauor his enemy Aristoppus, he made hast to sende first vnto Pyrrus, whose nature and god. E disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope vppon hope, euer taking the present prosperity, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he fought to recouer him felfe, and to restore his losse, by some other newe attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor ouercomen, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled fome, and him felfe also: by reason wherof, he sodainly departed towardes A a Gos. But king Pyrmu reput-Areus having layed ambushes for him in diverse places, and occupied also the straightest and sed from Sparhardest passages, by the which he was to passe: gaue a charge vppon the GAVLES and Mo- 14 goeth to LOSSIANS, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the selfe same day Pyrrus was warned Argon. by a Soothfayer, who facrificing had founde the liuer of the facrificed beaft infected: that it betokened the loffe of some most neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyse of the charge r geuen, he thought not of the forwarning of his Soothsayer, but commaunded his sonne to take his household servauntes with him, and to go thither: as he him selfe in the meane time with as great hast as he could, made the rest of his army marche, to get them quickely out of

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Declamia kinge Pyrru forne, flaine by Orafus Cretan.

this daungerous way. The fraye was very hotte about Ptolomie Pyrrus fonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACED EMONTANS with whome he had to doe, led by a valliant Can taine called Enaleus. But as he fought valliantly against those that stoode before him, there was a souldier of CRETA called Orasia, borne in the citie of APTERA, a man very ready of his hande, and light of foote, who running alongest by him, strake him such a blowe on his fide that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince Ptolomie being flaine, his company began straight to flie: and the LACEDE MONIANS followed the chase so hottely, that they tooken heede of them selues, vntill they sawe they were in the plaine field farre from their footenen Wherefore, Pyrrus vnto whom the death of his fonne was newly reported, being a fire with forow and passion, turned sodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the Molossians. and being the first that came vnto them, made a maruelous slaughter among them. For, not 1 withstanding that enery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, having his fword in his hande : yet then he did shewe more proofe of his valliantnes, strength, and corage, then he had euer done before. And when he had fette spurres to his horse against Eud. em to close with him, Engless turned on the toe side, and gaue Pyrrus such a blowe with his fword, that he miffed litle the cutting of his bridle hande: for he cut in deede all the raines of the bridle a funder. But Pyrrus straight ranne him through the body with his speare, and light Pirrus flue ting of from his horse, he put all the troupe of the LACED & MONIANS to the sword that were about the body of Enalcus, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cause of that losse vnto their contry for nothing, considering that the warres against the were ended. But Pyrrus having now as it were made facrifice of these poore bodies of the LACE O DEMONIANS, for the foule of his dead sonne, and fought thus wonderfully also to honorhis funeralls, converting a great parte of his forow for his death, into anger and wrath against the enemies: he afterwardes held on his way directly towardes Argos. And understanding that king Antigonus had already feafed the hills that were ouer the valley, he lodged neere vntothe city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following sent a heraulde vnto Antigonus, and gave him defyance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valleym fight with him, to trye which of them two thould be king. Antigonus made him aunswer, that he made warres as much with time, as with weapon: & furthermore, that if Pyrrus wetewary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put him selfe to death. The citizens of A Roosalforent Ambassadors vinto them both, to pray them to departe, sith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a newter, & freed vnto them both. King Antigonus agreed vnto it, and gaue them his sonne for hostage. Pyrrus also made the fayer promise to do so too, but bicause he gaue no caution nor sufficient pledge to performe it, they mistrustred him the more. Then there fel out many great & wonderful tokens, as wel vnto Pyrrus, as vnto the ARGIVES. For Pyrrus having facrificed oxen, their heads Privadeath, being striken of from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked up their owne blood. And within the city of An Go s, a fifter of the temple of Apollo Lycias, called Apollonia, ranne through the streetes, crying out that she saw the city full of murder, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fraye, howbeit she vanished away sodainly, and no body knewe what became of her. Pyrrus then comminge hard to the walles of Argos in the E night, & finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by Ariftess, he put in his Gaves: who possessed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But bicause the gate in the city of was too low to passe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them of, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the carke, & in tumulte: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the ende perceived it, Aspides, the and ran incontinently vnto the castell of Aspides, and into other strong places of the city. And castell in Ar- therewithall, they sent with present speede vnto Antigonus, to pray him to come and helpe

Antigonus aunsare to P)TILL cha-

Prrue ficht

them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the walles, he remained without with the skowtes; & in the meane time fent his sonne with his chiefest Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good fouldiers and men of warre with them. At the same time allo F arrived Areus, king of Sparta, with a thowfand of the Cretans, and most lusty Spartans all which ioyning together, came to geue a charge vpo the GAVLES that were in the market

A place, who put them in a maruelous feare & hazard. Pyrrus entring on that fide also of the circ called Cylarabis, with terrible noyfe & cries: when he vnderstoode that the GAVLE saunswered him not lustely and coragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men distresfed, and that had their handes full. Wherefore, he came on with speede to relieue them, thrufling the horsemen forwards that marched before him, with great daunger and paine, by reafon of holes, and finckes, and water conduites, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongest them, as may be thought fightinge by night, where no man faw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reason of the great novie they made, straying here and there up and downe the streetes, thene scattered from the othermeither could the Captaines fet their men in order, as wel for the darkenes of the night? as allo for the confused tumult that was all the city ouer, & for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both fides without doing any thing, looking for day light at the dawning wherof, Pyrrus perceived the castel of Aspides, ful of his armed enemies? And furthermore, Todainly as he was come into the market place, amogest many other good wcommon workes lette out to beautifie the same, he spied the images of a bull and a woulfe Abut and in copper, the which fought one with an other. This fight made him afrayed, bicaufe at that "wife in coperation he remembred a prophecy that had been tolde him that his good and down thould be for fee up in present he remembred a prophecy that had bene tolde him, that his end and death should be; the wif if when he sawe a woulfe and a bull fight together. The ARGIVES reporte, that these images of the were let vp in the market place, for the remembraunce of a certaine chaunce that had happe a ting weether. nedin their contrie. For when Danaus came thither first, by the way called Pramia (as one C would fay, land fowen with corne) in the contry of THYREATIDE, he faw as he went, a would Danau wan fight with a bull : whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, sups the cay of poing the case in him selfe, that the woulfewas of his side, bicause that being a straunger as Argus from hewas, he came to fet vppon the naturall inhabitantes of the contry. The woulfe in the ende obtained the victory : wherefore Danaus making his prayer vnto Apollo Lycias, followed on his Apollo Lycias. enterprife, & had fo good successe, that he draue Gelanor out of ARGOS, who at that time was, Gelanor hing king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the woulse of the Argives. and bull were fet vp in the market place of Ar gos. Pyrrus being halfe discoraged with the ight of them, and also bicause nothinge fell out well according to his expectacion, thought beltto retyre: but fearing the straitenesse of the gates of the city, he sent unto his some Hele-D mus, whome he had left without the city with the greatest parte of his force and army, comid Helmus Pyrmaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out? " " nnt. and that he might receive them, if their enemies by chaunce did hinder their comming out? But the messenger whom he sent, was so hasty and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled hish ingoing out, that he did not well understand what Pyrrus fayd unto him, but reported his mest hige quite contrary. Whereuppon the young prince Helenus taking the belt with his had with him, and the rest of his elephantes, entred into the city to helpe his father living was no wi gening backe: and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retyring still; bevalidly repulledthose that set upon him, turning his face oft unto them. But when he was driven in the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kept inwith his owne E menthat entered at the fame gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when Fyrrus cried out, and bad them go backe, the noyle was fo great: and though the first had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did fill thrush forward into the prease, didnot permit them. Besides this moreouer, the biggest of all the elephantes by missortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grindinge his teeth did hinder those also, that would have comen out and geven backe. Furthermore, an other of the elephantes that were entred before into the city, called Nicon(as much to fay, as conquering) feeking his gouernor that was striken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes : ran vpon the that The strange came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing frendes and foes one in an others necke, til at the length lone of an Ehauing founde the body of his master staine, he lift him up from the ground with his troncke, lephane to his and carying him vpon his two tuthes, returned backe with great fury, treading all vnder feete he found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded vp together in this forte, there was not one that could helpe him felfe: for it feemed to be a maffe and heape of a multi-

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sting upon an other. Wherefore Pyrrus seeing his people thus troubled and harried to & fm tooke his crowne from his heade which he ware apon his helmet, that made him knowend his men a farre of, and gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truffine then to the goodnes of his horse, flewe vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pyke, but the wound was neither daungerous nor great: wherfore Prove fet vpon him that had hurt him, who was an Argian borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore olde womans fonne, whose mother at that present time was gotten vp to the toppeof the tyles of a house, as all other women of the city were, to see the fight. And she perceium

cymmias tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the least the common people. Vntill at the last there came one Zopyrus, that was in pay with Antigonus, and two or three other fouldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, cum as he was comming againe to him selfe out of this traunse. This Zopyrus drewe out a Slavon fword he wore by his fide, to strike of his head. But Pyrrus cast such a grimme countenancem

tude, and one whole body thut together, which fometime thrust forward, and fomtime THELIFE backe, as the fway went. They fought not fo much against their enemies, who set aponther behinde: but they did them selues more hurt, then their enemies did. For if any drew out his Caius Marius. fword, or based his pyke, he could neither scabard thone againe, nor lift vp thother, but thus it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and so killed them selues one thm.

that it was her sonne whome Pyrrus came apon, was so assighted to see him in that daunge, that she tooke a tyle, and with both her handes cast it apon Pyrrus. The tyle falling of from his flaine with a head by reason of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, & brake his neckebone syle shrowen a funder: wherewith he was fodainly fo benummed, that he loft his fight with the blow, the by a woman. raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and him felfe fell from his horse to the ground by Li-

wards Premu

frendes.

him between his eyes, that made him so afrayed, & his hand so to shake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should have cut of his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, so that he was a great while ere he could strike of his head. The matter was straight blowen abroade amongest diverse: whereupon Alexine king Antigo- running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he rame presently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar frends, and cast Pyrus head before him. Antigonus looking vpon it, when he knew it, layed apon his sonne with his staffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beast: and so hyding his p eyes with his cloke, wept for pity, (remembring the fortune of his grandfather Antigonus, and of his father Demetrius) and then caused Pyrrus head & body to be honorably burnt & buned Autigonus currefie to-Afterwards Alcyoneus meeting Helenus (king Pyrrus sonne) in very poore state, musted vp with

is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deale more. But yet thou hast not done all thou shouldest for thou shouldest have taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which doth more shame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the loser. After he had spoken these wordes, Antigonus embraced Helenus, and having apparelled him in good forte, fent him home with honorable convoy into dhue,65

a poore shorte cloke: vsed him very curteously with gentle wordes, and brought him to his

father. Antigonus feeing his fonne bringing of him, fayd vnto him : this parte now (my fonne)

his realme of E PIRVS. Furthermore, feafing all Prirus campe and army, he curteously received all his frendes and feruauntes.

The end of Pyrrus life.

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T is not knowen what was the third name of Caim Marim, no more then of Quintim Sertorius, who had all Spayne in his handes at one Lime: nor of Lucius Mummius, he that destroyed the citie of Co-RINTHE. For this name of Achaicus, that was genen vnto Mummius, of the name of Africanus vnto Scipio: and of Numidicus vnto Metellus: were all of the Rose furnames geuen them, by reason of the conquestes they wan. By this reason Posidonius thinketh to ouercome them that say, that the third name the Romaines have, istheir proper name as Camillus, Mar-

name the ROMAINES Hand, Island proposed in the firmust needes follow that cellus, Caro. For if it fell out so, sayd he, then it must needes follow that they which have two names, should have no proper name. But on the other fide also, he doth not confider that by the like reason he should say, that women haueno names: for there is not awoman in Rome that is called by her first name, which Posidonius judgeth to be the proper name of the Romaines. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the Pompeians, of the Manlians, and of the Cornelians, like as the HERACLIDES and the PELOPIDES are amongest the GREECIANS: and the other is a furname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are thefe furnames, Maerinus, Torquatus, & Sylla. Euen as amongest the GREECE ans likewife, Mnemon, which fignifieth having good memory: Grypos, having a crooked nofer Callinicos, conquering, But as for that, the divertitie of custome would deliver objection fuffi; cient to the contrary, to him that lifted. And furthermore, as touching the favor of Marius Marine favor. face, we have seene an image of his in marbell at RAVENNA, a city of the GAVERS, which dothlinely represent that rough severity of nature and maner which they say was in him. Flor being borne a rough man by nature, and getten to the warres, and having followed the farmer altogether from hisyouth, more then the citrill life: when he came to authority, he could hop bridle his anger and chollericke nature. And they fay furthermore, that he never learned the Marins could Greeke tongue, nor vied it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to the no skill of the dyto learnethe tongue, the masters whereof lived in bondage under others. After his fecting Greeke tonge.

triumphe, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made Greeke playes to the weathe Rost MAINES pastime: and came into the Thearer, how beit he did but fit downe only and went his

way straight. Wherfore me thinkes, that as Plato was wont to fay oft vino Nemorates the Phi-

crates.

Planes sping losopher, who was of a currish nature, had his headquer occcupied, and to squere: Xenospan, A my frend: I pray thee doe facrifice to the Graces. So if any man could have perfwaded Man to haue facrificed to the Mufes, and to the GREBCIAN Graces (that is to fay, that he had be wen the Greeke tongue) to so many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not joyned to vnfortunate and milerable an end as he made, through his chal ler and extreame ambition, at fuch yeares, and through an unfatiable couetoufnes, which like boysterous windes made him to make shipwracke of all, in a most cruell, bloody, and vnnau. rall age. The which is easily knowen in reading the discourse of his doinges. First of all here of a meane house, borne of poore parents by father & mother, that got their livings by sweet of their browes. His father as him selfe, was called Caius: Fulcinia was his mother. Andthis

was the cause why he beganne so late to haunt the city, and to learne the citility and manner

of Rome, hauing bene brought up alwayes before in a litle poore village called CIRROL

then any other of his companions. For he did maruelous eafily receive the reformation of

manners, and the discipline of warres, which Scipio advaunced amongest his fouldiers that

Marius paand constry.

the warres.

TON, within the territory of the city of A RPOS: where he led a hard contry life, in respect of those that lived pleasauntly and finely in the cities, but otherwise well reformed, and nearly vnto the manners of the auncient ROMAINES. The first iorney he made vnto the warres, was against the Celtiberians in Spayne, under Scipio African, when he went to befiegethe Marius first city of Nymantia: where his Captaines in shorte time found that he was a better souldier. iorney unto

were ill trained before, and genen ouerto all pleasure. And they say, that in the sight of his Ge nerall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and flew him vpon which occasion of Scipio Afri-

ment of Ma-

Marius Tribune of the Cotta Confull.

Scipio to make him loue him, did offer him many curtefies and pleasures. But specially one day aboue the rest, having made him suppe with him at his table, some one after supperful ling in talke of Captaines that were in Rome at that time: one that stoode by Scipio, askedhim (either bicause in deede he stoode in doubt, or else for that he would curry fauor with semin what other Captaine the Romaines should have after his death, like vnto him. Scipio having Marius by him, gently clapped him apon his shoulder, and fayd: peraduenture this shallest Thus happely were they both borne, the one to flew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wifely conjecturing the end, by seeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned so, that these words of Scipio (by reporte) aboue all things elsew Marius in a good hope, as if they had bene spoken by the oracle of some god, and madelim ! bold to deale in matters of state and common wealth: where, by meanes of the fattor & comrenaunce Cacilius Metellus gaue him (whose house his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneshippe. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner howe to geue the voyces in election of the Magistrates, which did seeme tout from the nobility the authority they had in judgement. And therefore the Confull Cottalion ped vp against it, and perswaded the Senate to result that lawe, and not suffer it to be auto rised, and therewithall presently to call Marius before them to yeld areason of his doing so was it agreed uppon in the Senate. Now Marius comming into the Senate, was not abalia at any thing, as fome other young man would have bene, that had but newly begonne to the into the world as he did, and having no other notable calling or quality in him, faving his we E tue only to commend him: but taking boldenes of him selfe (as the noble actes he afterwards did, gaueshow of his valor) he openly threatned the Consull Costa to sende him to prisons he did not presently withdrawe the conclusion he had caused to be resoluted apon. The Confull then turning him selfe vnto Cecilius Metellus, asked him how he liked it ? Metellus standing vp, spake in the behalfe of the Consult: and then Marius calling a sergeaunt out, command ded him to take Metellus selfe, and to cary him to prison. Metellus appealed to the other libunes, but never a one would take his matter in hand: fo that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then Marius returning with great honor into the market place among the affembly of the people, caused this laws passe and be authorised: and enery man held opinion of him that he would prove a stowerms F and fuch a one, as would not house for any feare, nor thrinke for bathfullnes, but would bent the Senate in fauor of the people. Notwithstanding, he shortly after chaunged opinion and

CAIVS MARIVS. A ahered the first, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, m distribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was wehemently asainstit, and ouerthrew it: so that thereby he came to be a like honored and estemed of either party, as hethat would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he fued for the chiefest office of Ædilis. Of the Æ- Two forms of Alles there are two fortes: the first is called Ædilitas Curulis, so named bicause of certaine chayers that haue crooked feete, ypon which they fit when they geue audience. The other is min. of leffe dignity, and that is called Ædilitas popularis: and when they have chosen the first and oreater Ædilis at Rome, they presently proceede the same day also in the market place vnto e- pularis. lection of the leffer. Marius feeing plainely that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, tur-Marius denedagaine straight yet to demaund the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke myed to be

himfor too bold, too shameles, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had AEditis. wodenvalles and repulses, which neuer man but him selse before had. And neuerthelesse, all this could not cut his combe, but shortely after he sued also for the Prætorshippe, and he lackedbut litle of the deniall of that : yet in the ende, being last of all chosen, he was accused to Marine thehaue bribed the people, and bought their voyces for money. And furely amogenst many o- fen Preser. ther, this prefumption was very great: that they faw a man of Cassivs Sabac on within the

barres where the election is made, running to and fro amonge them that gaue their voyces, bicause this Sabacon was Marius very great frend. The matter came before the judges, and Sabuon was examined vpon it. Whereunto he aunswered, that for the great extreame heate he Celt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him fome in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as foone as euer he had dronke. This Sabacon was afterwardes put out of the Senate by the next Cenfors, and many judge that Sabacon put hewas worthy of this infamy, for that he was periured in judgement, or bicause he was so sub- of the Samue. iect and geuen to his pleasure. Caius Herennius was also called for a witnesse against Marius: Caius Herennius was also called for a witnesse against Marius: but he did alleage for his excuse, that the law and custome did dispense with the Patrone, to in Marinu be-

beawitnesse against his follower & client, and he was quit by the judges. For the Romaines halfe, 104alwayes call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them selues into their them be climb. handes: faying, that Marius predecessors, and Marius him selfe, had euer bene followers of thehouse of the Herennians. The judges received his aunswere, and allowed thereof. But D Marius spake against it, alleaging, that since he had received this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this base condicion, to be any more a follower of anyman: the which was not true in all. For every office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posterity, to be vider the patronage of an other, nor doth difcharge him from the ducty of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which thelaw doth permit to sit in the crooked chayer called Curulis, that is to say, caried uppon a charet through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, Marius hadbut ill successe, and that the judges were against him all they could yet in the ende for all

that, at the last hearing of his matter, Marins, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, bicause the judges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vsed him selse E veryorderly in his office of Prætorshippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the provinces by lot, Spaine fell vnto him, which is beyond the river of Bætis: where it is re- Marine after ported that he skowred all the contrie thereabouts of theeues and robbers, which not with - in Spane. flanding was yet very cruell and fauage, forthe rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and facion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the SPANYARDS were of opinion euen at that time, The opinio of that it was a goodly thinge to line apon thefte and robbery. At his returne to Rome out of olde time. SPAYNE, defiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he faw that he had neither elo- Eloquence & quence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in riches rasted

credit and authority, did cary the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made 18th, great accompt of his constancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paynes and Hop Marine trauellhe tooke continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes to bring him to hoppy and profession to honor and preferment, infomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried Iulia, that was of gree. thenoble house of the Casars, and aunte vnto Iulius Casar: who afterwardes came to be the Iulia, Marius

Marius semperaunce and pacience.

chiefest man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reason of that allyance between them, seemed A in some thinges to followe Marius, as we have wrytten in his life. Marius was a man of great temperaunce and pacience, as may be judged by an acte he did, puttinge him felfe into the handes of furgeons. For his shanckes and legges were full of great swollen veynes, and being angrie bicause it was no pleasaunt thinge to beholde : he determined to put him selse into the handes of furgeons to becured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the surgeons worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like case: but paciently abode all the extreame paines a man must of necessity seele being cut, without sturring, groning, or sighing ftill keeping his countenaunce, and fayed neuer a word. But when the furgeon had done with his first legge, and would have gone to the other, he would not geue it him: nay fayd he J fee the cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwardes, Cacilius Metellus the Consull, be ! ing appointed to go into A FRICKE to make warre with king Ingurthe, tooke Marius with him for one of his Lieutenauntes. Marius being there, seeing notable good service to be done, and rellus Lieuse- good occasion to shew his manhoode, was not of minde in this voyage to increase Metellus honor and reputacion, as other Lieutenauntes did : and thought that it was not Metelly that called him forth for his Lieutenaunt, but fortune her felfe that prefented him a fit occasionto raife him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he coulde doe. And for this cause therefore, he endeuored him selsen shew all the possible proofes of valliantnesse and honor he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refused any attempt or service, how daungerous or painfull soeuer it were, neither disdained to take any service in hand, were it neuer so litle: buter-0 ceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wifedome and forefight, in that which was to be done, and striuing with the meanest fouldiers in living hardly and painefully, wannethe goodwill and fauor of euery man. For to fay truely, it is a great comforte & refreshing to soul diers that labor, to have companios that labor willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company laboring with them, doth in manner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the Romaine souldier maruelously to see the Generall eate openly of The laborar & the same bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that him selfe is the lift man to fet his hande to any worke when a trenche is to be cast, or their campeto be fortified, she Generall For they doe not so much esteeme the Captaines, that honor and reward them : as they doe those that in daungerous attempts labor, and venture their lines with them. And further they works willing- do farre better love them that take paines with them, then those that suffer them to live idlely by them. Marius performing all this and winning thereby the loue and goodwills of his fouldiers: he straight filled all LIBYA and the city of ROME with his glory, so that he was in every manns mouth. For they that were in the campe in Africke, wrote vnto them that were it Rome, that they should neuer see the ende of these warres against this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto Marius, and chose him Consull. These thinges misliked Metellus very much, but specially the misfortune that came apon Turpilius, did maruelously trouble him: which fell out in this forte. Turpilius was Metellus frende, yea he and all his parentes had followed Metellus in this warre, being master of the workes in his campe. Metellus made him gouernor ouer the city of V ACCA, a goodly great city: and he vsing the inhabitantes of the sion & death. fame very gently and curteoufly, mistrusted nothing, till he was fallen into the handes of hise nemies through their treason. For they had brought king lugarthe into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his

way fafe. And this was the cause why they accused Turpilius of treason. Marius being one of

his judges in the counfell, was not contented to be bitter to him him felfe, but moved many

of the counfell besides to be against him. So that Metellus hy the voyces of the people, was

driven against his will to condemne him, to suffer as a traitor: and shortly after it was found,

and proued, that Turpilius was wrongfully condemned, and put to death. To fay truely, there

was not one of the cousel but were very fory with Metellus, who maruelous impaciently took

the death of the poore innocent. But Marius contrarily rejoyced, and tooke it vpon him that

he pursued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vauntes, that he had hanged as fury

about Metellus necke, to reuenge his frendes blood, whom he giltleffe had caused to be putto

Marine the author of false accusa-

The confe of rreason against Turpiliue.

Turpiline wrongfully put to death. Difpleasure berwixs Me-

A death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they fay, that one day Metellus to mocke him withall, fayd vnto him:O good man, thou wilt leauevs then, and returne to Rome to sue for the Consulfhippe, and canst thou not be contented to tary to be Consull with my fonne? Now his fonne at that time was but a boy. But whatfocuer the matter ment, Marius left him not fo, but labored for leaue all he could possible. And Metellus after he had vsed many delayes and excuses, at the length gaue him leave, twelve dayes only before the day of election of the Confulls. Wherefore Marius made hast, and in two dayes and a night came from the campe to Vtica apon the sea side, which is a maruelous way from it: and there before he tooke shippe, did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and the Sooth sayer tolde him; that the goddes by the fignes of his facrifices, did promise him vncredible prosperity, and so great; as he himselfe durst not hope after. These wordes made Marius hart greater. Whereupon he hoysed sayle, and having a passing good gale of winde in the poope of the shippe, passed the seasin foure dayes, and being landed, rode poste to Rome. When he was arrived, he went to shewe him felfevnto the people: who were maruelous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he obiected against Metellus, in the end he befought the people to choose him Confull, promising that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king lugurthe prisoner, Whereupon he was chosen Confull without any contradiction. And so soone as he was proclaimed, he beganne Manitus first immediatly to leavie men of warre, causing many poore men that had nothing, & many slaues time of being also, to be enrolled against the order of auncient custome: where other Captaines before him C did receiue no fuch maner of men, and did no more fuffer vnworthy men to be fouldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goodes behinde them, as a pledge of their good service abroade in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made Marius to be most hated, but they were his stowte prowde wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefely offende the Mainteffernoble men in the city. For he proclaimed it euery where abroade as it were, that his Confull-ded the nobithippe was a spoyle he had gotten of the effeminate riche noble men through his valliantnes, his and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for service of the common wealth, and not themonuments of the dead, nor the images and statues of others, were those that recommended him to the people, nor weare his strength. And ofttimes naming Albinus, and otherwhile D Bestia, both noble men, and of great houses, who having bene Generalls of the ROMAINE army, had very ill fortune in the contry of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and simple souldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncesters would rather have wished to have left their children that came of them like vnto him selse, then such as they had bene: confidering that they them selues had wonne honor and glory, not for that they were discended of noble blood, but through their desertued vertue and valliant deedes. Now Marius spake not these wordes in a foolishe brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to see him shame and despite the Senate, and measuring alwayes the greatnes of his cotage with his lawty fierce wordes, they egged him forward still not to spare the nobility, and to reproue the greatmen, so that he euer held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was passed one againe into A FRICK E, it spited Metellus to the hart, bicause that he having ended all the Marine dewarte, that there remained almost no more to take or winne, Marius should come in that forte primed Meto takeaway the glory and triumphe out of his handes, having fought to rife and increase by tellus of the unthankefullnes towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, quering of and left the army with Rutilius one of his Lieutenauntes, to deliuer the fame vnto him. How-king lagarate. beit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the ende vpon Marius owne necke. For Sylla tooke out of Marius hands, the honor of ending this warre: euen as Marius had taken it from Metellus. Buthow, & after what forte, I will repeate it in few words, bicause we have written the particularities more at large in the life of Sylla. Bocchus king of high NVMIDIA, was father Bocchus kinge inlaw vnto king Ingurthe, vnto whom he gaue no great aide, whilest he made warres with the of Numidae, ROMAINE s, bicause he hated his vnfaithfullnes, & feared least he would make him selfe grea- delinereth in-

ter then he was: but in the end, after Iugurthe had fled, and wandered vp and downe in euery 57/12.

Questor under Marius.

the Teutons and Cimbres. The army of and Cimbres

into Isalie of

Cimbri

place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and ancker apon him, as his fi. A nall refuge, and fo repayre vnto him. King Bocchus received him rather for shame, bicause he durst not punish him, then for any loue or goodwill he bare him: and having him in his hands feemed openly to intreate Marius for him, and fecretly to wryte the contrary vnto him, Butin the meane time, he practifed treaton under hande, and fent princly for Lucius Sylla, who then was Quæstor (to say, high treasorer) vnder Marius, and of whome he had received certains pleasures in those warres. Sylla trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king Bocchus repented him of his promife, and altered his minde flanding many dayes in doubt with him felfe howe to refolue, whether he should deliver king he gurthe, or keepe Sylla him felfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended trea-The original 10n, and delivered king Ingurthe alive into Syllaes hands. And this was the first original cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwardes betwixt Marius and Sylla, and was like to have veterly overthrowen the citie of Rome, and to have rased the foundation of the rius and Sylla, empyre vnto the grounde. For many enuvinge the glorie of Marius, gaue it out every where that this acte of the taking of king Iugurthe, appertained only vnto Sylla : and Sylla him felfe caufed a ring to be made, which he ware comonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the same. how Bocchus delivered Ingurthe into his handes. And afterwardes he made it allwayes his feele to dispite Marius with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and coulde abide no companion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and Sylla did it specially at the procurement of enemies & ill willers, who gaue the glory of the beginning & chiefe exployts of this warre, vnto Metellus, and the last and finall conclusion vnto Sylla, to the ende that the people should (not have Marius in so great estimacion and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuy, detraction, and hatred against Marius, was soone after extinguished and troden vider foote, by reason of the great daunger that fell apon all ITALIE out of the West: and they neuer spake of it afterwardes, knowing that the common wealth stoode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they beganne to looke about, and confider who should be that great wisePvlot, that might faue and preferue it, from so exceding daungerous storme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the auncient houses of Rome, that durst vindertake to offer him selfe to demaunde the Consullshippe: but Marius being absent, was chosen Consull the & cond time. For Iugurthe was no fooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the coming downe The comming of the TEVTONS, and of the CIMBRES, the which would not be beleued at the first, by reason D of the infinite number of the fighting men which was fayd to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of armies which was instified to come also: but afterwardes they knew plainely, that the rumor that ranne abroade was leffe, then the troth fell out indeede. For they were three hundred thow and fighting men all armed, who brought with them also an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and downe feeking contries and townes to dwell and line in, as they heard fay the GAV LES had done in olde time, who leaving their owne contry, came, and had possessed the best parte of I TALLE, which they had taken away from the Thus cans. Now to fay truely, no man knewe of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no frendshippewish any other people, as also bicause they came out of a farre contry, as a clowde of peoplettat E was spred all ouer GAVLE & ITALIE. It was douted much that they came out of GERMANYS, dwelling about the north fea: and this they coniectured by viewe of the greatnes of therbodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and redde, besides that the GERMANES in their tongue doe call theeues and robbers, Cimbri. Other fay that Celtica, for the great length and largenes of the contry, firetching it selfe from the coast of the great Occean sea and from the north partes, drawing towards the marifles Moeotides, and the Eastrunneth into Sc YTHIA or TARTARIAP ONTIC A: and that for neighbourhood these two nations ioyned together, and went out of their contrie, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many fundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the contry. And thusby continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme lande of Evrops I and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the divertite of their nations, yet all this maffe and multitude of people gathered together, were called

A notwithstanding, the army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would say, the CELTOTARTA-RES. Other hold opinion that the nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were known in old time Cimentific for auncient GREECIANS, the one parte of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driven out of their contrie for some civill diffention) were compelled by the TARTARES to passe beyond the marisses Moeotides, into the contries of Asia, under the conduction of a Captaine called Ligdamis. But the residue of them which were a farre oreater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furdest partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Occean sea, in a darke shadowed contrie, couered with wonderfull forreftes, of fuch length, and fo great and thicke, and the trees fo high, that the funne can have no power vpon the ground, and they joyne hard vpon the great forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidiftant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the poynte that aunswereth directly to the plummet uppon the head of the inhabitantes : and where the daves are equinoctiall, they doe deuide all their time in two partes, the which geneth Homer occasion to fayne, that when Vliffes would call vpon the dead, he went into the contry of the CIMMERIANS, as into the contry of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne contries to come into ITALIE, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwardes they fay (and not without great likely hoode) that they were furnamed CIMBRES: howebeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, then by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most parte of historiographers doe C wryte, that they were rather moe, then leffe then we have spoken of : and that they were so hardy and valliant, that nothing coulde stande before them, they did so great thinges by the ftrength of their handes where they fought with any, so violently, and so sodainely, that they feemed to be like a lightninge fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they mer with no man that durft refiff them, but scraped together and carried away, all that they found, hande ouer head: and there were many Romaine Captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyonde the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully ouerthrowed by them. The cowardlynes of those, whom they had ouercome. was the chiefest cause that moued them to direct their iorney to Rome. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withall, and gotten great richesse also: they were so sleshed D by this, that they determined to stay no where before they had first destroyed Rome, & sacked all ITALIE. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all partes, fent for Marius to geue him the conduction and leading of these warres, and chose him Consult the seconde time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the lawe, that did expressely forbid any man to be chosen for forbid. being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past between the vacation and ele- the second ction, before they could choose him officer twise in one office. Some alleaged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulst them, objecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had genen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that Law mass give the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by place for comthe which they chose Scipio Consull, against the course and time appointed by the law, not for mon benefit. any feare they stoode in to lose their owne contrie, but for the desire they had to destroy the contry of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And Marius bringing home his armie againe out of LIBYA into ITALIB, tooke possession of his Consulship the first day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES beginne their yeare)and therwithall made his triumphe into the city of Rome, showing that to the Romaine sy, which they thought neuerto haue seene : and that was, kinge Iugurthe prisoner, who was so subtill a sample into man, and coulde fo well frame him selfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was Rome, for king offo great corage besides, that none of his enemies ever hoped to have had him alive. But it lugarithe. is fayd, that after he was led in this triumphe, he fell mad straight apon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was carred into prisone, where the sergeauntes for hast to have the F spoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from of his backe: and bicause they would take away his rich golde eare ringes that hong at his eares, they pulled away with them the typpe of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wittes being altogether

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he fayd : O Hercules; how colde an I

How Marius srained his fouldiers.

Marius moyles.

Marius com mended for his instice.

your stoues. He lived there yet six dayes, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwayes to prelong his miserable life vnto the last hower: the which was a just deserved punishment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they fay) three thow fand & feuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of filuer nygots, fine thow and fenen hundred and lxxv. pounde weight and more in golde and ready coyne, eight and twenty thowfand and feuen hundred crowner After this triumphe, Marius caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he en tred into the companie with his triumphinge robe, either bicause he forgot it, or else of too groffe and vnciuill arrogancy: but perceiuing that all the affemblie misliked of it, he roleful dainly, and tooke his long Confulls gowne, and then returned quickely againe into his place Furthermore Marius departing to goe to the warres, thought to traine his army by the warres and to harden his fouldiers vnto labor, caufing them to runne every way, making great long iorneys, compelling ech fouldier to cary his owne furniture, and to prepare him necessary tells to finde him felfe withall: fo that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called fuch se were paineful and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging care rius moyles. Other notwithstanding, do shew an other cause and beginning of this prouetbe For they fay, that Scipio lying at the fiege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armor and horses of seruice that werein his armie, but also of the moyles and other beastes of burden, bicause he would see how they were kept & furnished. So Marius brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept him selfe, fatte, fayer, and very well dret and his moyles heare so slike and smooth, and therewith all so lusty and trimme, as none of the rest were like vnto them. Scipio tooke great pleasure to see these beastes so well kept, and in so good plyte: infomuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words this manner of talke was taken up euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and genen to fore labor, makinge as though the would praise him, they call him Marius moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for Marius (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging feaes) turned their first fury towardes SPAYNE : and that he in the meane space had time and leafure to traine and exercise his souldiers, to make them bolde, and withall, him selfe to be throughly knowen amongest them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend nor disobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and sharpe seuerity in punishing such as flacke their duety, both profitable and very necessarie, besides that it was also instandred sonable. Againe, his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vied to them, by litle and litle they feemed nothinge to fearfull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the souldiers more then all the rest, was his instice acd veright dealinge: whereof they reporte such an example: Marius had a nephewe of his inhis campe called Caius Lustus, who had charge of men in the army. This Lustus was taken for a maruelous honest man, saving that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be sodainly in loue with fayer young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme younge striplinge, called Trebonius, that serued vnder him, and having many times lewdly entifed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his servaunt. The young man might not disobay his Captaine being sent for, but presently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did strine with all his force to doe him villanny: he drewe out his fworde, and killed him in the place. And this was done when Marius was out of his campe:who so soone as he returned, caused the marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himfelfe, & to name many witnesses, who had both seene & knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonor, and how that he had continually refifted his abhominable motion, and would neveryeld him felfe vnto him, for any gift or prefent he could offer him. Wherefore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vsed to bege s uen to them that in a day of battel haue done some valliant deede, and he him selfe did crowne Trebonius withall, as one that had done a noble acte, and at fuch a time, as good and honelt

CAIVS MARIVS. A examples were requisite. This judgement of Marius beinge caried to Rome, stoode him to great good purpole towardes the obtaining of his third Confulthippe: besides also that they Maring third looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the springe with whome the ROMAINE fouldiers would not fight under any other Captaine, then Marius, Howbeit they came not fo soone againe as they looked for them, but Marius passed ouer also the yeare of his third Confullshippe. So time comming about againe for the election of newe Confulls, and his companion also being dead: he was driven to goe him selfe vnto Rome, leaving the charge of his campe in his absence, vnto Manius Acilius. At that time there were many no- liu Lieutblemen that fued for the Confulthippe: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tribunes, who had man: of the the communalty vnder his girdell as he would him felfe, more then any of thother Tribunes, Maniat. B and being wonne under hand by Marius, made many orations, in the which he perfwaded the Lucius Samepeople to choose Marius Consult the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seemed to refuse ninus Triit faying that he would none of it, though the people choice him. Whereupon Saturninus called him traitor, crying out, that his refufall in fuch a daunger and time of neceffity, was an apparant parte to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a groffe packe betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by fuch as could fee day at a litle hole. Neuertheleffe, the people confidering that their prefent troubles required Marius skil & good fortune in the warres, they made him Confull the fourth time, and joyned Catulus Luctatius Conful with him, a man Marine that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not milliked also of the common people. Marius fourth Conhauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great full bipper C speede, & fortifying his campe by the river of Rhone, he brought great provision of all kindes Latterius. of vittels thither with him, least being straighted by lacke therof, he should be forced to come Rodamus st. to battell at any other time, but even as he would him felfe, and as it should feeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of vittells vnto his campe by sea was very long, and daungerous, and a maruelous great charge besides : he made it very shorte and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the river of Rhone had gathered together so much mudde, and fuch store of sande, which the waves of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was becomen very high and depe: so as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and daungerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. Marius considering this

matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench

D and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great parte of the river, and caried it to a con-

bragging defiaces, but kept his men together within his campe, taking on terribly with them

that would rashely take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impa-

cience of choller would nedes go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their contry. For faid

he, we are not come to fight for our private glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victo-

ries for our selues: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of

he spake vnto the private Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hautor and qua-

F warres from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all ITALIE. These words

uenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, wherby he made it able to cary the greatest shippes that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called Marius Channell or trenche. These barbarous people deuided them selues into two armies to passe into Italia. The ship of that it fell out to the one parte which were the Cimbres 5, to goe nell through high German and to force that passes which were the Tevtons and Ambrons, to passe through the contry of the Genoparte, which were the Tevtons and Ambrons, to passe through the contry of the Genoparte, which were the Tevtons and Ambrons, to passe through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the Genopasses of the cimbres were through the contry of the great of the cimbres were through the contry of the men and imbrone
and imbrone and imbron

lity. But as for the common fouldiers, he made them stande vpon the trenches of his campe, QQ ij

Martha, a

wi∫e woman

Martha in

(hered to

Marius.

Wonders

feene.

one after an other to behold the enemies, & to acquaint them selues with fight of their faces A their countenaunce, and marching, & not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them fresh which were wonderfull, both straunge & beaftly : and also that they might know the facional their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing of them. in time he made the things that femed fearefull vnto his men at the first fight, to be afterward very familiar: fo that they made no more wondring at them. For he judged, the thing which in deede is true, that a rare and new matter neuer seene before, for lacke of judgement and vn. derstanding, maketh things vnknowen to vs, more horrible & fearefull the they are: and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terror of those things, which he nature are in deede fearefull. The which was feene then by experience. For they being dayly acquainted to looke vpon these barbarous people, it did not only diminish some parte of the R former feare of the ROMAINE fouldiers: but furthermore they whetting their choller with the fierce vntollerable threates and bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their harns a fire to fight with them, bicause they did not only wast and destroy all the contry about them. but besides that came to geue assault euen vnto their campe with such a boldnes, that the Ro-MAINE fouldiers could no lenger fuffer them, and they letted not to speake wordes that came to Marius eares him felfe. What cowardlines hath Marius ener knowen in vs., that he keepes vs thus from fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were women? Let vs therefore shew our selues like men, & go aske him if he looke for any other souldiers besides our selves to defend I TALIE: and if he have determined to employ vs as pioners onely, when he would cast a trenche to ridde away the mudde, or to turne a river contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labor, and they are the notable works he hath done in his two Confullshippes, whereof he maketh his boast vnto them at Rome, Is he afrayed they should take him, as they did Carbo & Capio, whom the enemies have overthrowen? He must not be asrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of another manner of valor andrepuracion then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howefoeuer it be, yet were it much better in prouing to loofe something, then to be idle, & to suffer our frends and cofederats to be destroyed & sacked before our eyes. Marius was maruelous glad to hearehis men coplaine thus, & did comfort them, & told the that he did nothing mistrust their corage & valiantnes: howbeit that through the coulell of certaine prophecies & oracles of the gods. he did expect time & place fit for victory. For he euer caried a Syrian woma in a litter about h with him called Martha, with great reverence, whom they faid had the spirit of propheciein her: & that he did euer facrifice vnto the gods by her order, & at fuch time as fhe willed him to do it. This Syrian woman went first to speake with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell & prognosticate what should follow. But the Senate would not heare her, & made her to be drive away. Wherupon she went vnto the wome, & made the see proofe of some things shevauted of, & specially Marius wife, at whose feete she was set one day in an affembly of the comon playes, to see swordplayers fight for life & death: for she told her certenly which of the should ouercome. Whereupon this Lady sent her vnto her husband Marius, who made great reckening of her,&caried her eue in a litter with him wherfoeuer he went. She was alwaies at The auter of Marius facrifices, apparelled in a gown of purple in graine, clasped to her with claspes, & held a speare in her hand would all about with no segayes, & garlands of flowers eved on with laces, time of facri-This maner of least made many dour whether Marius thewed this woman opely, beleuing in dede that the had the gift of prophecy: or els that knowing the cotrary, he made as thought did beleue it, to helpe her fayning. But that which Alexander the M YND IAN Wrote touching A monder of Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wodred at. For he faid there were two of the followed Marie in his warres, & that they euer shewed the selues & missed not, when he should win any great battel, & that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their necks, which the fouldiers had tyed about the, & afterwards let them go where they would: by reason wherof, they did know the fouldiers againe, & it femed also that they did falute the, & were very glad when they faw the, & perswaded the selues, that it was a signe & token of good lucke to follow. May ny fignes and tokens were feene before the battell: howbeit all the rest were ordinary sightes, fauing that which was reported to be seene at TVDERTVM,& AMERIA, two cities of ITALHE

A For they fay there were feene speares and targets in the night, but filing like fire in the element. which first were caried vp & downe here and there, and then met together eiten as men mone & flurre that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one gening backe, and the other followinge after, they all vanished away, and consumed towardes the West. About the selfe fame time also, there came from the citie of PESSINVNIA, Batabaces, the chiefe priest of the Batabaces the greatmother of the goddes, who brought newes, that the goddesse had spoken to him with priest of the inher fanctuary, and told him that the victory of this warre should fall out on the Romaine's godden. fide. The Senate beleued it, and ordained that they should build a temple vnto that goddesse, to geue her thankes for the victorie which she did promise them. Batabaces also would have nresented him selse vnto the people in open assemblie, to tell them as much. But there was B one Aulus Pompeius a Tribune that would not fuffer him to do it, calling him tombler, or nig- Aulus Pomler. & violently thrust him behinde the pulpit for orations : but the mischaunce that fell apon point Tri-Pompeius afterwards, made the the more to beleue Batabaces words. For Pompeius the Tribune bune. no sooner came home vnto his house, but a great vehement agew tooke him, wherof he dyed theseuenth day after, as all the world could witnes. Now the TEVTONS perceiving that Marius stirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to affault him: how beit they were so well received with shorte and slinges, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gave it ouer, and determined to goe further, perswading them selves that they might easily passe the Alpes without daunger. Wherfore truffing vp all their baggage, they paffed by Marine campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruelous great mule titude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to paffe their way. For it is fayd they The enemies were passing by his campe, sixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the campe were ROMAINES campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would wryte or fend home any thing remounts fixe to their wives, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and there were gone, and that they continued on their iorney still, Marius also raised his campe, and went and followed them fayer and softly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and euer choosing strong places of scituacion, & aduantage to lodge in, that they might be fafe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this forte, vntill they came vnto the city of AIX, from whence they had not farre to goe, but they entered straight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore Marius prepared nowe D to fight with them: & chose out a place that was very strong of scituacion to lodge his campe in, howebeit there lacked water. And they say he did it of purpose to the ende to quicken his mens corage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they should stande in great dannger to abide maruelous thirst if they lodged there. Whereinto he made aimswere thewing them the river that ranne hard by the enemies campe, faying withall, that they must go thither and buy drinke with their blood. The fouldiers replyed againe: and why then doe Mariu bolde ye not lead vs thither, whilest our blood is yet moyste? he gently aunswered them againe: bi- wordern his cause the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our campe. The fouldiers, though they were an fouldiers, and gry with him, yet they obeyed him : but the flaues having neither drinke for them felues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towardes the timer fome E of them carying axes, other hatchets, other fwords and speares, with their pottes to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwise they could not come by it. A fewe of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, bicause the most parte of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were fill in the bathe washinge them selues, finding in that place many springes of hotte naturall bathes. Thus the ROMAINES foundemany of the barbarous people making emery, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delite they tooke to conder the pleasauntnes of the place but when they heard the noyle of them that fought, they beganne to runne one after an other visto the place from whence the noyle came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for Marius any lenger to keepe the ROMAINE fouldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their flaues should r haue bene flaine of the barbarous people: and moreouer, bicaufe the vallianteff fouldiers of their enemies called the A MBRONS (who before had ouercome Manlius and Capio, two Ro-MAINE Captaines with their armies, and that made of them selves thirty thowsande fighting

Eastell bemixthe Am. brens & Ma-

Marine onercame the Anıbrons.

otherwise valliant and coragious fellowes, and more lively then they were wont to be, by rea. fon of the wine they had dronke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither didther crie out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noyse with their has nes all after one forte, they oft rehearled their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS which was, either to call one an other of them, or elfe to feare the ROMAINES with their name only. The ITALIANS also on thother side, being the first that came downero fight with them were the Ligvaians, dwelling vpon the coast of Genuoa, who hearing this noyse and cree of theirs, plainely understanding them: aunswered them againe with the like noyse and crye. LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, faying that it was the true furname of all their mation. And so before they joyned together, this crye was redoubled many a time on either side I and the Captaines of both partes made their fouldiers crye out all together, contending for enuy one against an other, who should crye it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed the fouldiers corages the more. Now the Ambrons having the river to paffe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put them selues in battell ray againe after they had passed the river, the Ligvalians ranne with great fury to set apon the formest and after them, (to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begon the charge) the ROMAINES them selves fell also apon the Amerons, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortuned uppon the bancke of the river, whereinto they thrust one an other in such forte, that all the river ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they o that could get ouer the river againe, and were on thother fide, durft not gather together zw more to fland to defence: fo as the ROMAINES flew them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in their handes, grinding their teeth: and crying outfor forrow and anger, they charged as well vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chaled them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust them selves amongest them that fought, & strove by force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their handes, and tooke holde of their naked fwordes bare handed, abiding with an inuincible corage to be hacked and mangled with their fwordes. And thus was the first battell geuen (as they say) by the rivers side, rather by channe vnlooked for then by any fet purpose, or through the generals counsel. Now the ROMAINES, D after they had ouercome the most parte of the AMBRONS, retyring backe by reason the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had geuen fuch an ouerthrow) ling fonges of victory and triumphe, nor make good chere in their tentes one with an other, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best & sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happely) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, bicause their campe was not trenched and fortified, and bicause they knewe also that there remained almost innumerable thow fandes of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the Au-BRONS that had fled and scaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentacions and fighes, but rather like wilde beaftes bellowing and roaringe. So that the bellowing of fuch a great multitude of beaftly people, mingled E together with threates and waylinges, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running ituer to rebounde againe of the founde and ecco of their cries maruelously : by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betwene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINE fouldiers afeard, and Marine him felfe in some doubt: bicause they looked to have benefought withall the fame night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared them selves vnto battell. And in the meane time Marius knowing that there was about the place where they were camped, certaine caues and litle valleyes couered with wodde: he secretly sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thowsand footemen well armed, and commaunded him to keepe close in ambushe, vntill he saw that the bar- F barous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set apon their receward. The refidue of his armie, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed them

A Glues. The next morning at the breake of day, Marius brought his men into the fielde out of his force: where he pur them in order of battell, fending his horsemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmishe. The TEVTONS seeing them come, had not the pacience to tary till Marine sethe ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine fielde to fight without advantage, but are conde banell ming them selues in hast, and in a rage, ranne up the hill to the ROMAINES, where they stoods tone in battell ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, fent here and there was the prinate Captaines, charging them they should not stirre, and onely to temporise and forbeare, vntill the enemies came within a stones cast of them : and that they should then throw their dartes at them, and afterwardes drawe their swordes, and repulse the barbarous people with their fhieldes. For he did foresee before, that when they should clime vp against the hill (vppon the B hanging whereof the ROMAINES had fet their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and ranckes could stand close together to any effect or purpose: bicause they could not have fure footing, nor march affuredly, but would eafily be throwe backeward if they were neuer so litle repulsed, by reason of the hanging of the hill. Marins game this order vnto his folke and therewithall was him felfe the first man that put it in execution: for he was as tryimme a warriour, and as valliant a fouldier, as any man in all his army: befides, not one

amongest them all would venter furder, and be more bolde then him selfe. So when the Ro-MAINES had refifted them, and stayed them sodainely, going with fury to have wonne the hill. perceiuing them selues to be repulsed, they gave backe by litle and litle, untill they came into the field: and then beganne the formest of them to gather together, and to put them selues in battell ray vppon the plaine, when fodainly they heard the noyfe and charging of them that were in the tayle of their army. For Claudius Marcellus failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, bicause that the noyse of the first charge comming up against the hills thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambushe, gaue him aduertisement thereof; whereupon he caused his men presently to shew, and running with great cryes, came to gene a charge vpon

those which were in the tayle of the barbarous people, putting the hindemost to the sworde.

They made their fellowes whose backes were next vnto them, to turne their faces & fo from

man to man, till at the length, in shorte time all their battell beganne to wayer in disorder; and

they made no great resistaunce, when they saw they were so charged before and behinde, but beganne straight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and Merine vitooke prisoners aboue a hundred thowsande of them, and tooke moreouer their cartes, their trusons and tentes and all their carriage. Which the whole army by confent agreed to prefent vnto Ma- Ambron. rius, excepting nothing, fauing that which was imbeaceled and conveyed away under hande. Now, though this was a maruelous honorable & right noble present yet they thought it not a recompence sufficient for that he had deserved, for the valure he had shewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his army, & for the good order he kept in this warre: so happy thought they them selues to have escaped so great a dayinger. Notwithstanding some wryters doe not agree, that the spoyle of the barbarous people was genen ynto Marius: northat there were also so great a number of men slaine as we have spoken of. But they say, that after this bartell the MARSSILIANS did inclose their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that

the bodies being rotten and confumed vpon the fieldes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed fo fatte, and did foke the greafe fo deepe in the same, that the sommer following they did beare an uncredible quantity of all fortes of frutes. And by this meanes were Archilocus wordes proued true, that the errable land doth waxe fat with such rottennesse or putrification. And it is sayd aso, that of ordinary after great battells, there falleth great store of raine. Either it is by meane of some god that powring downe pure Much raine raine water doth purifie, wash, and clense the grounde, defiled and polluted with mans blood: followeth afor else it happeneth by naturall cause. For that the ouerthrow of so many dead bodies, and of selle,

the blood spilt, engendreth a moyst, grosse, and heavy vapoure, which doth thicken the aver (that by nature is chaungeable, and easie to alter) from a very small or little beginning, vnto an exceeding great chaunge. After this battell, Marius caused the harnesse and spoyles of the barbarous people to be layed aside, that were left whole and fayer to fight, to be autific & en. rich the pompe of his triumphe. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great

heape, and layed apon a stake of wodde, to make a noble facrifice vinto the gods, all his annual being armed about him, crowned with garlandes of triumphe, and him felfe apparelled in long gowne of purple, according to the custome of the Romaines in such a case, and holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he first lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the stake of wood; they saw some of his frends a good way of horse backe, comming post vnto him: then sodamly there was a great silence made of all the affembly, euery man defirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted of their horses, they ranne straight to embrace Marus, and brought him newes that he was chosen Confull the fift time: and presented him the letters sent him from ROME confirming the same. And thus, this new joy falling out besides the victory, the primate fouldiers did thewe the great ioy and pleasure they tooke in both, with great showtes and be-R ting youn their harnesse; and the Captaines also, they crowned Marius againe with new garlandes of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vinder the stake of woode, and ended his facrifice. But that which neuer fuffereth men quietly to enjoy the good happe of any victory clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good be it either fortune or spight of fatall destenie, or else the necessitie of the naturall causes of earthly thinges: did shortely after this great toy bring newes vnto Marius, of his companion Catulus Luctatius the other Confull, who was like a cloude in a fayer bright day, and brought the city of Rome agains into a new feare and trouble. For Gatulus that went against the Cin-BRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the straightes of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for passing: bicause that in so doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his o army into many partes, and had weakened him felfe very much if he had taken that course, Wherefore comming a litle on this fide the Alpes towardes ITALIE, he planted him felfevopon the river of Athelis, and built a bridge apon it to passe and repasse ouer his men when he would, and fette vp at either ende of the bridge two strong fortes well fortified, that he might more comodiously helpe the places on the other side of the river, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force the after they had gotten out of the straights of the mountaines. Now, these barbarous people had such a glory in them selues, and disdained their enemies to much that more to their force and boldnes, then of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they fuffred it to fnow apon them being starke naked, and did clime up to the toppe of the mountaines, throw great heapes of ife and fnow. And when they D were at the very toppe of all, they layed their long broad targets under their bodies, and lay all along apon them, fliding downe the fleepe high rockes, that had certaine hanginges out of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuer fide, and confidered howe they might paffe it ouer: and beganne to fill it vp, tearing downe (like gyants) great hilles of earth which they founde thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled up whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to stoppe and breake the course of the river. But besides all this, they threw great tymber into the riuer, which being caried downe the streame, came with fuch a force, & hit against the postes of the bridge so violently, that they shaked the Ro-MATNES bridge marueloufly, Whereuppon many of the fouldiers of the great campe werea! I frayed, and forfaking it, beganne to retyre. But then did Catulus, like a perfit good Captaine showe, that he made leffe accompt of his owne private honor and estimacion, then he didof the generall honor of all his fouldiers. For, feeing that he could not perswade his men by any reason to tary, and that in this feare they dislodged in disorder against his will:he him selfe comaunded the standard bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ranne to the foremest that went their way, and marched him felfe before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retyre should altogether light upon him, & not apon his contry, and that it might appeare the Ro-MAINES did follow their Captaine, and not flie away. The barbarous people therefore affaulting the force at the end of the bridge of the river of Athefis, tooke it, & all the men that were lives to the death for defence of their contry: the barbarous people letthem go vpon copolition, which they sware to kepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken

in it. And bicause the Romaines defended it like valliant men, and had lustely ventured their I

A when they loft the battell, and caried (as they fay) into Catulus Luctains house, as the chiefest thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the contry open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Whereuppon the Ro-MAINES sent for Marins to Rome to goe against them: and after he was arrived, every man thought he shoulde haue entred in triumphe, bicause also the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either bicause he would not depriue his fouldiers and the Captaines that had fought vnder him, of any parte of the honor that was due vnto them, they Marine isfiibeing absent : or bicause that he would warrant the people fro the present daunger they were sed to enter in in, by laying eafide the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of triumphe. ROME, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwardes, by a more honorable and perfit confir-B mation of the second. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediatly towardes Catulus Luctatius, whose comming Marins goth didcomforte him much: and fent also for his army that was yet in GAVLE beyond the moun- towardes Cataines. And after his army was come, he passed the river of Po, to kepe the barbarous people thus to helpe from hurting ITALIE on this fide the Po. Now, the CIMBRES still deterred to gene battell bi- him. cause they looked for the TEVTONS, and sayd: that they marueled much what they ment to Postus tary fo long: either bicause they knewe not in deede of their ouerthrowe, or else for that they would not feeme to knowe it, bicause they handeled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deathes. At the length, they fent vnto Marius to aske him landes and townes fufficient, to kepe them and their brethren. Marin asked their Ambassadors what brethren they ment. C They aunswered, that they were the TEVTONS. Whereat the standers by beganne to laugh: and Marins finely mocked them, faying. Care not for those brethren fayd he, for we have geuen them ground enough, which they will kepe for euer. These Ambassadors found his mock Marine mocke Straight, and beganne to reuile and threaten him, that the CIMBRES shoulde presently make to the Cimhim repent it, and the Tevrons foloone as they arrived. Why, fayd Marius vnto them a- bres. gaine, they are come already: and there were no honefty in you, if you could goe your way & not salute them, since they are your brethren. And as he spake these wordes, he commaunded his men to bring him the kinges of the TEVTONS bounde and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the SEQVANI. The CIMBRES understäding this by reporte of their Ambassadors, presently marched towardes Marius, who stirred not at all, but The Combres only fortified and kept his campe. They fay that it was for this battell that Marius first innen-march against ted the newe denife he brought in for the darte which the Romaines were wont alwayes to

put a litle thinne pinne of wodde, easie to be broken, in place of the same, making it crastely, to

the end that when the darte was throwen, & stucke in the enemies target, it should not stand

right forward, but bow downewards towardes the iron, that the wodden pinne being broken,

the staffe of the darte should hang downewardes, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite

for battell, that they might trye it out, who should be owners of the contry. Whereunto Ma-

rimmade aunswer, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to counsell with their ene-

mies, of the time and place when they (hould geue battell : but neuertheleffe, he would not

flicke to pleasure the CIMBRES so much. And thus they agreed between them, that it should

be the thirde day following, in the plaine of Verfelles, which was very commodious for the

horsemen of the Romaines: and also for the barbarous people to put our at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but

appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. Catulus Luctatius the other Confull, had

throwe against the enemies at the first charge. For before, the staffe of the datte was fastned for alteringe vnto the iron, and the iron vnto the staffe, with two litle iron pinnes that passed through the the date in woodde and then Marius left one of the iron pinnes as it was before, & taking away the other, fight.

through at the poynte. So Baorix king of the CIMBRES, comming neere to Marius campe Baorix king of

with a small number of horsemen, sent him defyaunce, & willed him to appoint a day & place the combine.

in his campe twenty thowfand, and three hundred fouldiers: and Marins had in his campe two Two and fiftie and thirty thowsand fighting men, which he placed in the two winges of the battell, shutting three handred in Catalus with his men in the middeft. As Sylla writeth it, who was prefent at the fame: faying, men between that Maries did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrowe his enemies with the two Maries and

they fay, that there was a woman hanged at the ende of a carte ladder, having hanged vo two

of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men also, for lacke of a tree to hang

them selues on, tyed slipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes & feete of the oxen,

and that they did pricke them afterwardes with goades to make them fling and leape for long,

winges of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light apon his two winges, and A that Catulus & his men in the middelt should have no parte therof. For he could not so much as fronte the enemy, bicause that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of such a bredthe the two winges are ever stretched out before, and is made like the cressant of a moone, where the middest is thickest and fardest in. And it is wrytten also in other stories, that Catulus him

felfe accusing the malice of Marius, bicause he did so : spake it to excuse his owne dishonor. The band of As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footemen comming out of their fortes leafurely did put them selues into a squadron, as broade as long, for in every side they occupied almost thirty furlong: but their horsemen which were fifteene thowsande, marched before in summ. tuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heades facioned like wilde beaftes neckes, and straunge beuers or buffes to the same, & ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, a as they had bene winges: which to fight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curafes on their backes, and caried great white targets he fore them : and for weapons offensive, every man had two dartes in his hand to bestow a fame of, & when they came to hand strokes, they had great heavy swords which they fought with all neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke against the army of the ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to inclose the ROMAINES between them and their footemen that were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines founde their policy straight, but they coulde not keepe their fouldiers backe: for there was one that cried the enemies fled, and immediatly all the rest beganne to runne after. In the meane time, the footemen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: &c then Marius having washed his handes, and lifting them up to heaven, promised, and vowed a folemne facrifice vnto the goddes of a hundred oxen. Catulus also made a vow, lifting vp his handes to heaven in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day; and it is reported, that Marius having facrificed, when they shewed him the intralls of the bealts facrificed: he cried out a low de, the victory is mine. But when they came to geue the charge Marius had a great misfortune happened him, powred apon him by goddes inflice, who turned his craft against him selfe, as Sylla wryteth: for there rose very credibly so great a dust, that both armies lost the fight one of an other. And hereupon Marius being the first that rannew

A dust raised, that neither army could fee one an o-

the barbarous people fought against Catulus. So that the greatest fury of the battel was against Catulus and his army: in the which, Sylla wryteth he was him felfe, and fayeth, that the heate

faces.

The fielde fought the 27.0f Iuly.

The funne ful and the funne which was full in the CIMBRES faces, did the ROMAINES maruelous pleasure in the Climbres at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought vp to away with cold (bicause they were borne and bred in a cold contry, shadowed altogether with wooddes and trees as we have fayd) were to the contrary very tender against the heate, and did melt with sweatingsgainst the sunne, and gaped straight for breathe, putting their targets before their faces: forit was also in the hart of sommer, about the seuen and twentie day of the moneth of Julie, that this battell was geuen, and this dust also made the Romaines the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And energy man runninge to fet apon them that came against them, they were joyned together in fight, before that the fight of their enemies could make them afrayed. And furthermore, they were fo good fouldiers, and so able to take paines, that how extreame soeuer the heate was, no man was fene fweate nor blow, though they ranne at the first to set apon them: & this hath Catalan Luctative him selfe left in wryting vnto the praise of his souldiers. So were the most parte of the barbarous people, and specially of the best fouldiers, slaine in the field. And bicause the should not open nor breake their rancks, the foremest rancks were all tyed & bound together with girdells, leather thongs, & long chaynes of iron : and they that fled, were chased & following wed into their campe by the ROMAINES, where they met with horrible and fearefull things to beholde. For, their wives being apon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, flue all those that fled, without regarde of persones: some their fathers, other their husbandes or their brethren, and strangling the litle young babes with their owne handes, they cast them

beginne the charge, and having placed his men about him, miffed to meete with his enemies

and being passed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, while!

ter might be tryed frendly betwene them they made the Ambassadors of Parma their arbitrators, who were by chaunce at that time in the army. Catulus Luctatius fouldiers led the Amhassadors to the place where the ouerthrowe was genen, thewing them the enemies bodies pearled through with their pykes, which were easie to be knowen, bicause Carulus had made them graue his name apon their pykes. For all this, Marius went away with the honor of this * great victory, as well for the first battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrewe the TEVTONS and the Ambrons: as for his great calling, having bene Conful five times. And furthermore, Miehi outthe common people at Rome, called him the third founder of the city of Rome, thinking them counts right c selues now deliuered from as great a dauger, as before time they had bene from the auncient GAVLES. And every man featting at home with his wife and children, offered the best dishes of meate they had to supper, vnto the goddes, and vnto Marius: and would needes have him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any case, but triumphed into the city with Catulus Luctatius, meaning to thew himselfe curreous and moderate in fo great prosperity: and peraduenture also fearing Catulus souldiers, who were in readinesse and prepared (if Marius would have deprived their Captaine of that honor) to let him also of his triumphe. And thus you fee howe he passed his fift Consulshippe, After that, he made more earnest sute for the fixt Conful hippe, then euer any other did for his first: feeking the peoples goodwilles by all the fayer meanes he could to please them, humbling him selse vnto them, not only more D then became his estate and calling, but directly also against his owne nature, counterfeating a curteous populer manner, being cleane contrarie to his disposition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the state concerning the city. For that corage and boldenesse which he had in battell against the enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an affembly of people in the city: and was eafily put out of his byase, with the first blame or praise he heard geuen him. And though they reporte, that on a time when he made a thowfande CAMERINES free of the city of Rome, bicause they had done valliant service in the warres, that there were fome that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done against all law: he aunswered them, that for the noyse of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that in dede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an affembly of the city. For in time E of warres, he euer stoode apon his reputacion and authority, knowing that they had neede of him : but in peace and civill government, bicause he would rather be the chiefest man then the honestest man, he would creepe into the peoples bosomes to get their fauor and goodwil.

And thus through his euill behauior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies.

But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did Metellus, for the great vnthankefull parte

he remembred he had played him: and the rather also, bicause heknew him to be a just & true

most desperate, and most hardbraind young men, that were in all Rome: who had all the ra-

blement of rogues and beggers, and fuch tumultuous people at their commaundement, by

whose meanes he made new populer lawes, and caused the souldiers to be called home out of

thewarres,& mingled them with the people of the city in common affemblies, to trouble and

that dragging them all about, and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. Now, though nubers were flaine by this meanes, yet were there three fcore thow fand of them Priferer 60. raken prisoners, and the number of them that were flaine, came to twife as many moe. In this thousand manner Marius fouldiers spoyled the campe of the C IMBRES: but the spoyles of dead men Min saine

that were flaine in the fielde, with their enfignes and trompets, were all brought (as it is fayd) fand, R vnto Catulus campe, which was a plaine testimonie to shewe that Catulus and his fouldiers had wonne the field. Strife rifing thus between the fouldiers of both campes about it, that the mat-

dealing man, and one that was ever against these people pleasers and flatterers. Marius therefore practifed all the wayes he could, to get Metellus to be banished Rome. Wherfore, to com-gainst people passe his intent, he fell infrendship with Glaucia, and one Saturninus, two of the most boldest, pleasers.

Valerisa Flacens Confull with Marius the fixt Valerine Coruinus fixe

The law Aconfirme what the people should passe by voyce. Marius duble dealing.

To lye cunningly, Marius taketh it for a ver-

Timerous boperitary.

Metellus constant in ver-

ching well do-Mesellus ba-

vexe Metellus, Moreouer Rutilius, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto Marin) wryteth, that he obtained his fixt Confulthippe by corruption of money, which he caused in be distributed amongest the tribes of the people: & that he bought it for ready money to bin by Metellus, and to have Valerius Flaceus not for his fellowe and companion in the Confid thippe, but rather for a minister of his will. There was never ROMAINE to whome the people graunted the Consulfhippe fix times, except it were vnto Valerius Coruinus only. But for him they fay that there was five and forty yeares between his first Consulthip and the last. Where Marius fince the first yeare of his Consulthippe, continued fine yeares together by good for simes Confull. tune one after an other. But in his last Consulthip, he wanne him selfe great hate and make bicause he did many fowle faultes to please Saturninus withall : as amongest others, when he bare with Saturninus, who murdered Nonius his competitor in the Tribuneship. Afterwardes & when Saturninus was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred alaw for distribution of the landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had specially added one article:that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to sweare, that they should kepe and obsense from pointe to pointe that which the people by their voyces should decree, and should not deny it in any lotte. But Marius in open Senate, made as though he would withstand this article faving that neither he nor any other wife man of judgement would take this othe; for faid he, if the law be cuill, then they should doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to graunt it, and not of their owne goodwills. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said for it was but a bayte he had layed for Metellus only, which he could hardly escape. For imagining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly refole ued with him felfe, not to paffe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowinge well enough that Metellus was a graue wise man, who esteemed that to be iust and true (as Pindarus sayd) is the beginning and foundacion of great vertue: he thoughthe would outreach him, makinge him affirme before the Senate that he would not sweare, knowinge also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwardes to sweare, And so in dede it happened. For Metellus having assured them then that he would not sweare, the Senate brake vp vpponit. And shortly after, Saturninus the Tribune calling the Senator vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to sweare before the people: Marius went this ther to offer him selfe to sweare. Whereupon the people making silence, listned attentively to heare what he would fay. But Marine not regarding his large promise & bragges made be 1 fore the Senate, fayed then, his necke was not follong, that he would prejudice the common wealth in a matter of fo great importance: but that he would fweare, and obey the lawe, ifit were a law. This shifting subtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his shame: and whenhe had fayd fo, he tooke his othe. The people feeing him fweare, were maruelous glad, and praifed him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were aftamed of him, and were maruelous angry in their hartes with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. The rupon all the Senate tooke their other, one after an other against their wills, bicause they were arrayed of the people. Sauing Metellus, whome, neither parentes nor frendes perswasion and intreaty could once moue to sweare, for any punishment that Saturninus had imposed upon them, which refused to take the othe, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would never yelde vnto it, offering to abide any payne, rather then to be brought to consent to a dishonest matter vnbeseming his estate. And there uppon went out of the affembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do cuill, it was too easie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was also a common matter: but to do well with daunger, that was the parte of an honest and vertuous man. Saturninus then commaunded the Confulls by edict of the people, that they should banshe Metellus by founde of trompet, with speciall commaundement, that no man should let him have fire nor water, nor lodge him privately nor openly. The common people, they were read dy to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the iniury they had offred him, gathered together about him to faue him, if any would offer him violence. Metellus him felfe was fo good a man, that he would not any civill diffention should rise for his sake : and therefore he absented him selfe from Rome, wherein he did like a wife

CAÎVS MARIVS.

man. For fayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them felues of the wrong they have done me, will call me home againe: or elfe thinges flanding as they do now, ithalbe best for me to be furthest of. But for his trauaill in his exile, howe much he was beloued and honored, and how sweetely he passed his time studying philosophie in the citie of RHODES, shalbe declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, Marius to recompece the pleasure Saturninus had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things: didnot foresee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, geuing the brydle to a desperate man, who every way, by force, by sword and murder, plainly sought to vutpetyrannicall power, with the vtter destruction and subuertion of the whole common weale. And so bearing reuerence of the one side vnto the nobility, and desiring on the other Sideto gratifie the common people: he played a shamefull parte, and shewed him selfe a dou- Marins debte ble dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefest citizens comming to his house, to dealing beperswade him to brydle Saturninus infolencie and boldnes: at the selfefame time also Saturni- billine and mer going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men people. not being privy to his comming. And so Marius telling the nobility, and then Saturninus, that careth leditihe was troubled with a losenes of his body, under this pretence whipped up and downe, now on as Rome. notheone, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against an other, the they were before. Neuertheles, the Senate being maruelous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking parte with the Senate, Marius in the ende was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to suppresse them that were vp, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to velde them selves at the length, bicause he had cut of the pypes and conduits by the which the water ran vnto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being ynable to continue any lenger, called Marius voto them, and yeelded them selues to him, vinder the assurance of the saith of the common people. But although Marine did what he could possible to his vetermost power to faue them, No must so the he could not prevaile, nor doe them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the faith of the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having now purchased him selse theill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Cenfors shoulde bechosen euery man looked that he would have bene one of the suters: how beit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of farre lesse dignity and calling then Dhim selfe. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying that he would not sue to be Censor, bicause he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too straightly their lines & manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale Metellus banishment, Marius did what he could possible by word and deede to hinder it howbeit, seeing in the end he could not have his will, he let it alone. The people having thus willingly revoked Metellus banishment. Marius hart would not serue him to see Metellus returne againe, for the malice he bare him:wher- Metellus refore, he tooke the seas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, under colour to pay certaine banilbement, facrifices to the mother of the goddes, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the Mailuioney very cause that made him to vindertake this iorney, for he had an other secret meaning in it. into Cappado For his nature not being framed to live in peace, and to governe civil matters, and having attained to his greatnes by armes, and supposing that his glorie & authority consumed and decreased altogether living idlely in peace: he sought to devise new occasion of warres, hoping if he could firre vp the kinges of As I A, and specially Mithridates (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make wartes again the Roma is us) that he should then undoutedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make warres with him, and withall alfo, that by that meanes he should have occasion to fill the citie of Roms with newe triumphes, and his house with the spoyles of the great kingdome of Ponta, and with the riches of the king. Now Methridates disposing him selfe to entertaine Marins, with all the honor and curtefies he could possibly shew him: Marius in the ende notwithstanding would not once gene him a good looke, nor a curreous word againe, but churlishly sayd vnto Mithridates at his departure from him, Thou must determine one of these two, king Mitbridates: ci. Marine ther to make thy selfe stronger then the ROMATNES, or else to looke to doe what they com- providendes

maund thee, without resistaunce. These wordes amazed Mithridates, who had heard say be Mulmida-

fore that the ROMAINES would freake their mindes freely: howbeit he neuer faw nor properly it before, vntill that time. After Marius was returned vnto Rome, he built a house necresion the market place, bicause he would not (as he said himself) that such as came vnto him should trouble them selves in going farreto bring him hometo his house:or else for that he thouse this would be an occasion that diverse would come to salute him, as they did other Senator Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the onely cause was, for that he had no named grace nor civility to entertaine men curteoully that came vnto him, and that he lacked behauior besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rufty harnesse or implement that was good for no thing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, no man grieued him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as Sylla did. For 1 he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to prefere Sylla, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that Syllaes first risinge and preferrement grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when Bocchu kine of NVMID IA Was proclaimed by the Senate, a frende and confederate of the ROMAINE PROPE he offred vp statues of victories, carying tokens of triumphe, into the temple of the Capital and placed neere vnto them also, an image of gold of king Ingurthe, which he deliuered by

owne handes vnto Sylla. And this made Marins starke madde for spite and ielousie, and could

mined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. Sylla on the otherside

stomaked Marius, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they werely that this civill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fal-

did Marius shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very colde and slow in all his enter-

prifes, still delayinge time, either bicause age had mortified his active heate, and killed that

the differentian not abide that an other should take upon him the glory of his doinges: insomuch as he deter-

len out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best souldiers and most warlike perple of all ITALIE, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the ROMAINES, and The ware of had well neere ouerthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force and

power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valliantnes and skill, did in maner equal the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calami

ty and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne Sylla as much fame and reputacion, as a

quicke ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue three score and fine yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selse, bicause he was waxen gowry, and had acheinis vaines & finewes, that he could not well ftirre his body, and that for shame, bicause he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithfanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were flaine fix thowfande of their enemies: and fo long as the warres endured, he never gaue them advantage of him, but pacently suffred them sometime to intrenche him, and to mocke him, and geue him vilewords, chalenging him out to fight, & yet all this would not prouoke him. It is fayd alfo, that Pampe. dius Silo, who was the chiefest Captaine of reputacion & authority the enemies had said vino Marius on a time: if thou be Marius, fo great a Captaine as they fay thou art, leave thy campe, & come out to battel. Nay, said Marius to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, pluckeme out by the eares, & copell me to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gauethen occasion to geue a great charge vpon them with advantage: the Romaine swere fainte harted, and durft not set upon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were revied, Marius caused his men to assemble, and spake vnto them in this sorte. I can not reli whicher the two I should recken most cowardes: you your selues, or your enemies: for they dust not once fee your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to refigne his charge, being able to ferue no lenger for the weakeneffe and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of ITALIE being put downe, many at Rome (by the orators means) didfue to have the charge of the warres against Mithridates : and among them, a Tribune of the people called Sulpitims, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred Marins, and perswaded them to gene him the charge of these warres, with title and at thority of vice Confull. The people thereupon were deuided in two partes: for the one fide

A floode for Marius, and thother would have Sylla take the charge, faying, that Marius was to thinke nowe vppon the hotte bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his olde bodie, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him selfe sayd. For Marius had a goodly stately house in those partes neerevnto the mount of Misene, which was farre more fine and curiously furnished, then be- Mont Misene came a Captaine that had bene in fo many foughten battells and daungers. They fay that Cornelia afterwardes bought that fine house for the summe of seuen thowsande fine hundred

crownes, and shortly after also, Lucullus bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thowsand crownes: to fo great excesse was vanitie and curiositie growen in very shorte time at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, Marius too ambitiously striuing like a passioned young man against Marius anthe weakenes and debility of his age, neuer miffed day but he would be in the field of Mars to bition. B exercise him selfe among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ryde horses: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of hody, bicause he was very heavy and sad. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the fielde to see the paines he tooke, striuing to excell the rest. Howbeit

those of the better forte were very fory to see his anarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane persone a great estate; that he coulde not now containe his prosperity within reasonable boundes, nor content him selfe to be effeemed and honored, quietlie enjoyinge all he had wonne, and which at that prefenthe did possesse: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had received such great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age fo flowtly, even into CAPPADOCIA. and ynto the realme of PONT, to goe fight there against Archelaus, and Neoptolemus Lieurenaunts of king Mithridates. In deede he alleaged some reasons to excuse him selfe. but they were altogether vaine: for he fayd that he defired in persone to bring up his sonne in exercise ofarmes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discouered the secret hidden plague.

which of long time hath lurked in Rome, Marius specially having now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the infolent and rash Sulpitius:

who altogether followed Saturninus doinges, lauing that he was found too cowardly & fainte harted in all his enterprises, and for that did Marius justly reproue him. But Sulvitius, bicause he would not dally nor delay time, had euer fixe hundred younge gentlemen of the order of knightes, whome he vied as his gard about him, and called them the gard against the Senate. subjiting god D And one day as the Confulls kept their common affembly in the market place, Sulpitius com- of fixe bunming in armed apon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing; and as Substitute they fled, one of the Confulls fonnes being taken tardy, was flaine, Sylla being thother Con- boldnes. full, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand vnto Marius house, ranne into the fame against the opinion of all the world: wherof they that ranne after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that Marius him selfe conveyed Sylla safelie out at a

fellein his commentaries doth not say, that he was faued in Marius house when he fied : but thathe was brought thither to geue his consent vinto a matter which Sulpitino woulde have forced him vnto against his will, presenting him naked swordes on enery side. And he wryteth also, that being thus forcibly brought vnto Marius house, he was kept there in this feare, vntill fuch time as returninge into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiomement of iustice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done. Substitus then being the stronger, caused the commission & charge of this warres against Mithridates to be affigued vnto Marius by the voyce of the people. Therfore Marius geuing order for his departure, fent two of his Colonells before to take the army of Sylla: who having

backedore, and that he being scaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithstanding, Sylla him

wonne his fouldiers harts before, and stirred them vp against Marins, brought them on with him directly towardes ROME, being no leffe then fine and thirty thowfand fighting men iwho fetting apon the Captaines Marius had fent vnto them, flewe them in the fielder In reuenge whereof, Marius againe in Rome put many of Syllaes frendes and followers to death, and pro-F claimed open liberty by found of trompet, to all flaues and bondmen that would take atmes Marine fedifor him; but there were never but three only that offered them felues. Whereuppoin having ston. made a litle refistaunce vnto Sylla when he came into Rome, he was soone after compelled to

RR ii

Merius the

inso Africke.

472 Marine flith runne his way. Marine was no fooner out of the citie, but they that were in his company for faking him, dispersed them selves here and there being darke night: and Marius him selsegor to a house of his in the contrie, called Salonium, and sent his sonne to one of his fatherin law Mutius farmes not farre from thence, to make fome prouision for vittells. But Marinis the meane time, went before to Ostia, where one of his frendes Numerius had prepared him a shippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his sonne, and hoised fale having only Granius his wives some with him. In the meane time the younger Marius beinge at his father in law Mutius farme, stayed so long in getting of prouision, in trussing of it vp, and carying it away, that broade day light had like to have discovered him: for the enemies had aduertisement whether he was gone, whereupon certaine horsemen were sent thither suppofing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inckling of their comminge, a and preuenting them also before they came, sodainely yoked his oxen to the carte which loded with beanes, and hidde this younger Marius vinder the fame. And prickinge the oxen forward with his goade, fet out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered Me. riss in this forte into his wines house : and there taking such thinges as he needed, whenthe night following came, went towards the fea, & tooke thippe, finding one croffe fayled, bound towards Africke. Marius the father faylinge on still, had a very good winde to poyntea. longest the coast of IT ALIB: notwithstanding, being afrayed of one Geminius, a chiefe manof TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the maryners warning thereof betimes and willed them to take heede of landing at TERRACINE. The maryners were very willing to obey him, but the winde stoode full against them comming from the mayne, which raised as great storme, and they feared much that their vessell which was but a bote, would not brook the feas, befides that he him felfe was very ficke in his ftomake, and fore fea beaten: notwithstanding, at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recoursed the coastouer against the city of CIRCHES. In the meane time, the storme increased still, and their vis tells failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp & down not knowinge what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in fuch like cases of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the best safetie for them, to slie from the plate where they were, and to hope of that which they faw not : for if the fea were their enemy, the lande was so likewise. To meete with men, they were afrayed : and not to meete with themon thother side lacking vtittells, was in deede the greater daunger. Neuerthelesse, in the endther met with heard men that could geue them nothing to eate, but knowing Marius, warnedhim to get him out of the way as foone as he could possible, bicause it was not longe since that there passed by a great troupe of horseme that sought him all about. And thus being brought vnto fuch perplexity, that he knew not where to bestowe him selfe, and specially for that the poore men he had in his company were almost started for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and sought out a very thicke wodde where he passed all that night in great forow, and the next morninge beinge compelled by necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on alongest the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, & praying them not to dispayre, but to retent them selues to him, even vntil the last hope, trusting in certaine prophecies which the Sooth-I Marisus found fayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwellingin the contry, he gathered up in the lappe of his gowne, the ayrie of an Éagle, in the which were feuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothfayer what that ment. They answered, that their sonne one day should be one of the greatest menin the world, and that out of doubt he should obtaine seuen times in his life the chiefest officest dignity in his contry. And for that matter, it is fayd that so in dede it came to passe. Other hold opinion, that fuch as were about Marius at that time, in that present place, and else where, during the time of his flying they hearing him tell this tale, beleued it, and afterwardes put it downe in wrytinge, as a true thinge, although of trothe it is bothe false and fayned. For they say, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two younge ones : by reason whereof it is mayntayned also, that the Poet Museus hathe lyed, in that which he hathe wrytten in thek

Eagles.

verses.

The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth: But yet she bringeth up but one, that any thing is vvorth. Eagle la) esh.

Howfoeuer it was, it is certaine that Marius many times during the time of his flying fayd, that he was affured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulthip. When they were comen necre now to the city of M INT V RNES, about a two myle & a halfe fro it, they might perceive arroupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea that sell vppon the coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and frength) towardes the fea, into the which they threw them felues, and got by fwymming vnto one of the shippes where Granius was : and they crossed ouer vnto the Ile that is right against it called ENARIA. Now for Marius, who was heavy and sicke of body, two of his fer-B nauntes holpe to holde him vp alwayes about water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the last they labored so throughly, that they put him into the other shippe arthe selfe same present, when the horsemen came vnto the sea side, who cried out alowde to the maryners, to lande againe, or else throw Marius ouer borde, and then to goe where they would, Marius on thother fide humbly befought them with teares, not fo to do: whereby the masters of the shippe in ashorte space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe ir. In the ende notwithstanding, they aunswered the horsemen they would not throwe him ouer the borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, themasters of the shippe chaunging minde, drewetowardes lande, and cast ancker about the mouth of the river of Livis, where it leaveth her banckes, and maketh great marysses: & there Livis f. C they tolde Marius he should doe well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke body, till the winde ferued them to make faile, which doubtleffe fayed they, will be at a cerraine hower when the fea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there rifeth a litle winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the maryfles, which will ferue the turne very well to take feas againe. Marius following their counfell, and thinking they had ment good faith, Marius fee a was set a lande vppon the rivers bancke: and there layed him downe apon the graffe, nothing land, and for suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe faken of mariners. againe, and hoyfing up their anckers, failed straight away, and fled: judging it no honesty for them to have delivered Marius into the handes of his enemies, nor safetie for them selves to haue faued him, Marius finding him felfe all alone, & for faken of euery man, lay on the ground Dagreat while, and fayd neuer a word: yet at the length taking harte a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor pathe at all ouerthwart deepe marisses and great ditches, full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in these marisses, and fallingeathis seete, belought him to helpe to faue and fuccour a poore afflicted man, with promife that one day he would geue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present daunger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen Marius aforetime, orthat seeing him (by coniecture only) judged him to be some great personage: told him that ifhement but to lye downe and rest him selfe a litle, his poore cabyne would serue that turne reasonably well: but if he ment to wander thus, to flic his enemies that followed him, he would E then bring him into a more fecret place, and farder of from noyle. Marius prayed him that he would so much doe for him: and the good man brought him into the marishe, vnto a low Maniu bidplaceby the rivers fide, where he made him lye downe, and then covered him with a great den in the deale of reede and bent, and other fuch light thinges as could not hurte him. He had not long bene there, but he heard a great noyfe comming towardes the cabin of the poore old man: for Geminius of TERRACINE had fent men all about to feeke for him, whereof fome by chaunce came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had recemed and hidden an enemie of the ROMAINES. Marius hearing that, role out of the place where the old man had layed him, and stripping him selfe starke naked, went into a parte of the marishe where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that fearched for Marini soft. F him: who takinge him out of the flime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MIN-TVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours handes. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALIB, that they should apprehend Marius, and kill him where-

RR iii

thought good first to consult therupon amongest them selves, & in the meane time they deli-

teffe unta

fafety.

Marica Syl-

uered him into the fafe custody of a woman called Fannia, whom they thought to hauchen a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge the had to him, which was this: Fannia formtime had a husband called Tinnius, whom the was willing to leave for that they could not agre, and no quired her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husbande againe fayed, shehad played the whore. The matter was brought before Marine in his fixt Conful hippe, who had geuen judgement apon it. Both parties being heard, and the law profecuted on either fide it was found that this Fannia was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he maried her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time lived with her. Wherefore Marius being angrie with them both, gaue sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, the should pay foure farthings. This por. withstanding, when Fannia saw Marius, the grudged him not for that, and least of all had any reuenginge minde in her towardes him, but contrarily did comforte and helpe him what the could with that the had, Marius thanked her maruelously for it, and bad her hope well; bicant he met with good lucke as he was comming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to Fanniaes house, her dore being open, there came an affe running out to go drinke at a conduit: not farre from thence: and meeting Marius bythe way, looked apon him with a lively joyfull countenaunce, first of all stopping sodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out alowde, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereuppon Marius straight coniecturing with him felfe, faid, that the goddes did fignifie vnto him, that her should faue him selfe sooner by water then by lande: bicause that the asse leaving him, range to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde Fannia this tale, he defired to reft, and prayed them to let him alone, and to shut the chamber dore to him. But the magistrates of the citie having consulted together about him, in the ende resolued they must deferre no lenge time, but dispatche him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed apon it, they one hiered to could not finde a man in the citie that durft take apon him to kill him: but a man of armer of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in wayting) that went thither with his fword drawen in his hande. Now, that place of the chamber wherein Marius lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he sawe two burninge flames come out of Marius eyen, and heard a voyce out of that darke come. faying vnto him : O fellowe, thou, darest thou come to kill Caius Marius? The barbarous GAVLE hearing these wordes, ranne out of the chamber presently, casting his sworde in the middest of the flower, and crying out these wordes onely: I can not kill Caim Marius, This made the MINTY RNIANS afraied in the city at the first, but afterwards it moved them to compassion. So they were angry with them selues, and did repent them that they converted their counfell to fo cruell and vinkinde a deede, against one that had preserved all I TALIE: andw deny him aide in so extreame necessity, it was too great a sinne. Therefore let vs let him goe, fayed they to them selues, where he will, and suffer him take his fortune appointed him else where; and let vs pray to the goddes to pardone this offence of ours, to have thrust Marin naked and beggerly out of our city. For these considerations, the MINTVRNIANS went all to gether to Marina where he was, and stoode about him, determining to see him safely conducted vnto the fea fide. Now though every man was ready, and willing to pleafure him, fome with one thing, some with an other, and that they did hasten him all they could possible, yet they were a good while a going thither: bicause there was a wodde called Marica, that laye right in their way betwene their city and the fea coast which they greatly reuerence, & thinks it a feriledge to cary any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On thother fide, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compaffe it rounde about, it would asked maruelous long time. So they ftanding all in doubt what they should doe, one of the auncientest men of the city, spake alowde vnto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to faue Marius life. Then Marius him felfe being the formest man, taking s up fome of the fardells which they caried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wodde. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwil

A and specially the shippe which one Bellaus had ordained for him : he caused all this storie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke shippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune carried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he founde Granius and some other of his frendes, with whom hetooke sea againe, and pointed towardes AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compel- Maiss the led to lande in Sicilia, in the territory of the city of Erix: where by chaunce there laye a into Africke. ROMAINE Quæstor, who kept that coast. Marine being landed there, scaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he flue fixteene of his men that came out with him to take water, So Marius getting him thence with all speede, crossed the seas, vntill he arrived in the lle of MENYNGE, where he first understoode that his some was faued with Cetherus, and that B they were both together gone to Hiempfal king of the NVMIDIANS to befeeche him of avde.

This gave him a little corage, & made him bold to passe out of that Ile, into the coast of CAR-THAGE. Nowe at that time, Sextilius a Romain & Prætor was gouernor of A FRICKE. Vnto whom Marius had neuer done good nor hurt, & therfore he hoped, that for pity only he might perhappes haue helpe at his hande. Howbeit he was no fooner landed with a few of his men, but a fergeaunt came straight and sayd vnto him: Sextilius, Prator and gouernor of Libya, doth forbid thee to lande in all this province: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obay the Senates commaundement, and pursue thee as an enemy of the ROMAINES. Marine hearing this commaundement, was so angry and sory both, that he coulde not readily tell what aunfwere to make him, and pawfed a good while and fayd neuer a word, still eying the fergeaunt C with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him, what auniwer he would make to the Prætors com-

maundement. Marius then fetching a deepe figh from his harte, gaue him this aunswer. Thou that tell Sextilius, that thou hast feene Cains Marius banished out of his contrie, fittinge a- Marius mife mongest the ruines of the city of CARTHAGE. By this aunswere, he wisely layed the example answere of of the ruine and destruction of that great city of CARTHAGE, before Sextilius eyes, and the confiancy. chaunge of his fortune: to warne Sextilius that the like might fall vppon him. In the meane time, Hiempfal king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to refolue, did honorably intreate young Marius and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwayes foundenewe occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any oportunity or good occasion that was offered: notwithstandinge, there fortuned a happy meane

D vnto them, whereby they faued them selues. And this it was. This Marius the younger being

afayer complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kinges concubines to fee him to hardly deli withall. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloke the loue she bare him : but Marses would nothearken at the first to her intifementes, and refused her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and confidering that she did all thinges for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then the would have done, if the had not ment further matter vnto him, then only to enjoy the pleasure of him: he then accepted her loue and kyndnesse, so as at the length she taught him a way howe to siye, and saue him selfe and his Marius the frendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and faluted eche other, younger effectivengoing alongest the sea side, they founde two scorpions fightinge together. Marini tooke this plate hands. E for an ill figne: wher upon they quickly tooke a fifther boate, and wet into the ile of Chat Than,

which is no great distaunce of from firme lande. They had no soner hoised up ancher; but they fawe the horse men which kinge Hiempfal had sent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest daungers that Marins euer escaped. In the meane time there was newes at Rome, that Silla made warre against kinge Mithridises Lifetitenauntes: and furthermore, that the Confulls being up in armes thone against thother, Otta- cinna trium wins wanne the battell, and being the stronger had driven out Cinna, who sought to have vier- out of Rome pedryrannicall power, and had made Cornelius Merula Confull in his place: and that Cinna by Offanius. on thother fide leavied men out of other partes of ITALIE, and made warres upon them that were in Rome. Marius hearing of this diffention, thought good to returne as foone as he

F could possible into ITALIB. And assembling certaine horsemen of the mation of the MAVRV-SIANS in APRICKE, & certaine ITALIANS that had faued them selves there, vnto the number of athowfand men in all: he tooke fea, & landed in a hauen of Thyscan a called Talamon,

with Cinna.

476

would come to him. So the laborers, heard men, and neateheardes of all that marche, forthe onely name and reputacion of Marius, ranne to the sea side from all partes: of the whichhe having chosen out the stowtest and lustiest of them, wanne them so by fayer wordes, that he uing gathered a great companie together in few dayes, he made fortie fayle of them. Further, more, knowing that Octavius was a maruelous honest man, that would have no authorities therwise then law & reason would: and that Cinna to the contrarie was suspected of Sylla, and that he fought to bring in chaunge and innouation to the common wealth, he determined in ioyne his force with Cinna. So Marius fent first vnto Cinna, to lette him vnderstande that he would obay him as Confull, and be ready to do all that he should commaunde him. Cinnate. ceiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconfull, and fent him fergeauntsma carie axes and roddes before him, with all other fignes of publicke authoritie. But Marinere. fused them, and sayed, that pompe became not his miserable fortune: for he euer wenting poore threede bare gowne, and had let his heare grow still after he was banished, being abone three score and tenne yeare olde, and had a sober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that fawe him. But vnder all this counterfeate pitie of his, he neuer chaunged his namrall looke, which was ever more fearefull and terrible, then otherwise. And where he finder but litle, & went very demurely & foberly: that shewed rather a cankered corage within him. then a minde humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted Cinna, and spoken to the fouldiers: he then beganne to fet thinges abroache, and made a wonderfull chaunge in fewe dayes. For first of all, with his shippes he cut of all the vittells by sea, & robbed the marchains that caried corne and other vittells to Rome: fo that in a shorte space he was master purueyer for all necessarie prouision and vittells. After this he went alongest the coast, and tooke all the cities apon the sea side, and at the length wanne O STIA also by treason, put the most parte of them in the towne to the fword, and spoyled all their goodes: and afterwards making a bridge apon the river of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to have any manner of provision by fea. That done, he went directly towardes Rome with his armie, where first he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through Octavius faulte: who overthrewe him felfe in his doinges, noth Offanine nemuch for lacke of reasonable skill of warres, as through his ynprofitable curiositie and strictnes in obseruing the law. For when diverse did perswade him to set the bond men at libertym take armes for defence of the common wealth: he aunswered, that he would neuer gene bond] men the law and priviledge of a ROMAINE citizen, having driven Caius Marius out of Rome, to maintaine the authoritie of the lawe. But when Cacilius Metellus was come to Rome, the fonne of that Metellus Numidicus, that having begonne the warres in Libya against king is gurthe, was put out by Marius: the fouldiers for fooke Octavius immediatly, and came vnto him, bicause they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and desired also to have a leader that could tell how to commaund them, to faue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promised to fight valliantly, & perswaded them selves that they should overcome their enemies, fo that they had a skilfull & valliant Captaine that could order them. Metellus misliking their offer commaunded them in anger to returne againevnto the Confull: but they for spicewent vnto their enemies. Metellus on thother fide, feeing no good order taken in the citie to refill the enemies, got him out of Rome. But Octavius being perswaded by certaine Soothsayers and CHALDEAN facrificers, who promifed him all should goe well with him, taried stilling ROME. For that man being otherwise, as wise as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that delt as vprightly in his Confulfhippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one also that sol lowed the auncient orders and customes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any parte therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequeted the Southfavers, wife men, and aftronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and government, Where fore, before that Marius him felfe came into the citie, Octavius was by force pluct out of the pulpit for orations, and flaine presently by Marius souldiers, whome he had sent before into the citie. And it is faved also, that when he was slaine, they founde a figure of a CHALDEAN F prophecie in his bosome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in these two notable men, Octavius and Marius. The first lost his life, by trusting to foothsaying: and the seconde

prospered,

20 Southfaiers. tue and imperfection.

gligence in defence of

the citie of

CAIVS MARIVS. A profeered, & role againe, bicause he did not despise the arte of dimination. The state of Roma franding then in this maner, the Senate confulting together, fent Ambassadors vnto Cinna and Marins, to pray them to come peacibly into Romes, and not to embrue their hands with the blood of their citizens. Cinna litting in his chayer as Conful, gaue them audience. & made them a very reasonable and curteous aunswer. Marine standing by him, spake neuer a worde: but shewed by his sower looke that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome environned with a great number of fouldiers: but Marius stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partely in anger, and partely in cinne and mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driven out of his contrie by law. And therefore if Marine entry they would have him come into Rome againe, they should first by a contrarie decree abolish into Rome. and renoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious observer of the lawes, and as though Rome had at that present enjoyed their freedom and libertie. Thus he made the people affemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to geue their voices, difguiling the matter no lenger, and showing plainly that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into ROMB with a garde about him, of the verieft rafcalls, & most shameleffe flaues, called the BARDIOEIANS, who came to him from all partes: and they for the least word he spake, or at Radiation the twinckling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them flew many menthrough his Marine cancommaundement, and at the length flew Ancharius a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at Ma-fed greatmir. rius feete with their swordes, bicause only that Marius did not salute him when he came one day to speake with him. After this murther, they continued killinge all them that Marins did not falute, and speake vnto; for that was the very signe he had geuen them, to kill them openwin the streetes before every man, so that his very frendes were afearde of being murthered, when they came to falute him. Thus being a great number of men flaine, Cinna in the end beganneto be satisfied, and to appeale his anger. But Marius anger and vnsatiable defire of reuenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: ornelise. and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skowtes & spies, to hunte them out that hidde them selues and sed. Then experience taught them, that no frende is faithfull, Small miss of and to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne neuer so line: for there were very sewe that did frinder in ad. not betray their frendes that fled to them for succor. And therefore doe Cornes servaints so wessite D much the more deserve praise, who having secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang new second vp the dead body of fome common persone by the necke, and having put a goldering on his sus fermanns finger, they shewed him to the BARDIOEIANS, Marius garde, and buried him in steade of to their matheir owne master, without suspicion of any man that it was a fained thing : and so Cornutus steel being hidden by his feruauntes, was fafely conveyed into the contrie of GAVLE. Marke An- M. Anionius thony the Orator had also founde out a faithfull frende, yet was he infortunate. This faithfull the Orator, frend of his, was a poore simple man, who having received one of the chiefest men of Rome berrayed by a into his house to kepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, fent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetche wine, and tailinge the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him, why E the new ordinary wine would not ferue him, but he must needes haue of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply aunswered him (telling him as his familiar frend) that his mafter did fealt Marke Anthony, who was hidden very fecretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine, & his backeturned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto Marius, who was fet at Supper when he came. The drawer beinge brought to him, promised him to deliuer Marke Anthony into his handes, Marius hearing that, was fo ioconde, that he cried out, and claps his handes together for joyetand would have rifen from the borde, and gone thither him felfe in persone, had not his frendes kept him backe. But he sent Annius one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of fouldiers, and commaunded them to bringe him his heade

quickely. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had

brought them to, Annius taried beneath at the dore, and the fouldiers went up the stayers in-

to the chamber, & finding Anthony there, they beganne to encorage one an other to kill him,

not one of them having the harte to lay handes uppon him. For Anthonyes tongue was as

as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewardes, fella

weeping. Annius perceiuing they taried long, and came not downe, went him felfe vp into

the chamber, and found Anthony talking to his fouldiers, and them weeping, his fweete eld

and with the smoke thereof choked him selfe. Now after their heades were cut of they threw a

out the naked bodies into the streetes, and trodde them under their feete: the which was not

only a pitiefull, but a fearefull fight to all that fawe them. But after all this yet, there was no.

thing that grieued the people fo much, as the horrible lechery & abhominable cruelty of this

gard of the BARDIEIANS, who comming into mens houses by force, after they had slaine the

thefe cuills and vnfpeakeable miferies to cease a litle, bicause the wicked doers of the same

looked they should have warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereuppon Marius was

chosen Consult the seuenth time. He going out of his house openly the first day of Ianuarie,

being the beginning of the yeare, to take possession of his Consulthippe: caused one Sextus

Lucinus to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian, which feemed to be a great

figne and certaine token of the euills and miseries, that fell out afterwards the selfe same yere

apon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie belide. But Marius being fore broken with

his former troubles, and his minde oppressed with extreame forow and griefe, could not now

at this last time of neede plucke up his harte to him againe, when he came to thinke of this

newe toward warre that threatned him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he should h

enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great ex-

perience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, confidening

that he had to fight, not with Octavius, nor with Merula, Captaines of a companie of rebells

gathered together: but with anoble Sylla, that had driven him out of Rome before, and that

came now from driving the puisant king Mithridates, vnto the furdest parte of the realmost

PONT, and of the fea Euxinum. Thus, deepely waying and confidering the fame, and speci-

ally when he looked backe uppon his long time of banithment, how vacabondlike he wande

red vp and downe in other contries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paffed, and

the fundrie daungers he fell to often into, being pursued still by sea and by land : it grieuedhim

to the harte, and made him fo viquiet, that he coulde not fleepe in the night, or if hefleps, !

had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voyce buffing in his

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold:

The force of fweete as a Sirene, and had fuch an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speake a

quent tongue had so melted their hartes: but he rating them, ranne furiously apon him, and strake of his head with his owne handes. And Catulus Luctatius also, that had bene Conful with Marius, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, seeing him selfe in this pehim felfe. rill, set men to intreate Marius for him : but his aunswere was euer, he must needes dve. So Catulus locked him felfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled.

masters, defiled their young children, and rauithed their wives and maides, & no man would once reproue their crueltie, lecherie, and vnfatiable auarice: vntill Cinna and Sertorius in the The Bardiaiend fet apon them as they flept in their campe, and flewe them every one. But in this extreans slaine of their Captain mitie, as if all thinges had bene restored vnto their first estate, newes came againe from all partes to Rome, that Sylla having ended his warre against king Mithridates, and recovered crueltie. the provinces which he had viurped: returned into IT ALIE with a great power. This cauled o

shoughses and

feare.

winne fleepe

Though he him (elfe be gone abroade, and be not therein hold. But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gaue him selfett make vnreasonable banckets, and to drinke more then his yeres could beare, seeking to winne fleepe by this meanes, to anoyde care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: & that was an increase of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partely for feare of the thing to come, &parte ly also for the ouer heavie burden of his present ill, there neded but litle more aggravation, to I fall into the disease whereof he dyed, which was a plewrifie : as Posidonius the Philosophu wryteth, who faveth plainly that he went into his chamber when he was ficke, and fpake vnto

A him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet an other historiographer Caius Pifo wryteth, that Marius walking one day after supper with his frendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had

turned with and against him : concluding, that it is no wife mans parte to trust her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leave of them, and layed him downe you his bed, where Marine the helay ficke feuen dayes together, and on the feuenth day dyed. Some wryte that his ambition fathers death. appeared plainly, by a straungerauing that tooke him in his head during his sickenes. For he thought that he made warres with Mithridates, and shewed in his bed all his gestures and mouings of his bodie, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the felfe fame cryes out alowde, which

he was wont to crie when he was in the extreament fight. The defire he had to have taken this

charge in hande against Mithridates, was so deepely setled in his minde through extreame ambition. ambition and icalouzy that possess than that being then three score and ten yeare old, after he had bene the first man that euer was chosen seuen times Consullin Rome, and also after that he had gotten a world of goodes and richesse together that might have sufficed many kinges; the amb

vet for all this he dyed for forrowe, lamenting his harde fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had defired. But this was cleane contrarie vnto that the wife Plato did, when he drewe neere to his death. For he gaue God Platoes words thankes for his fatall end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him areasonable man. as his death. and no brute beaft: fecondly, a Greke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in Socrates time. It is reported also, that one Antipater of THARS IS, calling to mind a lide before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forgette amonge other thinges, to tell of the happie nauigation he made, comming from his contrie vnto ATHENS:

which did witnesse that he put upon the fyle of his good accompts for a singular great grace,

all fauor fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the onely

and most assured treasure a man can have, to kepe those giftes that nature or fortune doe be-

flowe ypon him. But contrariwife, vnthankefull fooles vnto God and nature both, doe forget

with time the memory of their former benefittes, and laying vp nothing, nor keping it in per-

petuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come

& leaving in the meane time the things present, though reason perswades them the contrary. For fortune may eafily let the of the thing to come, but she can not take that from the which is already past: and yet they veterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto the, & dreame alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And fure it chaunceth to them by great reason. For, having gathered outward goodes together, and locking them vp before they have built and layd a fure grounded foundation of reason through good learning: they can not afterwardes fill nor quenche their vnfatiable greedie couetous minde. Thus ended Marius his life, the feuenteenth day of his feuenth Confulfhippe, whereof all the citie of Rome was not a little glad, and tooke harte againe vnto them, supposing they had then bene deliuered from a bloodie cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their coft, that they had chaunged an olde mafter taken out of the worlde, for a younger that came but newly to them : fuch extreame vnnaturall cruelties, & murders did Marius the younger com-

E mit, after the death of his father Marius, murdering in manner all the chiefest noble men of Roug. At the first, they tooke him for a valliant and hardy young man, whereuppon they named him the sonne of Mars: but shortly after his deedes did shew the contrary, and then they called him the sonne of Venus. In the end he was shut in, and befieged by Sylla in the city of Pervs 1A, where he did whathe could possible to faue his life, but all was in vaine: & lastly, seeing

no way to éscape, the city being taken, he slewe him selfe with his owne handes.

The end of Caius Marius life. . .

Note that in Pranefle, and as ye reade here. So as the city feemesh to be mistaki

in warlike causes: the warres of Phioponnasvs fell out maruelous long. For after the outerthrow of the armie which the ATHENTANS had fent into STETLIA, when every man thought they had veterly loft all their force by fea, and that by all conjecture they shoulde soone after loofe all by lande alfo: Alcibiades returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the flate, made an exceding great chaunge and alteration. For he fet the ATHENIANS a flote againe, and made them as strong by sea as the LACHDEMONIANS: who thereupon beganne to quake for feare, and to looke eftfoones for a freshe warre, perceiuinge that they stoode in

tificers house with an honest trade to make them riche by, so that ever after it grewe in conti-

nuall hope to come vnto that florishinge state and greatues, in the which we see it at this pre-

fent. Furthermore, Lylander being aduertised that Cyrus, one of the great king of Persiaes

furnishing the LACED & MONIANS very scantly with money, was an occasion that all their ar-

mie by sea went to wracke. Cyrus for his owne parte was very glad that he heard complaintes

of Tilaphernes, and that they spake against him: bicause he was an ill man, and the rather for

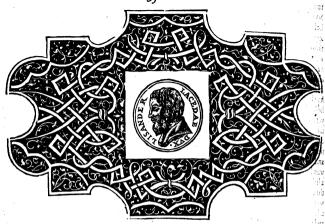
that he had him felfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherfore he loued Lylander maruelous well.

as well for the complaintes he made of Tisaphernes, as also for the pleasure he tooke in his

companie, bicause he was a man that could wonderfully please & delite noble men; by which

meanes having wonne the favor of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also incorage him

THE LIFE Lysander.



Lysanders

N the treasorie of the A CANTHIANS, which is in the temple of A pollo at DELPHES, there is this inscription: Brasidas, and the Acar-THIANS, with the spoile of the ATHENIANS. That inscription makets many men thinke, that the image of frone that standeth within the chamber by the dore therof, is the image of Brasidus: howbeit in truth at it is the liuelie image of Lyfander him felfe, made with a great buth of heare, & a thicke long beard after the old auncient facion. And when fome fay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome and had loft a great battell, did all of them shaue them selues in token and signed common forrow : and that the LACED & MONIANS on thother fide to shewe the ioy of their victory, did all let their heares growe, that is not true. No more then this is true which other B

do reporte of the BACCHIADES: who being fled from CORINTHE VINTO LACED # MON, the LACED EMONIANS founde them fo ill fauoredly difguiled and deformed, bicause their head were all shauen, that thereupon they had a defire to let their heare and beards grow. For the was one of the ordinaunces of Lycurgus, who fayd that the long bushe of heare, makethithen that are naturally fayer, the pleasaunter to looke vppon: and those that are ill sauored, more ough and fearefull to fee to. And furthermore, it is fayd that Ariftoelitus, the father of Life der, was not of the royall blood of the kinges of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the Heraclides: and that his sonne Lylander was very meanely and poorely brought up, being asobedient to the lawes and statutes of his contrie, as any other man was, showing him selfealwayes very strong and constant against all vanitie and pleasure, sauing only in matters of ho-C The education nor and curtesie, which they offer vnto those that deserue well. For they thinke it no shame nor dishonesty in Sparta, that the young men doe suffer them selves to be overcome with that delite and pleasure: but doe so bring up their children, that from their youth they would have them to have some tast and feeling of honor, deliting to be praised, and sorie to be difcomended. For they make no accompt of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to doe good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stowtnesse that was bred in Lylander, pro-

nearing longe beare. The com ditie of wearing longe heare. Ly fanders kinred.

A scided of the LACONTOALL discipline and education he had; and not to muchof his owner nature, But in dede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, & could tell how to entertaine Lylanders and flatter great states and nobility, farre better then the common maner of the statural Spans was sand moreover for his private benefit, he could eafily beare with the flow tres of eneater men of authority then him felfe, which some judge to he a great poynt of wisedome; to know how to deale in matters of state. Aristotle in a place where he layeth, that the greatost wintes commonly are subject vnto melancholye, (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) withteth, that write mes he Lalander in his later ago fell into the melancholy difeafe, but not in his youth. He had allo this and melancholy fingular gift about all other, that in his pourty he alwayes kept that honeft modelly with him; chobye. as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with gold nor filter: and yet he filled his cons defiler of riewith riches and couetousnes, which lost him the reputation he had wonned bicause him felfe made none accomprofriches nor getting. For bringing ftore of golde and filter into his contrie after he had ouercomen the ATHENIANS, he referred not vnto him selfe one Drachi ma only. And furthermore, when Dionysius the tyran of Synacus a hadron a time sent good

le riche gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters; he refuted them, faying, thathe was afrayed Lylanders fuch gownes would make them fowler. Neuertheletie, Thorry after being fent Ambaffador words of Dieout of his contrie vnto the same tyranne, Dionysus sending him two gownes, praying him to choose which of the two he would cary to his daughter : he answered that the her selfe could best choose which was the fitter, and so caried both with him. But now to come to his doings

neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereuppon they made Lylander their Admirall, who arriving in the citie of EPHESVS, founde them very Lylander ad well affected towardes him, and maruelous willing and ready to take the LACED BMONIANS miral for the parte:howbeit otherwise in very poore state, and ready almost to take vp all the barbarous man Lacra common from the barbarous man by sea. ners and facions of the PERSTANS, bicaule they did continually frequent them, being enuiround round about with the contry of Lydia, where the king of Persians Captaines were

euerresident, Wherefore, having planted his campe there, he brought thicher marchauntes Lyfander enthippes out of all partes, and fette vp an arfenall or store house to builde gallies in : so that in the of Bobe shortespace, by oft recourse of marchauntes that beganne to trade thither, he quickened their fue. hauens, and fet up their staple againe for trafficke of marchaundife, and filled enery primate ar-

fonnes, was come vnto the city of SARDIS, he went thither to speake with him, and to com-

E plaine of Tifaphernes: who having commaundement geven him from the king to aide the La- in Lydia. CED EMONIANS, and to helpe to expulse the ATHENIANS, and to drive them from the sea. feemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the fauor he bare to Alcibiades. For.

F to follow this warre. And when Lyfander was upon his departure to take his leave of him, Crrm feasted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, affuring him he should not be denied any

thing. Wherunto Lylander answered him. Sithence Fice (Cyrus) you are fo willing to plate. vs. I beseeche you and doe also counself you then to increase the ordinarie pay of our man. ners, one halfe penny a day : to the end that where now they have but three halfe pencera may thenceforth recease two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to heare Lyfanders bounty, and the

increase that he would make, and caused tenne thowsande Darickes to be delinered himsh meane whereof headded to the ordinary pay of the maryners, the increase of a halfe perma day. This liberality, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For the most parte of their maryners & galley men went where they might have the best payrant fuch as remained behinde, became very dull, lafie, and feditious, dayly troubling their Can taines and gouernors. Now though Lyfander had drawen his enemies men from them by the policie, and had done this great hurte, yet he durft not fight it out by fea, fearing the worth

nes of Alcibiddes: who was a valliant man, and had greater store of shippes then he had, and besides that, was neuer ouercome by lande nor by sea, in any battell where he was General So it chauced, that Alcibiades went out of the Ile of Samos, vnto the city of PHOCEA, which standeth vpon firme lande directly ouer against Samos, and leaving the whole charge of his fleete in his absence, with Antiochus his pylot : he being more hardie then wise, in scorneam derision of Lylander, went with two gallies only into the hauen of Ephesys, and went by the

arienall (where all their shippes lay in docke) with great noyle and laughing. This put Lylands in such a heate and chase, that first of all he put a fewe gallies to the sea, and had him in that with them. But afterwardes, perceiuing that the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after an other to the rescue, he armed other gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either fide, at the length they came to a maine battell, which Lyfander wanne, & hauise taken fifteene of their gallies, he fet vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the peoples villarie of she Atheni-ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were fo angrie with Alcibiades, that the ans by sea. shifcharged him prefently of his charge : and the fouldiers also that lay in campe in the lies SAMOS, beganne to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereuppon he presently lethis campe, and went into the contrie of CHERRONESUS in THRACIA. This battell was more

Cherronelus spoken of then there was cause, by reason of Alcibiades reputacion. Furthermore, Lylander causinge the stowtest and boldest men of every city, above the common forte, to come to E. Thracia, PHESVS vnto him: layed there fecret foundations of great chaunge and alteracion, which he stablished afterwardes in the gouernmentes of cities. For he perswaded his private frendes to make tribes amongest them selues to winne them frendes, and to practise to gette the rule of

Callicrasidas

Ly fanders

his office of

admyralsie.

comended for

avertue, but liked as an

The fpighte

of Lifander

Planenes

fo that they were aduaunced by it. And thus by this meanes, euery man came to take his part, and they all fought and defired to gratifie and pleafe him: hoping, that what great matter for euer fell out, they assured theselues in maner that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to have the government in his owne hands. And therefore they nothing rejoyced at Calling 1 tidas comming, who came to fucceede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and inst a man as coulde be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerninge which was plaine, and without any arte or cunning But they commended the perfectio of his vertue, as they would have done the image of some demy god made after the olde facion, which had bene of fingular beawty. But in the means time, they wished for Lysander, as well for the tender love and good will he bare to his frends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him . So when Lysander tookethe olde image of feas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as fory as could be pomon, again feas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as fory as could be pomon, again feas to return the rest of the money of the money of the money of the money. affected vnto Callicratidas. For amongest many other thinges, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which Cyrus had geven him to pay the maryners : faving, that Calli-

sratidas should go him selfe to aske it, if he would have it, and finde the meanes to entertaine

their cities into their handes: promifing them, that fo foone as the ATHENIANS were out throwen, they them felues also should be deliuered from subjection of their people, and energy

one of them should be are chiefe rule in their contry. And this he performed to them all, and

made every one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had benehis

olde frendes, vnto the best offices and charges: not sparing to doe against all right and reason,

A his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliver, leave, and affigne over the armie into his handes, commaunding all the sea. But Callieratidas, to ouercome his false ambicion, and fowle boasting lye aunswered him againe, and faied. If that be true thow faiest, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the city of MILETVM, as thou goest by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for fith thou commaundest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in Samos. Lylander thereto replied. that the armie was no more at his commaundement, and that he had the charge ouer them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly vnto Pelopo NNESVS, and left Callicratidas in great perplexity. For he had brought no money out of his contrie with him neither would he compell the cities to furnishe him with any, seeinge that they were at that time too much B moubled already. Then had he no other way but to goe to the Lieutenauntes of the king of PERSIA, to aske them money as Lylander had done. But he was the vnmeetest man for it that

for some plaine lowte, and so he went his waye the first time with a mocke at their handes.

Burthe second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and

retorned backe (as he came) to the citie of E PHESV Scutfing and banning them that at the first

had so much imbased them selves, as to goe sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be

mowdeand stately for their goodes and riches : swearing before them all that were present,

that so some as he came to Sparra againe, he would doe all that he could possible to pacifie

the GREE CTANSY & fet them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearefull to

the barbarous people, & also that they should medle with them no more, nor needetheir aide

to destroy one an other. But Gallieratidas having the noble harte of a Spartan, and being to

other Captaine they could fende them. So much did Cyrus also wryte vnto them. But bicanse

therewas an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twife Admirall, and besides, they

being willing to graunt the request of their confederats, made one Aracus their Admirall, but

ineffect gaue Lylander the whole authoritie of all thinges. Who was maruelous welcome vn-

his comming! bicause that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and al-

together to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and

open magnahimitie in the manners of a gouernor and generall, when they came to compare

Lyfander, with Callier atidas: they founde that Lyfander had a fine fubrill head, and did more in

E in them, and specially vinto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for

could be possible: for he was of a noble and berall nature, and thought it leffe dishonor & reproache vnto the Greecians, to be ouercome by other Greecians, then to goe flatter the Wolhing effeharbarons people, and seeke to them that had gold & silver enough, but otherwise, no good- med with the nes nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his iorney Barbarians rowards Lynn, and went directly to Cyrus courte: where at his first comming he willed them tolet him vnderstand, that Gallicratidas the Admirall of the LACED & MONIANS would speake with him. One of the fouldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my frende, fyr straunger, Cyruis not at leafure nowe, for he is fet at dinner. Callicratidas aunswered him plainely againer callicratidas

6. no force, I will tary here till he have dined. The barbarous Para stans hearing this tooke him patients.

D be compared in inflice, valliancy, and greatnes of corage, with the most excellentest G HE Etransinhis time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vppon the Iles A & o inv- The death of SES.Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDE MONIANS feeing that their state was in de- callicratidas. clining they all together fent an Ambassade vnto Sparta, by whom they made request to the

counsell, that they would fend Ly/ander against fortheir Admirall, promiting that they would do all things with better corage & goodwill under his conduction, then they would vider any

wattes with his policy and subtilitie, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he este- 13 fander mediuftice, when it fell out proffitable: and tooke profit, for inflice and honeftie, not thinking grafty and

that plaine dealing was of better force then crafte, but measuring the value of the tone and thother, by the profit that came out of them, and mockinge of them that fayed that the race of Hercules should not make warres with craft and subrilty. For faydhe, when thelyons skitt A wife faring

F will not ferue, we must help it with the case of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they of Listander. wryte he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his frendes and familiars to whome he had probut secretly being alone, he tooke them vp sharply, and told them that they were cowarden

doe it, and did procure them to the contrarie, to fet apon the people. And then when heve

derstoode that there was commocion among them in the citie, he ranne thither fodainly as it

were to appeale it. But when he was also comen into the citie, the first he met with of them

that would alter the state of government, and take the authority from the people: he fell one

withall, and gaue them rough wordes, commaunding with extreamitie that they (hould fol-

low him, asthough he would have done fome great punishment. And againe, meeting with

them on the contrary parte, he willed them also that they should not be afrayed, nor dout that

any man thould doe them hurte where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practife of R

him, to flay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the ende

that afterwardes he might, put them all to death as he did. For they that trusting to his words

remained quiet in the city were all put to death. Moreouer, Androclidas touching this matter

hath left in wryting that which Lyfander was wont to fay: by the which it appeareth, thathe

beganne to row with all their gallies fet in order of battell in a fronte. But Lylander, though he

had his shippes in order to fight, the proes lying towardes the enemies before day, rowed not

straightly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe them selues in order, making no novse,

nor rowing against the enemy. Though the ATHENIANS also were retyred in the night he

would not geue the fouldiers leave to come to lande out of the gallies, before he had fent first

two or three gallies to discrie the fleete of his enemies; who brought him word that they had

draw them selues vnto, considering that they had but a litle way to go, & also that they should

haue the citie to backe them, which would furnish them with all thinges necessarie land be-

fide that, they should be further of from their enemies, which were governed by one generall

onely that did commaund them all, and were fo well trained, that at a whiftle they were ready

straight to execute his commaundement. Alcibiades perswasions to these Captaines of the

AT HENTAN'S were not only milliked, but furthermore there was one called Trdew, that an-

had the charge of them. Alcibiades mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way.

The fift day, the ATHENIANS having made the fame countenaunce to prefent battell vnto

their enemies, and retyring the fame night as of custome very negligently, and in ill order, as

men that made no reckening of their enemies: Lyfander fent againe certaine galliots to discrie

for a token to hale out into the featthe gallies immediatly beganne to row for life in entry one

of an other, and the footemen that were apon the lande, ranne with speede also to the toppe

of a high cliffe neere vnto the sea, to see what would be the ende of his fight, bisause the di-

B for all that against them, but sending out pynnasies vnto the first gallies, commaunded them

dealing of Lyfander,

made very little reckening to be periured. For he fayd, that children should be deceived with Lyfander regarded no perinaie,following the example of Polycrases the tyran of

Cyrus libera. litie to Ly-

like nomber of thippes, nor also to lye still and doe nothing with so good a number of gallyes, went and scowred the seas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed also AGINA and Sa LAMINA. From thence he went & landed on the firme lande in the contrye of ATTICAL and did his dutie there vnto Agis king of LACED EMONIA, who came purposely from the foresis Decelea to the sea side to see him, bicause their armye by lande also shoulde see what power they had by sea, and howe it ruled more by sea then they woulde. Neuertheles, being aducttifed that the fleete of the ATHENIANS followed harde after him, he tooke an other course ! to flye backe againe into As I A by the Iles: and returninge againe, founde all the company HELLESPONT without men of warre. So he laied fiege before the citie of LAMPSACY'S, and did affault it with his gallies by fea: and Thorax being come thither also at the selfe fametime in great hast with his armie by land, gaue thas fault on his side. Thus was the citie takenby force, which Lylander left to the spoile of the souldiers. Now in the meane time the sleeted the ATHENIANS (which was a hundred and foure fcore faile) came to an ancker before the citie of ELEVNTE, in the contrie of CHERRONESVS: and newes being broughte them that the city of LAMPSACVS was taken, they came with all fpede possible vnto the citie of SESTON where getting freshe acates and vittelles, they coasted all alongest the coast vnto a certains place called the goates river, directly over against the fleete of their enemies, which layer

the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein Polyerates, the tyran of S. Mos, but without reason: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent vsurper of m. rannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue him selfem. wardes the goddes none otherwise, then towardes men, but rather worse, & more injuriously For he that deceiveth his enemy, & breaketh his othe to him: sheweth plainly that he fearen r him, but that he careth not for God. Cyrus therefore having fent for Lylander to come to San DIS to him, gaue him money largely, and promifed him more: and bicause he would more honorably shewe the good will he had to gratifie him, tolde him, that if the kinge his father to fetche their vittells farre of, at the citie of Sestos, vnto which haven they should rather would geue him nothing yet he would geue him of his owne. And furthermore, whe all other meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he should lacke he would melt his owne chayer to make money of which he fate in when he gaue audience in matter of inflice being altogether of gold and filuer. And to be shorte, when he was going into MEDIA to the king his father, he gaue Lyfander power to receive the taxes and ordinary tributes of thece ties under his gouernment, and made him Lieutenaunt of all his contry. And laftly, bidding him farewell, praied him that he woulde not geue battell by fea vnto the ATHENTANS, vntil h D swered him very lewelly: that he had nothing to doe to commaunde the armie, but other that he returned from the courte: and that before his comming againe he woulde have authoritie to leaving a greate number of shippes, as well out of Phoeni CIA, as out of CILICIA. Wherefore whilest Cyrus was in his iorney, Lysander not being able to fight with his enemies with

A thumbes of their right handes that were taken in the warres, to thend they should no more handle the pyke, but only serue to pull the ower. Both the tone and the tother rested that day, hoping to have battel without faile the next morning. But Lyfander having an other meaning with him, commaunded the maisters and maryners notwithstanding, that they should have their gallies ready to geue battell the next morninge by breake of day, bicause euery man thould get a bord betimes, and thould keepe them felues in order of battell, making no noise order in maat all, attending what he would commaunde them: and further, made the armie by lande also vine fight. toberanged in battell ray, by the fea fide. The next morning at funne rifing the ATHENIANS

feene the ATHENIANS take laude. The next morning they did the like, the third days and the fourth also all in one forte: fo that the ATHENIANS beganne to be bold of them felues, and to definite their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for feare of them, and durit not come for ward. In the meane time, Alcibiades (who lay at that time in the contries of Gribanowas vol Alcibiades in certaine places which he had conquered) came ryding to the campe of the Ar Heln IANS, gave good ad-C totell the Captaines and generalls of the armie, the great faultes they committed. First, for Considered that they had cast ancker, and kept their shippes, in an open place, where there was no maner the Athenia. offuccor, nor harber to retyre vnto vpon any storme: and worst of all, bicause that they were

them, commaunding the Captaines of the same, that when they perceived the ATHENIANS had left their gallies and taken lande, they should then returne backe with all possible speede they could, and being mid way ouer the straightes, that they should lift vp a copper target into the ayre, apon the top of a pyke in the foredecke, for a figne to make all the whole fleete to Acoper in-

row in battell. Now Ly ander him selfe in the meane time went in persone from galley to gal- get lift up, she E ley, perswading & exhorting every Captaine that they should put their galliots, maryners, and fell by sea. fouldiers in good readines, to thend that when the figne should be lifted up, they should rowe with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soone as the copper farget was fet vp in the ayer, and that Lylander had made his trompet found out of the Admiral.

staunce from one side to the other in that place was not fully two myles, which they bad some cut ouer, and in a litle space, through the great diligence & force of rowing with their owers. So Conon the chiefe Capraine of the ATHENIANS perceiuing from the thorn this great flete conon Admi-

F. comming with a full force to affault them the then cried out to the fouldiers that they should, rall of the Aat ancker before the citie of LAMPS ACVS. Now there was a captaine of the ATHENIANS. runne to their thippes, and being in a rage to fee thinges in this daunger, called fome by their themion. cruel advile mongest other called Philocles, he that perfwaded the ATHENIANS to cut of the prisoners names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled to take their gallies. But all his diligence unto the Achenians.

as they were fet a lande out of their gallies at their returne, some went to buy prouision edu-

went a walking in the fieldes, fome were fet at supper in their cabines, and other were law

small time, the long continuing and most diverse warre that ever was, and had brought forth fo many fundrie straunge euentes of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite

downe to fleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captains ignoraunce and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to joyne and fall your them with great cries and noyle of owers, Conon having eight gallies, stale secretly out of the fleete, and flying vnto Euagoras, faued him felfe in the Ile of CIPRVS. In the meane time, the

PELOPONNESIANS falling apon the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, and brakethe others as the fouldiers beganne to come aborde apon them. And as for the men, fomework flaine by their shippes as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and our of order, thinking to have faued them selves : other were killed in flying, bicause the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken aliue of them, three thowsand prisoner with the Captaines. Lasander moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their shippes, the hole galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with Conon: and after he had defitioned all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he fastened the gallies that were taken, vnto the keele of his gallies, and returned with fonges of triumphe, with the found of flutes and hoboves, towark

Ashens. the citie of Lampsacus, hauing wonne a great victory with litle labor, and had cut of ina

battells fought both by fea and lande, and had altered many fundry times, and there was flaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GREECE together: all which were at the length brought to ende and determined, by the good wifedome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore fome thought, that this great ouerthrowe was genen by the gods and fayd: that at the departure of Lylanders fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to go fet aponthe fleete of the enemies, they perceaued ouer Lylanders galley the two fires, which they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the tone side of the galley, and the other of Cafter, and Pollux. on thother side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signific this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the ayer a maruelous A flone fell out of the elegreat stone, in the place they call the goates river, which stone is seene yet vnto this day, hold den in great reuerence by the inhabitauntes of the citie of CHERRONES VS. It is fayd also that AEgos fl. Anaxagor as did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the heaten h should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a slyding & shaking that should have pen. For he fayd, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first created

were kept by the great violece of the circuler motion of the element, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bene stayed & let from falling downe beneath, at that time when these paration was made of the colde and heavy bodies, from the other substaunce of the vnineral world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more likelyhoode then in that. For they fay, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions nor dering

she fiery ftone

cions of the fire elementorie, which are put out in the ayer, in a manner fo foone as they be E lighted: nor also an inflammation or cobustion of any parte of the ayer, which by her to ouermuch quantity doth foread vpwardes: but they are celestiall bodies, which by some flackens of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heaven, are throwen and cast downches beneath, not alwayes in any parte of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroade in the great Occean fea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, Anaxagoras words are confirmed by Damachus, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of three from and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lumpe of sier continually in the ayer like a clowde inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diuerle broken remouings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the end, i when this great body of fire fell in that parte of the earth, the inhabitants of the contrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to fee whatit

confidering that they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of stone : howebeit that they did

shine by reflection of the fire elementory, & had bene drawen up thither by force, wherether

A was and they found no manner of fnew or apparaunce of fire, but only a very great flone ly ingrponthe ground, but nothing in comparison of the least parte of that which the compaffe of this bodie of fire did thew, if we may fo name it. Sure herein, Damachus wordes had neede offauorable hearers. But againe if they betrue, then he viterly confuteth their argumentes. An other one that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boysterous winde did teare nion of the from the toppe of a mountaine, and carried in the ayer, fo long as this hurle winde continued: flore that fell. but to foone as that was downe, and calme againe, the stone fell immediate. Neither doe we

Neuertheles, this matter requireth better discourse in some other booke then this, But now to

for that this lightning bodie, which appeared so many dayes in the element, was very fire in deede, which comming to diffolue and to be put out, did beget this violent ftorme and boy-Arrons wind in the element, that had the force to teare the stone in funder, & to cast it downe.

out flory. Whe the three thowfand ATHENIANS that were taken prisoners at that overthrow. were condemned by the counsell to be put to death : Lyfander calling Philocles, one of the Cantaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would judge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens fo cruell & wicked counsell. Philocles being nothing abashed to fee him selfe in that miserie, aunswered him. Accuse not them that have no judge to heare their cause: but Philodes esfine the goddes have geven thee grace to be conqueror, doe with vs, as we would have done fine the with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had fayd fo, he went to washe him felfe, and discussion. then put on a faver cloke vpon him, as if he should have gone to some feast; and went luftely the formest man to execution, leading his contrie men the way as Theophrasias wryteth. After Chisdone, Lylander with all his fleete went by all the cities of the fea coast, where he comman-

ded fo many ATHENIANS as he founde, that they should get them to ATHEN'S, letting them understand that he would not pardone a man of them, but but them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the willes of ATHENS, bicause he might so much the sooner famish them for lacke of virtells for otherwise they would have troubled him fore, if they had had wherewithall to have maintayned a long fiege. But in all the cities as he passed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kinds of gouernment, he left in every one of them aLACED EMONIAN Captaine or gouernor, with a counfell oftenne officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had ever bene confederates and frendes ynto the LACED & MONIANS, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went fayling all alongest the coastes, fayer and softely making no haste, stablishing in manner a generall principality ouer all GREECE. For he did not make them officers that were the richelt, the nobleft, or honesteft men, but fuch as were his frendes, out of those tribes which he had placed in every citie: & to them he gave authority to bunish. and reward such as they liked of, and would be present him selfe in persone to helpe them to Lylanders put those to death, whome they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their contrie, onety.

But this gave the GREECIANS small hope of good or gratious government vider the full of

the LACED EMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that Theopompus the contical Poet deted. Theopompus

when he compared the LACED EMONIANS, vnto tauerners wines, faying : that they had geuenthe GREECIANS atalt of the sweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwardes they had of the Lacemingled it with vineger. For, the tast they gave the GREECIANS of their government from demoniana the beginning, was very fharpe vnto them: bicause Lysander tooke the rule and authority of government out of the peoples handes, and gave it vino a fewe of the boldell, and most feditions men in enery citie. Thus having spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations the fent newes before to LACED & MON, that he was comming with two hundred falle. Hefpake also with the kinges Agis and Paulanias, in the contry of ATTICA, perswading him felfe that he should winne the city of ATHENS at the first affault. But when he saw his expectation failed, & that the ATHENTANS did valliantly refift him: he returned once agains with his fleete into Asia, where he made an end of chaunging and altering the maner of gouern-

Finent through euery city in equall maner, stablishing a counfell of tenne officers only in euery one of them, & putting enery where many citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he draue all the Samians out of their contry, and restored against all them that had

Erianthus

against the

LYSANDER.

I come novo to your courtes, which lye both with und wast: By spoyle of wwarres depopulate, destroyed, and disorast.

These words moned all the hearers with copassion, so that the most parte of them thought The seems it were too great a frane to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wife implicks softemen,& great persones. Wherefore Lysander, when the ATHENIANS had submitted the selues and their cruell bearts. altogether to his will, caused all the women players of pipes or shalmes to come out of the ciry, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne campe also, and with the found them topin.

of their instruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled Light the downe to the very ground, and fet all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the prefence of the ralles of the confederates of the LACED & MONIANS, who daunced and played in the meane feation with city of Athie. garlandes of flowers on their heades, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and

neffect liberty. Immediatly after he chaunged also the state of the government, establishing a counsell of thirty Magistrates in the city, and other tenne also in the hauen of PIREAS hauing

allequall and like authority: and therewithall made Callibius a gentleman of Sparta Cap- Callibius Capraine of the castell there, and left a good garrison of the LACED & MONIANS with him. This saine of the

Cullibins one day lift up his staffe he had in his hande to strike Autolycus withall, a strong made Caffell of A-

manto wrestle: whereuppon Xenophon the Philosopher made his booke in olde time, called

Convinium. But Autolyeus that was a cunning wreftler, having all the fleights of wreftling, Autolyeus a fodainly tripped Callibius with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes ende, caft him to the comminge

ground. Howbeit Lyfander was not angry with Autolyeus for it, but reproued Callibius, telling

him that he should have remembred (if he had bene wise) that he had the gouernment over free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty gouernors of the

city, to fatisfie Callibius, put this Autolyous to death. When Ly ander had done all thefe things, Amolyous put hetooke sea againe, and went into the contry of THRACIA, and sent by Gylippine before vinto Lylander sent

Spart a (who had bene Captaine and generall of the Synacus ans in Sicilia) all the golde worky and filuer that was left in his handes, with all the presentes besides which had bene privately Spatia by Gy-

genen him, and with the crownes also that had bene presented him: which were maruelous in ""

number as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in maner he was chiefe and sole prince of all G A B B C B. This Gylippus did Gylippus rob-

rippe the seames of every bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good the money be D fumme out of euery of them: and afterwardes fowed them vp againe, not thinking that there eatied to

had bene a border uppon enery bagge, apon the which was declared, the number and kindes sparia. of gold and filuer that were therein. Now when he was come to Sparta, he hid the money

he had stolen, under the house eauinges, and went and deliueted the bagges he had brought, into the handes of the Ephori, shewing them Lyfanders seale, which he had set to every one of

them. The Ephore having opened the bagges, & told the money, found that the fumine agreed not with the borders of the contentes : and yet coulde not tell where the fault was. But a fer-

wannt of Gylippus told them in darke wordes, faying: that vnder the tyles of his mafters house there lay a great number of owles. Nowe the greatest parte of the coyne of golde and filter The Grekishe

which was currat through GREECE, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the corner and EATHENIANS. Thus Gylappus after fo many noble exploytes done in warres, committing fo

thameful & vile a dede, was banished out of his cotty of LACED EMONIA. But the wifest men G. lippur ba-

of Spart a, and of deepest judgement, feating the power of golde and filter, and seeing by nilhment. proofe of Gylippus doinges, that it had fuch power to make one of their chiefest men to fall concomines

through couetoufnes: they greatly blamed Lyfander for bringing of it into L ACED & MON, be- of money cor-

feeching the Ephori that they would fend all this golde and filter out of Sparta, as a plague, pur, one of the prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do cuill: declaring vitto them, that they should chiefif men

vseno other money, but their owne only. Whereupon they referred all, to the wisedome and of Lacedamo. determination of the counsell. Theopomous wryteth, that Sciraphidas was he that did moue the counsel of the Ephore in it. Howbeit Ephorus calleth him Phlogidas, who was the first that spake

F against it in the counsell, that they should not admit, nor receive into the city of Sparr A, any money of golde or filuer : but should onely content them felues with their owne contry iron Theiron mocoyne, the which first of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger, ner of Lace-

bene banished before: and the city of SEST OS also, being yet in the ATHENIANS handes, he a tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not fuffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houses, and landes, vnto shippe mai. fters, officers of gallies, and galley flaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But thereinthe LACED EMONIANS were against him, and this was the first thing that they did forbid himelethey restored the SESTIANS, against his will, vnto their landes and goodes againe. But as the GREE CIANS were very much offended, to see the partes Lysander played: so were they all very glad againe, to fee these others which he afterwardes did. For he restored the ÆGINETESA. gaine to their landes and houses, who had bene put from them a long time. He restoredallo the MELIANS, and the SCION EIANS to their landes againe, which the ATHENIANS hadge. ten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, Lyfander being aductifed that the citizens and inhabitantes of ATHENS were pinched fore for lacke of vittells, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PIREA: by meanes whereof he kept the citie fo straight Athense Ly. that he made them yeelde vppon such condicions as he him selfe would. Howbeit there are certaine LACED EMONIANS that fay, Ly ander wrote vnto the EPHORES: the city of ATHERS is taken. And that the Ephors wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but tale deuised to make the matter seeme better: for in deede the capitulacions which the Enter ri sent vnto him, were these. The Lordes of the counsell of LACED EMON have thus decreed that ye doe rase the fortification of the hauen of PIREA. That ye do ouerthrow also the lone wall that joyneth the hauen to the citie. That ye yeeldevp and redeliuer all the cities which ye doe holde, and content your felues with your lines and contry only. This doing, ye shall have peace, so that ye performe our demaundes. That ye shall receive those which are banished for the number of thippes, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The ATHENIANS. the Athenias. greed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counsell of Theramenes, the some of Agnon. Who when a young orator called Cleomenes, did openly aske him in anger, if he were To bold to dare to doe, or fay, any thing contrary vnto that, which Themistocles had done be foretime, to affent vnto the LACED EN ONIANS, that the walle which he built in despited them, should by their comaundement now be rafed: he aunswered him openly againe, your man, my frend, I doe nothing contrary to Themistocles doinges. For like as he heretofore did build the walle, for the fafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHERS at that time: euen so doe we that are here nowe, for the selfe same cause plucke it downeand rase it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it must needes follow that the city of Sparta which neuer had any walles, should be the vnfortunatest of all other. So Lefanaer having received all the ATHENIANS thippes buttwelve, & the walles of the city allow vie them at his pleasure: on the fixteenth day of march on which day in olde time the ATHE MIANS had wonne the battell by fea, within the straight of SALAMINA, against the king of PERSIA) he counselled them straight to chaunge the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruelously offended withall. Whereuppon Life der fent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made between them for that their walles were yet standing the tenne dayes being expired in which they had promised to ouerthrowe them : and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the de ! termination of the counsell, howe they should be vsed, that had broken the articles and couenaunts of the first peace. Other say, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberacion of the counfell of their confederates, that is to fay: whether they should altogether destroy the city, and make the inhabitantes thereof, flaues, and bondmen or no. In this counfell, it is reported that there was a THEBAN called Erianthus, whose opinion was, that they should viter ly rafe the city. & make the contry a defert : fo that it should neuer after serue for other thing. but for pasturage of beastes. But during this dyet & counsell, there was a banket made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a Phocian, a finger of fonges, that fang the entry of the Chorus to the tragedy of Electra, made by the Post Eurspides, which beganne in this forte.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:

Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, wwhose fame so wide didring.

purpose: and beside, it was very heavie and vnhandsome to remoue, considering that a green

heape and quantitie of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did vie of olde time.co.

taine litle iron money, and in some places copper money, called Obelisci, from whencethe

At what time the Lacede. monians receined gold

the Magi-

finall peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof fix make a Drachma, fo termed for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuerthelesse, at the earnest fute of Lylander frendes that stoode against it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the counsell, that the money should remaine in the city, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for that favres of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any private man did either lockern or kepe any money, that he should suffer death for it: as if Lycurgus when he made his laws a feared gold and filuer, and not the couetousnes and auarice which the goldeand filuer bring. eth with it. The which was not taken away fo much, prohibiting private men to have it: asig was ingendred only by a common tolleracion of getting it. For, the profit which they fawer brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was vnpossible they should desired a thing privately for ynprofitable, which they faw reckened of commonly, as a thing very ne ceffary: and that they thould thinke it would not ferue their turne privately, feeing it fo commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to thinke, that private mens manners are conformed according to the common vies and customes of cities: then that the faultes and viess of private men doe fill cities and common weales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the partes are marred & corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill then e disorder in a that the partes corrupted should drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faultes of a parte destroyed, which might be prejudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimestedreffed and corrected by thother partes, whole and entier. But they that tooke this refolucion in their counsell at that time, to have money in the common wealth: made feare of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houses, to keepe that no money should come in to them. But all this while they made no inwarde prouision, to kepetheen try of their foules from all passion & greedy defires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to have a couetous defire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we have hertofore in other places reproved the LACED EMONIANS. And moreover Isfander caused a statue of brasse to be made like him selfe of the spoile he had gotten of thesis mies, to fet it vp in the citie of DELPHES, and for every private Captaine of the gallies in like case: and the two starres of Castor & Pollux in golde besides, which vanished away a little he fore the battell of Leuctres, and no man knewe what became of them. Againe, in the chartber of the treasory of Brasidas, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was also a galley made of gold and inory, of two cubittes long, which Cyrus fent vnto him after the victory he had wonned fea, of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, Alexandrides the historiographer borne at Def-PHES, Wryteth, that the felfe fame Lyfander had left there to be kept fafe, a tallent of filuer, two & fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other historiographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But Lyfander being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GREECIAN was before him: caried a greater porte!

A galley of

Lyfanders honors and

> which beganne in this maner. The noble Captaines praise, we meane to celebrate, Of Greece: that land wwhich is denine, in every kinde of state. Euen he, which was both borne, and brought to high renowwne. VVithin the noble vvealthie vvalles, of Sparta stately towne.

and countenaunce then became his ability. For, as Duris writeth, he was the first of the Grain-

CIANS vnto whome they did euer erect any aulters, and offer facrifice vnto as a god, and in ho-

nor of whom they did first fing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one

The Samians by publicke decree ordained, that the feaftes of Juno, which were called in their city Heroea, should be called Lyfandria, Lyfander had euer one Charilms a Spartan Poet F about him, to wryte and set forth all his doinges in verse. An other Poet called Antilorus, one day made certaine verses in his praise which pleased him so well, that he gaue him his hance

at HERACLEA, which did both wryte veries to honor him, ftriuing whether of them thould do best Dylander judged the crowne and victory, vnto Nicerator, wherewith Andonadas was foangry, that he rased out all that he had writte of him. But Platowho at that time was young, Platoes far-Reloued Antimachus bicause he was an excellent Poet, did comforte him; and tolde hisha that ing of the iignoraunce did blinde the vnderstanding of the ignoraunt, as blindenes doth the fight of the blinde, Aristonous an excellent player of the citerne, & one that had fix times wonherhe priles copared with of the Pythian games: to winne Lyfanders fauor, promifed him, that if ther he wains the write blindenes. of his arte againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed Lysanders slave. This and bition Lysanders of Infander was very odious and grieuous, only vnto great persones, and menos has effacts but B helideshis ambition, in thende he became very prowde and cruel, through the state of his pride, and followers, and them that courted him : fo that he exceeded in recompencing his flendes, as alloinounishinge of his enemies. For, to gratifie his frendes and familiars, he gave them abfoliute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacific and aspeafehis anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all poffibilitienfortdon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of MILET WILL where tearing leaftthey would flie that tooke parte with the people, & bicaufe he would have them appeare that hid them selues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt avail. The pooremen gaue credit to his worde. But so some as they came out, and did appeare he deli- Lysander ueted them all into the handes of their adversaries, (which were the chiefest the nobility) brake his C to put them all to death: & they were no leffe then eight hundred men one with an other. He and ground caused great murders of people to also be done in other cities: for he did not only pur them to starting death that had privatly offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfic and rendinge the private quarrells, enmitties and couetouines of his frendes, whom he had in every place. And therefore was Eteocles LACED & MONIAN greatly commended for his faying schare GREECE Eteocles could not abide two Lylanders. Theophrastus wryteth also, that the very like was spoken of Al- worder of Lycibiades by Archestratus. Howbeit in Alcibiades there was nothing, but his infolency and vaine glory that men milliked: but in Ly (ander, a seuere nature, and sharpe condicions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuertheleffe, the LACED EMONIANS passed ouerall other complaintes exhibited against him: fauing when they heard the complaints of Pharmabazais. D who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and injuries Lylander had done him fooyling and destroying the contry vnder his government. Then the Ephori being offended with him, clapped vp Thorax in prison, one of his frendes and Captaines Thorax put to that had ferued with him; and finding that he had both gold and filuer in his house contrary feeding the to the law, put him to death. And to him felfe they fent immediatly that which they call Sovtala, (as who would fay, the scrolle wrytten apon a rounde staffe) commaunding him that he should retorne immediatly apon receive thereof. The Scytala is in this force. When the Bpto- The Leconia ridoe sende a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litlerounde states to be Sociala what made of the like bignes and length, of which the Ephori doe keepe the tone, and thother they maner thing geneto him whome they fende to the warres. These two little statues they call Soytales. Nowe weed E when they will aduertife their Generall fecretly of matters of importaunce, they take a scrolle of parchement, long and narrowe like a leather thonge, and wreath it about the round staffe, leavinge no you'de space betwene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwardes when they have bound them fast together, then they wryte vppon the parchment thus rolled what they will. and when they have done wryting, vnfolde it, and fende it to their Generall, who can not elfe possibly read it to know what is writte, (bicause the letters are not ioined together nor follow inorder . but are scattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of worde which was geuen him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receaueth, the folding and wreathes of the parchement falling iust into the selfe samoplace as they were first folded: the letters also come to joyne one with an other, asthetonght to doe. F This little fcrowle of parchment also is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala: even as we commonly fee in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchement scrowle was brought vnto Lysander, who was then in the contrie of

HELLESPONT, he was maruelously troubled withall, fearing about all other thinges that cusations of Pharmbazm: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed H. ping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, Lylander prayed him. would write an other letter vnto the Lordes of SPARTA, contrary to his first, how that helpel done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not kennes. ber that he was a Can ran, (as the common prouerbe fayeth) that could deceaue an or Can yan. For Pharnabazus having promifed him that he would performe his defire, wings letter openly, purporting the effect of Lylanders requestibut behinde he had an other of the trary effect, fo like on the out fide vnto the other, that by fight no man could difcerne the Is fander ca- fro the other. And when he came to put his seale, he chaunged the first with the last that we hidden, & gaue it him. When Lyfander came vnto Sparta, he went as the maner is, fraish to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking that the he should have bene cleared from all daunger of the greatest accusations they could have burdened him withall:bicause that Pharnabazas was very well thought of of the Lords of Lin CED BMONIA, for that he did ever shew him selfe willing and ready to helpe them in all the warres, more then any other of the kinges Lieutenauntes of PERSIA. The Ephori hauing this letter, they shewed it vnto him. Then did Lylander plainly see, that the common project

That Vlysses vous not subtill alone.

Thereuppon he went home to his house maruelously troubled. But within few days after returning to the pallace agains to speake with the Lords of the counsell, he told them that he must needes make a voyage vnto the temple of Impiter Ammon, to discharge certaine facilities which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the battells. Some say, thatin deede Impiter Ammon appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the city of the Approp IANS, in the contry of THRACIA, and that by his commaundement he raifed the fiege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke Iupiter Ammon, and doe facrifice vinohim by reason whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he fued for licence to make this voyage into Libra, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most parted idea. tainely beleue that he made fute to goe this iorney, for a cloke and colour only to absent felfe, bicause he seared the Ephores, and that he coulde not endure the yoke and subjection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cause of his sute to goe this voyage, much like vnto a horse taken out of a freshe me flure and goodly meadowes, to bring him into a stable, & make him to be iorneved as here before. Neuertheleffe, Ephorus writeth an other cause, the which I will recite hereafter. Inthe end, Lyfander having hardly obtained licence, tooke shippe, and crossed faile. But during is absence, the kinges of LACED EMONTEMEMbring that he kept all the cities at his command dement, by meanes of the frendes he had in every city, whom he had made chiefe governor of the fame, & that by their meanes he came in maner to be absolute prince ouer all Greece they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into the handes of the people, and also to put downe his frendes whome he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great infurrection againe. For first of all, they that were banished from A-I THENS, having furprifed and taken the castell of Phyla apon the sodaine, did set apon the thirty gouernors tyrans (whom Lylander had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. Whereuppon Lyfander straight returned to Sparta, & perswaded the LACED EMONIANS to refere the gouernment to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the people. So by his procurement, they lent first a hundred tallents vnto the thirty tyrans for an aide to maintain this warre, and appointed Lyfander him felfe generall. But the two kinges of Spart a emigrag him, and fearing least he should take the city of ATHEN S againe: they determined that oned them would go. Whereupon Paufanias went thither immediatly, who in apparaunce feemed to maintaine the tyrannes against the people: but in effect, he did his indeuor to appeale this warre, for feare least Lysander by meanes of his frends and followers should once againe come to have the city of ATHENS in his power, the which he might eafily doe. And thus havings-

greed the ATHENIANS againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commocions-

e mong them, he pluckt up the roote of Lyfanders ambition. But shortly after the Abdinians rebellingagaine against the LACED & MONIAN S. Pausanias him selfe was reproved bicause he welded so much to the boldnes and insolency of the people, which were brideled and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of gouernors : and to the contrary, they gaue Lylander the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond oftentation of glory, but feuerely, for the profit and commodity of Sparta. It is true he would geue great wordes, and was terrible to them that relisted him. As he aunswered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their confines with Lylanders the LACED EM ONIAN S, and feemed to alleage the best reasons. Even they (sayd he) that shall serrible words proue the stronger hereby, showing the his sword: shalbe they that shal pleade their cause best for their confines. An other time, when a MEGARIAN had tolde his minde boldly enough in open counfell, he aunswered him: thy wordes (good frend) had neede of a city, meaning therby that he was of too meane a towne to vie fo great words. And to the BOEOTIAN sallo, who were indout to professe them selves frends or enemies: he sent vnto the, to know if he should paffe through the contry with his pykes vpwardes or downewardes. And when the Corin-THIANS also were reuolted from their allyance, he brought his army harde vnto their walles: but when he sawe his men were afrayed, and made cursey whether they should goe to the asfault or not by chaunce fpying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he fayd vnto them: Areyenot ashamed to be asrayed to goe and assault your enemies that are so cowardly and flothfull, as hares doe keepe their formes at ease within the circuite of their walles? Now king Agu being deceased, he left behinde him his brother Agesilaus, and his supposed sonne Leotythides. Wherefore, Lylander that had loued Agesilans aforetime, gaue him counsell to stande Lylander defor the right of the crowne, as lawefull heire and next of the blood, difcending of the race of princeth Lea-Hereiles bicaufe it was suspected that Leotychides was Alcibiades sonne, who secretly had kept kingedone. Times Agis wife, at what time he was banished out of his contry, and came then to remaine in Spart A. And Agis selfe also, concluding by reckening of the time of his absence, that his wife coulde not be with childe by him: made reckening of Leotychides, (and had openly shewedit all the rest of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his sonne, vntill such time as falling ficke of that difease whereof he died, he was caried to the city of HEREA. And therelying in his death bed, at the humble fute of Leotychides him felfe, and partely at the infant request of his frendes who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge Leotychides for his fonne in the presence of divers, whome he prayed to be witnesses vnto the Lordes of LACED EMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his sonne, Which they alldid in fauor of Leotychides. For all that, Agesilaus tooke it apon him, by the support and maintenaunce of Lylanders fauor. Howebeit, Diopithes a wife man, and knowen to be skilfull in auncient prophecies, did great hurt to Agesilaus side, by an auncient oracle which he allea-

gedagainst a defect Agesilaus had, which was his lamenes. O Spartan people you, wwhich beare high havvty hartes, And looke a loft: take heede I (ay, looke well unto your martes: . Least whiles you stande upright, and guide your state by grace, Some halting kingdom privily, come creeping in a pace. By that meanes might you moue, great troubles, carke and care, And mischiefes heape upon your head, before you be avvare. And plonged should you be, even over head and eares, VVith wealt of wearres, which here on earth doth perish many teares.

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take Leotychides parte: but Lylander declared vnto them, that Dispithes did not confter the meaning of the oracle well. For God, fayed he cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of LACED EMON: but in deede, the crowne and kingdome should halte and be lame, if bastardes not lawfully begotten, should come to raigne ouer the true naturall iffue and right line of Hercules. By these perswalions, Lylander with his great countenaunce and authority besides, wanne all men to his ing. Aseful opinion: fo that Agesilaus by this meanes was proclaimed king of LACED EMON. This done, ** Lyfander beganne straight to counsell him to make warres in A s 1 A, putting him in hope that

bideth no e-

he should destroy the kingdome of Parsin, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreouer, he wrote vnto his frendes in the cities of A sta, that they should fend with the LACED & MONIANS to require king Agefilaus for their generall, to make warres against the barbarous people. Which they did, and fent Ambassadors purposely vnto SPARTA to sue the they might haue him : the which was no leffe honor procured vnto Agefilans by Lylandin meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, he ing otherwise not vnapt nor vnsit to commaunde, have this impersection: that through the iealousie of glory, they doe commonlie enuie their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable thinges. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue: whose service and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus Agesiland being chosen generall of this enterprise, tooke Lyfander with him in this iorney, amongest the thirty counsellers which were genen vnto him to affish him: and made speciall choyce of him, as by

whose counsell he hoped most to be gouerned, and to have him neerest about him, as his chiefest frende. But when they were arrived in Asia, they of the contry having no acquaintaunce with Agelilaus, feldome spake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, having know wen Lylander of long time, they followed him, and waited uppon him to his tent or lodging some to honor him, bicause they were his frendes, others for feare, bicause they did million him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or servaunt, shalle the best player. and shall have the best voyce to be heard about all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall bande about his heade, and the scepter in his hande, a man doth scantheare

him speake. Euen so fell it out then : for all the dignitie due vnto him that commaundethall was shewed only vnto the counseller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royal name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndifcreete and im-

portunate ambition of Lylander, did well deserve reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be cotented with the second place of honor next vnto the king. But for Agessaus againe, through extreame couetousnes and icalousse of glory, to cast Lysander altogether of and to set so light by his frende and benefactor, that furely became not him neither. For first of all, Agesilaus neuergaue Lyfander occasion to doe any thinge, neither did commit any matter of weight vnm him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had

prinie grudge to Lyfander. taken any mens califes in hand, and that he did fauor them, he did alwayes fende them backen

againe into their contry, denying their fute, without that they coulde obtaine any thing they fued for, leffe then the meanest persones that could have come, extinguishing Lysanders credit by litle, and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, Lylander Lyfanders perceiuing howe he was thus refused and rejected in all thinges, seing that the countenaunce and fauor which he thought to shew vnto his frendes, fell out hurtfull vnto them:left of tolo licite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to followe him, but to go to the king, and vnto those that could doe them better pleasure then himselfe, and specially those that honored them. When they heard that, many defisted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued still to accompanie him, when he went out to walke, or otherwife to exercise himselfe

king Agefilait be but in respect of straungers eyes that looke apon as both. After this talke between them,

vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge & commission in the warres, oftentimes vnto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed Lysander surueyor generall of all the ordinary prouision of vittells, and distributer of sless. And then mocking the Io NIAN's that did honor him fo much : let them go now, fayd he, and honor my flesh distributer. Wherefore, Ly ander seeing it high time to speake: went vnto Agesilaus, and tolde him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truely Agefilaus, thou haft learned wello abase thy frendes. In deede sayed he againe, so haue I, when they wilbe greater then my selfe and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increase my honor and authority, it is reasonthat I esteeme of them. Yea mary, sayd Lysander, but perhappes I have not done as thou sayst. Yet I

pray thee geue me fuch an office, as I may be least hated, & most profitable for thee: though

the which did aggravate and increase Agesilaus anger more against him, for the enuy he bare

A destilant fent him his Lieutenaunt into the contry of HELLES PONT, where byfander ftill kens this anger fecret in his hart against him, but for all that, did not leave to dod all that he could for the benefit of his mafters affaires. As amongest many other thinges, he caused a Parsuan Captaine called Spithridates, to rebell against his master, who was a vallant men of his hands, and a great enemy of Pharnabazus, and had an army also which he brought with him vnto and gefilam. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iorney. Wherefore he nes nuned againe to Sparta not long after, with little honor, being marueloufly grieued and offended with Agefilaus; and hating more then before, all the state and government of the citie of Spart A: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time in sand thought uppon, concerninge the alteracion of gouernment, and his enterprise was this. An feelesh innoned againe into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, the greatest number and chiefest of thema-

mongelt the offpring and iffue of Hercules, who were mingled with the Donians, and return flater Sparia dwelled in the city of Sparta: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of fuccession to the crowne, fauing two families only, the Eurytiontides, and the Agrades. The other The Families families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one selfe house, ver hat of the kinger thorno more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the residue of the people: for the digni? of Lacedanesehat were attained vnto by vertue, were genen vnto the inhabitauntes that could deferme

Exerciontides, and the Agiades, the prerogative that the kinges should be chosen onely out of

one of those two houses, and to cast it apon the offpring of Hercules. Some say againe, that he

would not only have enlarged that prerogative vnto the iffue of Hercules, but vnto all the na-

nirall Spart ans also: bicause that Hercules race should not only desire this reward of honor-

but even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods

inhonor. For he douted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this forte, that there was

noman in the city of SPART A that should sooner be chosen king then him selfe: wherupon he

ter, he conned an oration without booke, penned by Cleon Halicarnaffens, made him for this

E and auniwers in the temple of Apollo at DELPHES: and that afterwardes, he woulde have

wonne the Nunne also of the temple of Dopons with money by Phèreèles practife. And that

he being rejected by them both, went lastly vinto the temple of Impiter Ammon: and that there

he spake vnto the priestes, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But

D attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, & to bring this about the bet-

them. Lalander then being one of those which was discended of the true race of Hercules, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw him selfe aloft; and walled to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many frendes, and great C credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state; it grieved him much, to see that their which were no nobler then him felfe, should be kinges in that city, which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two houses, the

purpole. But afterwardes weying with him felfe, that fo great and straunge a chaunge as he would bring in, had neede of some better and stronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuild as they fay to move the people by, much after the manner they vie in tragedies, framing en- Lyfonder degines to bring some god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained in racket, or coruention. He deutsed certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all Cleans rethoricke would repetit sould fland him in no fleade, if first of all he did not fill the citizens hartes with some supersticion & sayers with feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more eafily vnto reason. And Ephorue fayeth, that he proued first to corrupt the Nunne with money, that general all the oracles

they were fo offended with Lyfander, that they fent men of purpole to Spantato accuse him. that he would have corrupted them with money. The counsell clearing Lylander of this accufation, the Librars his accusers at their departing sayd: we will one day judge more justly. then you my Lordes of LACEDEMON have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our contry of LIBYA: supposing there was an auncient prophecy that sayd, the LACED EMONI-ANS one day (hould come to dwell in the contry of Libya. But we shall doe better to wryte

p the whole flory at large of this practife, futtelty, and malicious deuile, which was no matter of imall importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition there were many great coniectures and presuppositions, & many long circumstances to bring it to confained desile

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, delivering that which an historiographe and philosopher both hath wrytten. There was in the marches of the realme of Pontant man that faved the was gotten with childe by spolle, the which many (as it is to be thought would not beleve at all, and many also did beleve it : fo that the beinge delivered of a goodle fonne, diverse noble men and of great estate were carefull to bring him vp, and to have him taught. This childe. I know not whereuppon, nor how, was named Silenus: and Lyfander fee change the plat of his deuile from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on withhis practife. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this leaft me ping our armor of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the interest of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from DELPHES, which therei. fperfed abroade through the city of Spart A, to wit: that the prieftes of the temple kepties cree bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them felues durft not touch nor handle new ther might any man read them, onleffe he were begotten of the feede of Apollo, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priestes that kept these papers to that by fome fecret marke & token which they had amongeft them: & thereby being known for Apolloes fonne, he might then take the bookes, & read the auncient reuelacions & pronte cies of the fame. Thefe things prepared in this forte, there was order taken that Silenus (hand) come and aske for these bookes as though he were the some of Apollo: and that the prieses which were print to this practife, should make as though they did diligently examine himes euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all they should deliver these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede Apolloes sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the restorte prophecies that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift wai framed, touching the kingdome of LACED EMONIA: that it was better, and meetelier for the SPARTANS they thould choose them for their kinges, whome they found the meetelt mened all their magistrates. But when Scienus was come of full age, and brought into GREECE of purpose to performe this practife, all the mistery was marde by the fainte heart of one of the players and companions of Lylander, who holpe him to countenaunce this deuise: who when the matter flouid have taken effect, throncke for feare, and let the mifterie alone. This not withstanding, nothing was bewrayed in Lylanders lifetime, till after his death. For he dyed before king Azefilaw returned out of Asia, being fallen into warres with Box o Tia before his] death, or rather having him felfe made GREECE to fall into warres. They doe reporte its ther way, and some lay the fault apon him, other apon the THEBANS, and other apon them both : and they burden the THEBANS withall, bicause they did vtterly ouerthrowe the com-Dimers causes mon facrifices which Agesilaus made in the city of AV LIDE. And they say also, that Andreis des and Amphitheus did raise this warre among the GREBCIANS, being before corrupted with money by the king of Persiato bring warres apon the Laced Emonians in Greechand beganne to inuade and destroy the contry of the Phoc IANS. Other fay that Lyfander was very angry with the THEBANS, bicause they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth parte of all the spoyle which was wonne in the warre against the ATHENIANS : and that they were not pleased that Lysander had sent the money away vnto Spart A. But aboue all Lysander E did malice them most, bicause they were the first that made way for the ATHENIANS to bedelivered from thoppression of thirty tyrannes, whom he had stablished governors in A THENG and in whose fauor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACED EMONIANS hadow dained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from ATHENS, might lawefully be taken and apprehended in what place soeuer they fled vnto, and that whosener should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebells, & open enemies vnto the LACED EMONIANS, Againe to contrary this edict, the THEBANS made an other very like, &

meete for the glorious dedes of Bacchus and Hercules their aunceftors, for whom it was made

that every house and city through the contry of BOEOTIA, should be open for the ATHENIA

ANS that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a banished man from ATHER,

also if there were any souldiers that went ynto ATHENS, through the contrie of BOROTIA,

gainft the bawhed men from Athens.

An edict banifeed me. against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And

clere and sweete to drinke) hath notwithstanding (I can not tell by what meanes) a collour like wine and not farre from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALI-ARTIANS do alleage, to proue that Radamanthus heretofore dwelt in that parte, & doe thew his fepulchre there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there is the monumer of Alemena, which was buried (as they fay) in that place, & was maried to Radamanthus, after the death of Amphitryon. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIAR-TIANS, stirred not vntill they sawe that Ly fander with the first of his troupe was neere vnto the towne walles: & then opening the gates on the fodaine, they made a falle out youn Lyfander, 19fander &flue him with his foothfaier & a few other, bicause the most part of the voward fled, into the flaine by the stregth of the battel. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue the not ouer so, but followed the so valiantly that they brake their order, & made the all flie through the moutaines, after they had flaine three thousand of the in the field: so were there three hundred THEBANS also saine there, who followed their enemies to fiercely, till they recourred straight narrow waies, of great strength for them. These three hudred were in maner all those that were suspected in Thebes to favor the LACED & MONIAN'S fecretly: wherfore, for the defire they had to take away this opinio fro their citizens, they hazarded thefelues to no purpofe, & were cast away in this chase. King Paufunias heard newes of this ouerthrow, going fro PLATERS vnto THE SPIES, & went on further, marching still in battel ray towards ALIARTE, where Thrasphulus also arrived at the selfe same time, bringing the aide of the ATHENIANS fro THEBES. And when Paulanias was purposed to fend to aske licece of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had flaine, to thintent to bury them: the olde SPART ANS that were in his army, milliking it much, at the first were angry in them selves. But afterwardes they went vnto the king him selfe, to tell him

A that the THEBANS should not see nor heare it. This was no diffimulation to speake of . that they (hould ordaine thinges with so gentle wordes, and so meete for the people of GREECE, and then that the dedes should not aunswer vnto their edicts & proclamations. For Thrasphulus, and his fellowes of the conspiracie, who kept the castell of Phyla, they departed from THERES, with armor and money, and the THERANS did helpe them to beginne and practife their enterprise to secretly, that it was not discouered. These were the causes why Lylander was fo earnestly bent against the Thebans, & his choller being so extreame, by reason of his melancholines that grewe dayly apon him more and more through his age, he folicited the Epho RES fo, that he perswaded them to sende a garrison thither : and him selfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iorney straight with his men. But afterwardes they sent kinge 13/anders R Peulanias also with an army thither, who was to fetche a great compasse about to enter innothe contric of BOROTIA, by mount Cithæron : and Lylander shoulde goe to meete him cithæron

derwent, he tooke the city of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded them selues to him

as some as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of LEBADIA, which he spoyled:

& from thence he wrote vnto king Paulanias, that departing from PLATERS, he should march

directly to the city of ALIARTE, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by

breake of day at the towne walles. These letters were intercepted by certaine skowtes of the

THEBANS, who met with the messenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS having intelli-

gence of their purpose, left their citie in custodie vnto the ATHENTANS who were come to

freede, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before Lyfander, and put halfe their

men into the citie. Now for Lylander, he was determined at the first to keepe his men apon a

hill which is nere to the city, and there to tary the comming of king Paulanias. But afterwards,

when he fawe that the day was farre spent, and that he came not, he could tary no lenger, but

arming him felfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought

with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that

went ynto the city. In the meane feason, the The BANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hande, did fet vppon Lylanders rerewarde of his army against the foun-

came out of his mothers wombe, bicause the water that commeth out of it (though it be very

Caide them : and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great

through the contry of Phocides, with a great company of fouldiers belides. Now as Lylan- mons.

taine called Ciffusa: where the Poets faine that the nurses of Bacchus did washe him, when he ciffusasons.

honorable.

that he dishonored SPARTA, to offer to take up Lysanders bodie by his enemies leave & fanon To affectione and that he should valliantly recouer him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, affections of thenemie to that he had ouercome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowe, that ye it should be more honorable for them, to lye dead in the field by their Captaine, then to ack leaue to take vp his body. But not with standing all these wordes of the old men, king Passania feeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the Thebans in battell, now that they had goe ten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of Lyfander lay hard by the walls of ALLARTE and that he could not come to take it away without great daunger, although they should win

Ly fanders

the battell: he fent a herauld to the enemies. And having made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke vp Ly anders body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confynes of BOEOTIA, within the territory of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his a tombe remaineth apon the high way, goinge from DELPHES vnto the city of CHERONEL Thus Paulanias campe being lodged there, it is fayd there was a Pho CIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, fayd that the enemies came to gene a charge vponthem. as Lylander had passed the Oplites. Thother wondring at that, there was a Spart an a ve ry frend of Lylanders by, having heard all their talke, asked him what that was which heral led Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? aunswered the Pro-CIAN to him againe. Euen there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the first of our men which were flaine in the fieldes: for the river that runneth by the walles of the city, is called Oplites. The SPART AN hearing that, burst out of weping for forrow, saying: then I see it is you possible for a man to auoyde his destinie. For Lyfander aforetime had an oracle that tolde him

Philiarus fl. Hoplia, Ifo-

mantus.

Neochorus

Lyfander, take good heede, come not I thee aduife: Neere Oplites that rivers banckes in any kinde of wife. Nor neere the Dragon he, wwhich is the earth her fonne, VV ho at the length wwill thee affault, and anthy backe wwill roune.

Howebeit some take it, that this river of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walles of ALIARTE, but it is the river that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into the river of Phliarus, hard by the city: and they fay that in oldetime it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that flue Lylander, was an ALIARTIAN called Neochorne, who caried a Dragon painted apon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelyhoode n did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESUS, the THEBANS fine L) fander. had an oracle from the teple of Apollo Ismenias: which oracle did prophecy the battell which they wanne by the castell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also, which was think yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this.

When thou thy nets shalt spread, the vvolues for to intrappe: Bevvare thou come not neere unto, a litle hill by happe, Of Orchalide. Nor neere, to any his confynes:

For there, the crafty foxes keepe, their dennes and priny mines. He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vetermost confynes, bicause Bosotta doth confine there with the contry of A TTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now called A E

lopecon (to fay the foxe denne) which lieth on that fide of the citie of ALIARTE, that looketh

Helicon mons

Paufanias exile.

Lyfanders cleane bandes

towardes mounte Helicon. Lyfander being flaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death foill, that they would have condemned king Paulanias of treason by law: who durft not abide the rivall but fled vnto the citie of Thoma, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuaries the temple of Minerua. When Lyfander was dead, his pouertie appeared to the world which made his vertue farre more famous, than when he lived. For then they fawe, that for all the gold & filuer which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority & countenaunce that he had caried, and for all that fo many cities & townes did come to honor him, & briefly, for al that he had so great & puissant a kingdom in maner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increase his house with so much, as one farthing. So writeth Theopompus, whom we should F rather beleue when he praifeth, then when he discommendeth for commonly he takethmore delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not longe after, as Ephorus writeth, that the

A LACED EMONIANS and their confederats fel at variance together, wherepon Enfanders letters were to be seene that were in his house. Kinge Agesilaus goinge thither to peruse them, amongest other writinges, founde the oration penned by Cleon Halicarnassem which Lysander Lylanders had prepared to perswade the Spart ans to chaunge their gouernment, and to declare vnto counsell for them that they shoulde renoke the prerogative which the Eurytiontides and the Agrades had; during of the that the kinges of SPARTA could not be chosen but out of those two families, and to leve the prerogative at liberty, that the chiefest magistrats might be laufully chosen kings of Sparta. Anellaus frood indifferent to have thewed this oratio openly to the people, that the SPARTANS

might see what manner a citizen Lylander had bene in his harte. But Latratidas, a graue wife Lacratidas man. & presidentat that time of the counsel of the Ephori, would not suffer him faying that he wifdom for-B (houlde not digge Lyfander out of his grave againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that hearing to was so passingly well, and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstandinge, they did him milie to the great honor after his death : and amongest others, condemned two citizens in a great summe deade. ofmoney, that were made fure to two of his daughters while he lived, and refused to marye noved by the them when he was dead, seeing their father dyed so poore: bicause they sought to matche in Spanians after his house, supposing he had bene riche, and for sooke them afterwardes for their fathers po-bindents. uerty, when they saw he dyed a good and just man. Thus we see, that at SPARTA there was a life, late marinunithment for them that did not mary, or that maryed too late, or that maried ill: and vnto age, and ill this punishment were they most subject, that sought great matches for couetousnes of goods. maine pro-This is all we have to wryte of Lyfanders life and actes.

THE LIFE





Veius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the Patricias, who be the noble Syllaes kinmen & gentlemen of Rome: & there was one of his auncesters called red Rufines, that obtained the dignity of Conful. He notwithflanding his Confulshippe, wanne more dishonor by defame; then he obtained honor by dignity of Confull. For they finding in his house above ten powndes worth of plate, contrary to the lawe at that time expressely forbidding it: he was expulsed the Senare and lost his place there atter which dishonor once received, his iffue never rose, nor yet recouered it . And Sylla him felfe had very little left him by his father : fo

n calth.

that in his youth he was faine to hyer an other mans house, & fat at a small rent, as afterward a he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they faw him richer then they thought he had defe ued. For when he gloried & boasted of the victory at his returne from the warres of A FRIEL Syllaes hone- there was a noble man that fayd vnto him: why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that having nothing left thee by thy father, thou arte now come to have fo much Now though Rome had left her auncient inflice and purenes of life, wherewith the brought vo her people in former times, and that their hartes were poyloned with couctous defire of vainely perfluous delites: yet notwithstanding, it was as fowle a reproche to them that did not main. taine them selves in the poverty of their fathers, as vnto them that did consume their paris mony, and bring all to naught which their parentes had left them. But afterwardes also when he carried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a free manbe. ing borne of the flaues infranchifed, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tarpeian bicause he had saued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death

wherefoeuer they were found: cast it in Syllaes teeth, how that they had lived and dwelt together

ther a long time in one selfe house, he having payed thowsande Nummos for the rent of the

vppermost roomes of the same house, & Sylla three thowsand for all the neathermost roomes beneath. So that between both their wealthes, there was but onely two thowfande and fiftie Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in wryting of his first weakh. At Syllaes flafor his stature and persone, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redden and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was cop of

per nofed, and that was full of white streakes here and there: whereuppon they say that the furname of a Sylla was genen him, by reason of his colour. And there was a leaster at ATHERS cause that [7] in laten figni. that finely mocked him in his verse: fieth oker,

Sylla is like a blacke Bery (princkled wwith meale. which becometh red when

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward market it is put to the and tokens. It is fayd also that he was so naturally geuen to mocke & least, that being a young fire, and therman vnknowen, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tomblers, but fore Syllaceus still eating and tippling with them in dissolute manner. And afterwardes also when he was in uia, signifieth his chiefest authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent leasters and scoffers, and all such rakehelles, as made profession of counterfeate mirth, & would strike h with the baddest of them to geue the finest mockes: wherin he did not only a thing vncome for his yeres, & dishonored the maiesty of his office & dignity, but therby also grew carelest & negligent in matters of great importance, wherunto he should have taken good regard. For

after he was once fette at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight, Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very active, painefull, and fewere yet falling into fuch copany by drinking, bowling, & making good chere, he fodainly became an other maner of man. So that without all compasse of modesty and judgement, he wastoo familiar and conversaunt with players, leasters, tumblers, and daunsers: who when they had Syllaes voinprnousnes.

him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of letchery, whereunto he was greatly geuen, and eafily drawen after loue and fi pleasure: in such forte, as his gray heares could not restraine his voluptuous life. His vnlawfull lufting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one Metrobius a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire vntill his latter age . For at the first he loued Nicepolis a rich curtifan: and frequenting her company by oft accesse, and besides that he spentile prime of his beauty and youth in feasting her with great delight and paffing pleasure, sheafterwardes became in loue with him, so that when she dyed, she made Sylla her heire of all she had. He was heire also vnto his mother in lawe, who loued him as her owne begotten some and by these two good happes he was stept up to pretie wealth. Afterwardes beinge choken Quæstor (to say treasorer) the first time that Marius was Consult, he embarked with himin

his iorney into A FRICKE, to warre with kinge Ingurthe. When he was arrived at the campe, he shewed him selfe a man of great service in all other thinges, but in this especially, thathe could wifely vie the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wanne Bocchuckingeof

A she NAMIDIANS to be his fast and faithfull frende: whose Ambassadors, that scaped from a company of NVMIDIAN theeues he curreoutly entertained, and having genen them good, The coufe of

Worefentes, fent them backe againe with a fafe conuoy. Now concerninge kinge Bocchus, he Bocchus fredby prejentes, that the both hated and feared king Inquirthe his sonne in law insomuch, that after he side

was ouercome in battell, and came to him for fuccor, Boschies practifed treaton against him. and for this cause sent secretly for Sylla, desiring rather that Ingurthe should be taken by Sylla, then by him felfe. Sylla brake this matter vnto Marins, of whom having received a finall numher of fouldiers to accompany him, (without respect of perillor daunger) went and commitred him selfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take an other a considering also

that the king whom he trusted was so visual of his word, even visto his negrest frends and con-Aderates. Now Bocchus having Ingurthe and Sylla both in his power, and brought him felfe to that pinch that of necessity he mult betray the one or the other:after he had taken good breath to resolue which of the two he should deale withall, in thend went on with his first plat & deuiscof treason, and so delivered lugurthe into Syllaes handes. In deede Marius triumphed for Sylla by kinge

raking of king Ingurthe: but his euill willers, for the fpight and grudge they bare him, did at Bocchus. mibute the glory and honor of Ingurthes taking wholy vnto Sylla. That fecretly went to Maxime Thonor of In harte and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from kings after abale, obscure, and vnknowen life to be knowen & well accepted of the people in Rome, and bed rate to rastalso what honor ment) became so ambitious and couetous of glory, that he caused the flort to be grauen in a ring, which he did ever after vie to weare & seale withall. Where king C. Recebus was delivering of Iugurthe unto Sylla, and Sylla also receiving Iugurthe prisoner. These thinges milliked Marins much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sylla was not lo much en-

uied as him felfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. Marine in his seconde Consulthin, made Sylla one of his Lieutenauntes: and in his third Consulhippe, he had charge under him of athors and footemen, and did many notable and profitable exploytes for him, When Syllaes noble was his Lieutenaunt, he tooke one Copillus, a generall of the GAVLES Techofages, And when deedes under hewas Colonell of a thowfande footemen, he brought the MARSIANS (a maruelous great Marius. contry of people in I TALLIE) and periwaded them to remaine good frendes, and confederates of the ROMAINES. For this his good feruice, he founde that Marine grewe in great milliking

withhim, bicaufe from thence forth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occasion to D shewe good service: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising, Wherefore, Sylla afterwardes tooke Catulus Luctatius parte, who was companion with Marius in his Confulfhippe. This Catulus was a very honest man, but somwhat slacke and colde in marshall matters, which was the cause that in deede he did committe ynto Sylla all the special service and matters of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gaue him occasion not onely to increase his estimacion, but also his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the most parte Sillaes doings of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes : and Catulus campe under came lacking vittells, having commission, he made a maruelous great quantity of provision to be brought thither, infomuch as Catulus campe being plentifully vittelled, they fent their ftore &

furplulage vnto Marius fouldiers, the which Sylla him felfe wry tethodid much miflike Marius. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded upon so light occasion, The first cause was followed with citill warres, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and diffentions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confution of all the Roughan and Marius. flate and Empire. This doth proue that Euripides the Poet was a wife man and one that forefaw the ruines of common weales, when he counfelled, and also commanned governors to

flicambition, as a most pestilent and mortall furievnto them that are once interest withall, to be fled, as a Now Sylla thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres would have made mortal furie. his way open to preferrehim to some honorable office in the city of Rome: he was no some returned from the warres, but he would needes proue the peoples good willes ynto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that fued for the Prætorthippe of the gipy (that is tofay, the office of the ordinary judge that ministreth justice vnto the citizens but he was re-

iected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layed the faulte uppon the meaner forter laying that the communalty knew well enough the freudshippe he had withking Bocching and

that therefore they hopinge that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor the would make them see noble huntinges and great fightinges of wilde beastes of Libra (And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his sute, in hope to compelling by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the trees. of his refufall, for his owneact doth condemne him felte: bicause the next yere following to was chosen Prætor, partely for that he wan the people with curtesie, and partely with motion So he fallinge out with Cafar apon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would vie the power and authority of his office apon him. But Cafar imiling, autiwered him the hast reason to call it thine office, for in deede it is thine, bicause thou hast bought it. But after

the time of his Prætorshippe was expired, he was sent with an army into CAPPAD OCTABLE louring his voyage thither with commission to restore Ariobarzanes into his kingdom against howbeit thonly cause of his iorney was in deede to suppresse kinge Mithridates a little who tooke too many thinges in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new fignis: ry of no leffe greatnes, then that which he had before. In troth he brought no great army on of ITALIE with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the ROMAINESME. uery place, through whose aide he ouerthrewe a great number of the CAPPAD OCIANSMIN afterwardes also a greater number of the Armenians, which came in like case to aidethen fo that he expulsed Gordius king of PHRYGIA OUT of CAPPADOCIA, and restored Ariobaria nes to his realme againe. After which victory, Sylla remained by the river of Euphrates, and

thither came vnto him one Orobazus a PARTHIAN, Ambassador of Arfaces, king of the PARTHIAN, THIANS. Now these two nations, the ROMAINES, and the PARTHIANS, were never frendered before: and that with other thinges shewed the great good fortune Sylla had, that the Park of the Par-THIANS came first to him by his meanes to seeke frendshippe with the ROMAINES. They fay, that receiving this Ambassador Orobazus, he made three chayres to be brought out, theore

for king Ariobarzanes, the other for Orobazus the Ambassador, and the third for him felle which he placed in the middest between them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaugar dience vnto the Ambassador: for which cause the king of PARTHIA afterwardes put Ordin zas to death. Some doe commend Sylla for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maidly among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing him selfe state out of time, and to no purpose. We doe read that a soothsayer of Chaldra being in Order zu traine, having diligently viewed and confidered the phistognomy of Sylla and all his other mouinges and geftures of minde and body, to judge not by the clymate of the contry, but at cording to the rules of his arte whathis nature should be : all well considered of he saved that Sylla one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he marueled how he could suffer

it that he was not even then the chiefest man of the worlde. VVhen Sylla was returned against

money with him, contrary to the lawe, out of one of their confederates contry: howebeithe

profecuted not his accufation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begonne be-

man. Notwithstanding, Sylladid not as Timotheus ATHENIAN, the sonne of Conon had done

Sylla accorded to Rome, one Cenforinus accused him of extorcion, that he had caried away a great summe of

twixt him and Marius, kindled againe vppon a new occasion of king Bocchus ambition: who partely to creepe further into the peoples fauor of Rome, and partely also for to gratifie Sylling gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of Impiter Capitolin, and next vnto them also the image of Ingurthe, which he delivered into the handes of Sylla, being all of pure golde. This did so offende Marius, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of Sylla. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of Rome taking armes, had like to have brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of IT AL IN bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruelous great warre which fell out very daungerous, by fundry misfortunes and great losses to the Romaines, Marine didno notable exployee; whereby it appeareth that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neededs ftrong, lufty, and able body. For Sylla to the contrary, having done notable feruice, and obtain ned many profitable victories, wanne the fame and estimacion among the ROMAINES, of 41 noble fouldier, and worthy Captaine: and among thenemies them felues, of a most fortunate

A Who, when his aduerfaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes vnto the fauor of fore nine; and did painte fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and inared in nets whileft he flept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was maruelous angrie with them that did it. faving that they robbed him of the glory that justly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this Timotheus was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHEN IANS with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage the lavd vne

mthem: my Lordes of ATHERS, fortune hath had no parte in all this which I have told vn Timulbent it toyou. Hereupon the goddes it should seeme were so angry with this foolish ambition of Ti- Attention mothero, that he neuer afterwardes did any worthy thing, but all went veterly against the heare would not are

with him : vntill at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in thend they banis glory of his B hed him from ATHENS. But Sylla to the contrary, did not only paciently abide their wordes down to that faved, he was a happy man, and fingularly beloued of fortune: but also increasinge this forement opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the goddes, did attribute the honor of his do forume the opinion, and goo, may a series of all ings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fanily, that the goddes did pro-honor of all his doingto. foer him in all his doinges. For he wrote him felfe in his commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hottely, according to the sodaine occasion offered, did better profoer with him, then those which by good aduise he had determined of. Furthermore, when he fand that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperity came rather by fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude it appears

reth that he did wholly submit him selfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vponher: confidering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and favor of the goddes, that he neuer difagreed with Metellus his father in law, who was a man of like dignineand authoritie as him selfe was . For where it was thought he woulde have bene a greate hinderer of his doings, he found him verie curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reason of the societie of their office. And furthermore, in his comentaries which he dedicated vnto Lucullus, he counfelled him to thincke nothing more cer- syllass belefe raine and affured, then that which the goddes should reueale vnto him, and commaunde him inhis nightes dreame. He wrytethallo that when he was fent with an army vnto the warres A france

of the confederates, the earth fod ainly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediat - Fight appeared ly came a maruelous bright flame of fire that ascended up to the element. The wife men be-Ding asked their opinions about the same, made aunswere; that a very honest, and also a maruclous fayer man of complexion taking foueraine authoritie in his handes, thould pacific all tumultes and fedition which were at that time in Rome. Whereupon Sylla fayed it was him lelle whome the goddes ment, bicaufe that amongeft other things he had that fingular gift of beauty, that his heare was yellow as golde: and he was not ashamed to name him selfe an honeft man, after he had wonne fo many notable great victories. Thus have we fufficiently fooken of the trust he had in the fauor of the goddes. And furthermore, he seemed to be very stills fireweet contrary in his manners, and vnlike to him felfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he of condicion gaue as much more also in an other. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put

downe without reason. He would be very gentle to them, of whome he would have ought: and vnto those that sought of him, he would stand much apon his honor, and looke for great

ned and forgaue fuch faultes as were in no wife to be forgiuen. And afterwards againe would punish right small crimes, with murders, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goodes. This judgement may be geuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging minder yet notwithstanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reason geuing place to necessity. and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his fouldiers flue Albitus one of his Lieutenauntes, beating him to death with states and stones, being a man of good quality, and

reuerence. Wherby men could hardly decerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more

abound in him. And as for the inequality he vied in punishing of them that had offended hime

fometimes he hanged vp men for very small and light causes: Some other times againe to the

contrary, he paciently aboade the most grieuous offences in the worlde : and lightly pardo-

one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he passed ouer with silence, vsing no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end, saying, that hismen were the more obedient faultes by worthy feruice. And furthermore, he did not regarde them that did repronehing

buthauinge determined with him selfe to destroy Marius, and to procure that he might

chosen generall in the warres against king Mithridates, bicause that this warre of the conte

derars was now ended: for this cause he flattered & curried fauor with his souldiers than the

ued vinder him. At his returne to Rome from these warres of the confederates, he was chuse

Confull with Q. Pompeius, being then fifty yeare olde, and maried with Cacilia a noble Latin

Confull. Mevellus chiefe bifhop of Kome, a maried man

Syllees wines.

and Metellus daughter, who was then chiefe bishoppe of Rome, for which mariage the come mon people fang fonges and ballades vp and downe Rome against him: and many of thems. ble men enuied him for it, thinkinge him vnworthy of so noble a Ladie, whom they though worthy to be Conful, as Titus Linius fayth. Now the was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called Ilia, by whom he had a daughter. After her he maried AElia, then a think called Calia, whom he put away bicause she brought him no children. But notwithstanding the went honorably away from him with very good wordes of her, befides many other good ly riche giftes he gaue her: howbeit thortly after he maried Metella, which made the world fuspect that Celia was put away for her naughtines . Howsoeuer it was, Sylla did euer home and love Metella: infomuch as the people of Rome afterwardes making fute, that they then were banished for Marino faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refu fed by Stilla, they cried out with open voyce for Metella, praying her to helpe them to obtain their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the city of A THENS, he delt more cruelly with them, bicause that some of them had scoffed at Metella from the walles: howhere that was afterwardes. So Sylla making his reckening at that time that the Confulshippe wasa fmall matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruelous de firous to go against Mithridates. But therein Marine also, of a mad furious ambition and on nerousnes of glory stoode against him, and fired to goe that iorney in like manner, being sub

VV onderfull fignes feene before the cinill warres.

opinion of

iect to those passions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly see by experience. For being now a heavy man, fickly of body, and broken in feruice abroade in the warres, from the which he came but newly home, and brused moreouer with age: did notwithstanding yet aspiren have the charge of the warres fo farre of beyond the feas. Wherfore, to obtaine his purpole whilest Sylla was gone a little vnto the campe to geue order for certaine thinges that weren be done, he remaining in the city, did practife this pestilent mortall sedition, which alone did more hurte vnto the city of ROME, then all the enemies that ROME ever had: the which the goddes them feliues had foreshewed by many fignes and tokens. For fire tooke of it selfe in the stanes of the ensignes, which they had much a doe to quenche. Three ranens brought the young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the fight of many people, and afterwardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neaftes. Rats also having gnawen forms iuells of golde in a church, the fextens fetting a trappe for them, a rat was taken full of young and kendled fine young rats in the trappe, of the which the ate vp three. But more yet - on a fayer bright day whe there was no clowde feene in the element at all, men heard fuch a flago found of a trompet, that they were almost all out of their wittes, for feare of so great a novie Whereuppon the wife men and foothfayers of THUSCAN being asked their opinions, tolde them: that this fo straunge and wonderfull figne did pronounce the chaunge of the worlde, and the departure out of this into an other life. For they holde opinion, that there should be eight worldes, all contrary one vnto an other, in manners and facions of life: vnto enery one of the which layd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeitthey all came to ende their course within the space of the revolution of the great yeare; and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are feene fuch wonderfull ftraunge fignes on the earth, or in the element. And fuch as have studied that science, doe certained know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contrary vnto the first in their lives & maners, and which are either more or leffe acceptable vnto the goddes, then those which lived in former age. For they fay, that amongest great chaunges and alteracions which are done in those places from one age vnto an other, the science of distination, and foretelling of things to come doth grow in reputacion, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleafeth God w

feat field certain cand manifeft fighes, toknowe and forestell thinges to udant yound in trust maiode alfa in amonher age it grower the occurrent per and lose there repression les what are were rathe, and faileth to meete with the most parte of her pretictions of bleant the high bile Mule meanes, and all her inftruments defaced to knowe what fibrild come? And there be metables which the wilest foothfayors of it hy scan reported abroade, & they specially willo Comedin have forme singuler speculation about others. But as the Senare were talland with the lob thrayers of the fe wonders, being affembled together within the temple of the goddeffe adland a parrow came flying into the churche in fighr of them all, and carried a graffehopper inher bill, and parted it in the middelt, and leftone parte within the temple, and carried this theraway with her. Whereupon the wife men and interpreters of fuch wonders laied that handoubted a commotion and rifing of the dontry men against the commons of the citie bit cante the common people of the citie doe cryb out continually like graffettoppers; and the hul handmen doe kepe them felues vpon their landes in the contry. Thus Maritie grew great andway familier, with Sulpitius, one of the Tribunes of the people; who in all kindes of wic. The vickedkedessand mischiefe that aman can reckon , would gene place to no living creature: so that me of subjection a man had a not where for a worle then he but the mir flowing the subject to the mir flowing the subject to the first the subject to the s amanhede not to seeke or demaund any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he him felle was not the worste of all others. For he was full replet with all kindes of cuelty, anarice, and rathnesse, and thar soextreamely, as he cared not what villary and with kednes be openly committed, to that the fame might turne to his profit. Por he had ferry a ablamathe open market place, where he folde freedome; making flaves and flittingers deni-6 sents of Romes for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a gardost heer thow fand about him, befides a band of young gentlemen of the order of langines that attended always attentils persone ready accommandement, whome he called the garde against the Senate, hall furthermote, him felfe having passed a lawe by the voyce of the people, that no Senator hould borrow not by about two thow fande Drachinas it was founde that at the hower of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachinas in debra This man now like a furious raging halfsbeing left by Marin amongest the people, turned all thinges topsic turney, by force of ames and maine firength. He made also many wicked lawes to passe by voyce of the people. Meiu and addamongest others, that one specially, wherby he gaue Marius commission to make wares Suprim seagainst king Mithridates. For which extreame oppressions and dealinges of Subjetim, the two Confines (Sylla and Quintus Pompeius) test of to heare publike causes, and chased the comments suffered law and inflice. And as they were one day occupied about the adjuvement of the laws in an open affembly in the market place, before the temple of Caftor and Pollux : Sulpition fed for a time. the Linbune came upon them with his fouldiers, and flue many people, and among others, the Cantill Hompetus owne fonne, and the father him selfe being Confull, had much a doe to father grellion and his life by flying. And syllathe other Confultivas also purfixed even into Mariuchonfe, where wicked lane. he was compelled to promise the forethis departure, presently to goe and revoke thadiomed mentof the law which he had before commaunded. Thus sulpitius having deprined Foniperus of his Confulthippe, did not depose sylla, but only tooks from him the charge he had genen himto make warres against Mithridates, and transferred that voto Marias, And tending col meds to the city of Nach to receive the army that lay there, and to bring the nyuno Eage ring sylla prevented thering and fled to the campe before them; and told the fouldiers all while hadpally as it was in decides who when they be audit, fell all to a timult, and flite coloring colo lettells systerifondes to destrime on the orthopholopurall syllass frends to destribet the was and tooks the specific of their goodes and houses it sowas there nothing else but thing from the campe 1989 mrs and from Bo an to the cantipological The Senare were in manner bofide there let was not being able to governe as they would bundrared to obey Aterias and Substitute of the mandementes IVI ho being aductifed than sells was contining towardes Risa allemo fraight Hyalitators wat o Hint British and Servicion, to companio him as from the Genard, an appropri unreaser, These two Presors spaked little to boldly who sylle: whereuppon the foundiers fell

n namuting in lock force that they stobdo indiffer et which her to kill them protently in the field

WAS how beinther heate their axico and bandells of roddes which were caried before theory

Treafon in

refrened.

and make their purple sobres wherelvistacher were apparelled as magistrases stouterhem; and fonerance.

fent them home thus framefully handled and introated. Vpponisheir returne now is the their fadde filence only, and them felues to fripped befides, of all their markes and mile Pratoriall dignitic, made all men then to judge that they brought no other newes, in the as were the worlt that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pagification dition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore Marian and his followers being make them selves frong by force; and Sylle, with his companion Q: Pampeius, departed in meane time from the city of Nors, and brought fix entier legions on with him, who delicheth toward no other thing but to make haft to march to Rounward. Howbeit Sylla froude in double with him felfe what to do, thinking of the great daunger that might follow. Vntill fuch time as he fix legions. Posthamius foothfayer Posthumius having confidered the signes & tokens of the facrifices, which system made your this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him binde them harded

the desine. did prognothat him vp falt, vntill the day of battell should be past : saying, that he was cotented to he flicate viftsry unto Sylla. death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hande, to his great honor. And it is five

Sylla mar-

Rome with

alfo, that the same night there appeared vnto Sylla in a dreame, the goddesse Bellona, whom the ROMAINES do greatly honor, following therein the CAPPADOCIANS : and I knowens Syllace village whether it be the moone, Minerus, or Enyo the goddeffe of battells. So he thought, that the comming to him did put lightning into his hande, commaunding him that he should lighter ypon his enemies, naming them one after an other by their proper names; and that they ing striken with his lightning, fell downedead before him, and no man knew what became them. This vision encoraged Silla very much, and having reported the same to Pompena fellow Confull & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome, When he was at Picines, there came other Ambaffadors vino him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rous in this heate and fury, declaring therwithall thatthe Senate would graunt him all thinges that should be meete and reasonable. When syllish heard the meffage, he aunswered them, that he would campe there and so commaunded the marshalls to decide the squadrons according to their maner. The Ambassadors beleving the he would so have done in deede, returned againe to Rome: howebeit their backes worken fooner turned, but Sylla straight lent Lucius Bafillus, and Cains Minimins before to feafe ones the gates of Rome, and the walles which were on the fide of mount Efquilin, and he him the also in persone with all possible speede marched after them. Basillas entred Rome, and water the gate by force. But the common beaple ynarmed, got them up ftraight to the top of the

Sylla fet the in Rome.

Marius and Sulpitine co demned so Treafon infly rewarded.

this meanes was Marine driven into the city, vato the temple of the Earth, where he made of pen proclamation by founde of trompet, that he woulde make free all the flaves that would come to his parte. But forthwith same his enemies, fee your him and prefe him to neere the he was constrained vitterly to the and forfake the city). Then Sylla affembling the Senares the fed Marius, and certaine others, together with Subjector Tribune of the people to be conden ned to death. Sulpition was berrayed by a flame of his owner, whom sylle made free according to his promife past by publike edict: but when he had nize him free he caused him to be this wen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And no contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill Marine . A very ingrate and we thankefull parte, confideringe that Marias not many dayes before havinge spills in his will! house, in his handes and custody, deliucred him from perill, and see him in fafery. Whichit ar that time he had not done, but had fuffered Sulprime to have flaine him; him felfe had beet

houses, and with tyles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely from entring any further

but also draue him backe againe, even to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly carrie

Sylla him felfe to Rome, who feeing apparantly in what flate thinges floode, cried our blis

men, and had them fet fyre on the houses: and him felfe taking a torche light in his handahi

wed them the way what they should doe, appointing his archers and darters to whurle the

flow their dartes, and other fiery inftruments, to the toppes of the houses. Herein he warned

much overcome with vnreasonable choller, passion, and defire of revenge. For seeking all

to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to frends, to parentes, or confederates, neither hall

he vet any maner of remorfe, or pity: fuch and fo fiery was his anger then, that he put notified

of difference between those that had offended, and them that had done him no buitt at all the

SYLLA. A fourraine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But Sylla shortly after vpon the like advantage, vied no such manner of requitall or gratuitie towardes him, which bred a fecret misliking emongest the Senate: howebeit the common people made open shewe of the euill will they bare vnto Sylla, by reie-Aing one Nonius his neuiew, and one Seruius, who vppon confidence of his fayor, prefented them selues to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall to spyte him the more, they chose others in their steedes, whose honor and preferrement they right well knew that Sylla would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely diffembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying, that by his meanes the people of Rome enioved a full & perfit liberty, that in fuch cases of election, they might freely do what the selues lifted. And to mitigate somwhat the peoples euill will towards him he determined to choose Lucius Cinna Consull, who was of a contrary faction to him: having first bounde him by so- Lucius Cinna lemne othe and curse to fauor his doings & whole procedings. Wherupon Cinna went vp to Consult the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he to be Syllats

kinge Mithridates, who was at that present in the city of Persamy M. As amongest others,

that the PARGAMENTANS to honor Mithridates with all, having made an image of victory, ca-

like this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked

deuide the riches and great territories among his frendes. As touching his fonnes: the eldeft

was in the realine of Pontvs, and of Bosphorvs, which he inherited from his prediceffors,

euen vnto the desertes beyonde the marisses of Mæotides, without trouble or molestation of

anyman. The other also, Ariarathes, was with a great army, in conquering of THRACIA and

MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenauntes moreouer, did many notable conquestes in di-

would be Syllaes faithfull frende: befeeching the goddes it he did the contrary, that he might frende. bethrowen out of ROME, even as he threw that from out of his hand; and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, Cinna was

no sooner entred into his Consulfhippe, but presently he beganne to chaunge and alter all. For amongest other thinges, he would needes have Sylla accused: and procured Verginius, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But Sylla left him with his judges, went Sylla wim ato make warres against Mithridates. And it is said, that about the time that Sylla tooke shippe, gainst Mithrianddeparted out of ITALIE: there fortuned many tokens and warninges of the goddes vnto

rving a garland of tritiphe in her hand, which was let downe from aloftwith engines: fo foone as she was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the grounde in the middest of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were striken with a maruelous feare, and Mithridates him selfe beganne to mis-

for For he had taken Asia from the Komaines, and Bithynia and Cappadocia, from Mibridates D the kinges which he had driven out: and at that time remained in the city of Pergamym, to power.

uers places, with a great power: amongest the which, Archelaus being Lord and master of all the fea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles Cyclades, and all those beyond the hed of Malea, and specially amongest others the He of Eveca. And beginning atthe city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GREECE to rebell, euen vnto Thess ALIE, E fauing that he received fome loffe by the city of CHERONEA. Where Brutius Surajone of the Lieutenauntes of Sentius gouernor of MACEDON (a man of great wisedome and valliantnes) came against him, and stayed him for goinge any further, ouerrunning the whole contry of BOETIA, like a furious raging river. And fetting vpon Archelaus by the city of CHER ONE A.O. uerthrewe him in three feuerall battells: repulfed, and inforced him to take the feaes againe. Butas Brutius was following him in chase, Lucius Lucullus sent him commaundement to geue placevnto Sylla, to follow those warres against Mithridates, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe geuen him. Whereupon Brutius Sura went out of the contry of Bono-TIA, and returned towardes his generall Sentius: notwithstandinge his affaires prospered betterthen he could have wished, and that all G REECE were very willing to renote for the repu-

tacion of his wisedom and goodnes. How beit the thinges that we before have spoken of were the most notable matters that Brutius did in those partes. Sylla now upon his arrivall, recoueted immediatly all the other cities of GREECE: who being aduertifed of his comming, fent Sylla befieof Athens.

presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of ATHENS onely excepted, whichers compelled by the tyran Ariftion, to take parte with Mithridates. Sylla thereuppon with allthis power went thither, belieged the hauen of Piræa rounde, causing it to be battered and affine ted on enery fide, with all fortes of engines and instrumentes of battery: whereas if he could haue had pacience but a litle lenger, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting him felfe in any manner of daunger, the fame being brought to fuch extreame deans and scarsity of all kinde of vittells. But the hast that he made to returne againe to Rome, for feare of the new change which he heard of daily from thence compelled him to hazardthis warre in that forte with great daunger, many battells, and infinite charge: confideringealing that befides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thow fand mules and mulets labor ring dayly to furnishe his engines of batterie. And when all other woode fayled him, bicaule his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, fome breaking of them felues w reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwen from the enemies:at the length le fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the Academia, being better stored and firmi shed, the any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, & feld downe also the wood of the parke Lycaum. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine this

warres withall, he delt also with the holyest temples of all GREBCE, causing the to bring him

from the temples of EPIDAVRVM and OLYMPVs, all the richest and most pretious juels they

had. He wrote moreouer vnto the counfell of the AMPHICTYONS holden in the city of Der.

PHES, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of Apollo, for that it should be

purpose he sent Caphia P HO CIAN, one of his very frends & familiars, and commaunded himse

wey all that he tooke. So Caphis went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither being afraied

led he could not confider, that finging and playing of the citherne, were tokens rather of ione

kept in better fafety with him, the if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should

Sylla tooke she inells and semples of brought it to him to Ather. by occasion be compelled to vie it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this

to touch the holy things, in presence of the counsell of the AMPHICTYONS, he wept, that the

teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe fuch an act against his will. And when some that were present told Caphis that they heard the sound of Apolloes citherne in the temple: whether he beleued it was so in dede, or bicause he would put this superstitious search into Syllaes head he wrote to him of it. But Sylla mocking him fent him word, that he manus

then of anger: and therefore that he should not faile to procede further, and bring him though things which he commaunded, for that (faid he) Apollo did gene them him. Now for the other iuells of the temple of Apollo, the common people knew not that they were fent vnto Syllebin the filter tonne, which only was that that remained of the offeringes of the kings, the A MPHI-CTYONS were faine to breake that in peces, bicause it was so great & massie, that the beattesof draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other auncient ROMAINE Captaines, as Flaminius, Manius Acilius, and Faulus AEmilius: of the which, the one having driven king Antiochus out of GREECE, and the rest also having overthrowen the kings of MACEDON, they never once touched the gold and filter of the temples of GREECE The commen- but contrarily fent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reverence. But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldies wel trained, & obedient at commaundement, voide of rebellion, or any maner of mutiny. And taines, for or for them felues, were kings in greatnes of corage and magnanimity of minde: but in expense fouldiers, and of their persones, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but nedefull and necessary, proporalfo for their tioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then seare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in Syllaes time, fought not their preferrement in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and having greater warres one with an other, then with frame gers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their fouldiers whom they should communic and to buy their paines & feruice, feeding them still with large & great expences, to please & content them. Wherein they did not confider, that they brought their contry into bondage, & made themselves slaves of the vilest people of the world, whiles that in the meane time they fought to commained by all meanes possible those, which in many respectes were farre better then them selues. And this was the cause that both draue Marius out of Rome, & madehim also to returne againe against Sylla. This selfe same cause made Cinna to kill Octavius, and FimA brittoflay Placess: of whicheuills, Syllawas the very first and only author, spending out of all syllams first reason, and geuing the souldiers largely that served vnder him, to winne their good willes the manthal floir more and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, Sylla had nede of mountaines of motor fernice of ney, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make straungers traytors, and besides to souldiers, by furnishe and fatisfie his owned iffolute fouldiers. For he had such an earnest defire to take the boute and city of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be diffwaded from it. And either it was of a certen fufferance. vaine ambition he had to fight against the auncient reputation of that city, being then but a thadow to that it had bene : or els of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the toran A. rillion gaue in his speches from the wals, against him & Metella, to spite him the more withall. This tyran Ariftion was full of all cruelty & wickednes, having taken up all the worst qualities B and greatest impersections of king Mithridates, & heaped them wholly together in him selfe: The wicked-

by reason whereof the poore city of A THENS which had escaped from so many warres, tyran-reas Aristion, nies, & ciuill diffentios vntil that prefent time, was by him, as by an vncurable difeafe, brought witto all extreamity. For a bushell of wheate was worth a thowland Drachmas, and men were

driven for famine to eate fewerfew that grew about the castell: & they caused old shoes & old ovle pots to be fodden, to deliuer fome fauor vnto that they did eate, whileft the tyran himfelfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meate, & drinke dronke, daunie, maske, icoffe & flowto arthe enemies, fuffering the holy lampe of Minerua in the meane feafon to go out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the fame teple fent vnto him for a quarter of a bushel of wheate. he sent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellers of the city, the priestes &religious came to the castell, holding op their hands, & befeeching him to take some pity of the city & fall to copolition with Sylla: he made the to be driven away, & scattered with flings. In the end very late, & yet with great a do, he fent two or three of his quaffing copanions vnto sylla, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of composition for the towne-but began to praise & magnifie the dedes of Thefeus, of Eumolpus, & of the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon Sylla made them this aunswere. My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the Romaines sent me not hither to learne nor to study, but to ouercome & conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meane time there were there taine fpyes in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called Ceramicus, blaming the tyran bicause he kept no better watch on that side of the wal that was directly ouer against

thewalls. Those spies went straight vnto Sylla, & told him what they had heard the old me say. Syllatracted no time, but came to the place in the night to fee it. & perceiving that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And him selfe wrytes in his commentaries, that the first mathat scaled the walls, was Marcus Teius: who finding a souldier ready to resist him, gaue him fuch a fore blow with his fword vpon his head peece, that his fword brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw him selfe naked & difformed of a sword, did not for all that give back, Teins. but floode still to it, & kept the place so long, till through him the city was take, & all apon the talkeof these old men. So Sylla caused the wall to be pulled downe between the hauf of Piraa, by Sylla &the holy haue: & having before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about mid-

D the Heptachalcon, which was the only place where the enemies might eafilieft get vp vppon

night with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruelous noise with a nuber of hornes, & founding of trompets, & all his army with him in order of battel, crying, to the fack, to the fack: kill, kill. For he had geuen them the towne in spoyle, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ran through the streetes with their swords drawen, making an vncredible slaughrer: to that to this daye they be not acknowen, nor doe not declare what nomber of persons were

to be seene where the blood ranne. For besides them that were slaine through all the city, the The slavebur blood of them only that were flaine in the market stede, did wet all the ground of Ceramicus, e. of the Athe. ten vnto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the niant after suburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were slaine in this sorte were the time. great, much more (or so many at the least) it is sayd were those that slue the selues, for the sore

flaine, but to shew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extat

tow & copassion they had to see their cotry in such pityful state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to vtter ruine & destruction. This opinio made the noblest men of the city to dispaire of their owne safety, & feared to line any lenger: bicause they thought they should

Amhesterion Marche. The sime of Noes flood.

Aristion the tyran yeelded.

Philoes armory burnt by Sylla. Taxilles arms a hundred thou sande footemen: Tenne thoufand horfe-Foure foore & ten thowfand carses with Sythes.

The force of

Parnassus The city of Tithora.

Patronide. The plaine of Elatea. Philobeosus Their whole 1500. horfe,

finde no mercy, no moderacion of cruelty in Sylla. Notwithstanding, partely at the requests of Midias and Calliphon, who were banished men from ATHENS, and fell at Syllaes feete view their knees: and partely also at the requests of the Romaine Senators that were in his campe who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already ourse ched the thirst of his rauening mind sufficiently well, after that he had somwhat sayd in praise of the auncient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to geue the greater number vnto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sylla wryteth him selfe in his commentaries, that he took the city of ATHENS on the very felfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chaunce ma ny thinges are done at ATHENS in memory of Noes flood, and of the vniuerfall destructions the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out even in that very moneth When the city was thus taken, the tyran Aristion fled into the castell, where he was befreged by Curio, whome Sylla left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, yelded. The castell was no some general, but immediatly by goddes providence, the weather miraculously altered. Forther felfe fame day, and at the very felfe instant that Curio caried the tyran Aristion out of the caftell: the element being very fayer and clere, the clowdes fodainly gathered together, & there The house of fell fuch a maruelous glut of raine, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, Solle Pirea wome. having gotten the haven of Piræa, burnt the greatest parte of the buildinges: amongestothers was the arfenall and armory, which Philo in old time had caused to be built, being of a ftraunge and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, Taxilles, one of the Lieutenaunts of kine of Mithridates, comming from THRACIA and MACEDON, with a hundred thowfand footement tenne thow fand horsemen, and foure score and tenne thow sand carts of warre all armed with fythes: fent vnto Archelaus to ioyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the hauen of Munychia. and not willing to leave the fea, nor come to fight with the ROMAINES, but feeking ratherto draw these warres out in length, and to cut of all vittells from his enemies. Sylla vinderstanding this drift better then him felfe, departed out of the contry of A TTICA(a very barren foyle, and in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into Bob otia: wherein most men thought he committed great error, to leave ATTICA, which is a very hard contry for horse men, and to go into Borot 1A, a plaine champion: and fo much the rather, bicaufe he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, the Barbaria, and their armed cartes with fythes. But to auoyd famine, and lacke of vittells as we have fave he was compelled to feeke battell. Furthermore, he had an other cause also that made him in their easts afrayed, and compelled him to go: and that was Hortensius, a famous Captaine, and very valliantalfo, who brought him aide out of THES SALTE, and the barbarous people lay in waitefor The fraight of him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made Syllatake his way into BOEOTIA. But in the meane time, Caphie that was our contry man, deceiving the barbarous people, guided Hortensius an other way by mount Parnassus, and brought him wader the city of TITHORA, which was not then so great a city as nowe at this present it is, but was a castell only, scituated upon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whether the Phoce-Ansin olde time flying king Xerxes comming vpon them, retyred them felues for their fafety. Hortensius lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as day light lafted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard frong wayes, vnto the city of PATRONIDE, where he joyned with Sylla, who came to meete him with all his power. tenfits mer at Thus being joyned together, they camped vpon a hill that standeth about the middest of the plaine of Elatea: the foyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees, and water at the foote of the same. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature & scituacion where of, Sylla doth maruelously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they in deede, for they had not about fifteen army together hundred horse, and lesse then sisteen thowsand sootemen. Whereupon the other Captains their enemies, against Archelaus minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horsemen, with cartes, with shieldes and targettes, so that the ayer was even cut a funder as it were with the violence of the noyle & cries of some

SYLLA

A ny fundry nations, which altogether did put them selues in battell ray. The sumptuousnes of der furniture moreouer, was not altogether superfluous and vaprofitable, but serued greathato feare the beholders. For the gliftering of their harnesse, so richly trimmed and set foorth The brane at with gold and filuer, the cullers of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the factor of mor and finthe MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright gliftering steele and shining copper, Thracians to caue fuch a show as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as clere as if all had Macedonias, beneon a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke apon. Infomuch as the Romaines dust not fo ferning under much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor Sylla with all his perswasion coulde Mibridates rake away this great conceived feare from them: wherefore, (and bicause also he would not lientenaum. compell them to go forth in this feare) he was driven not to stirre, but close to abide; (though Bit grieued him greatly) to fee the barbarous people fo prowdly and villanoufly laugh him and his men to scorne. Howbeit the disdaine & scoffing of his enemies, stoode him to great good purpose afterwards. For they making now none accompt of him, kept small watche & ward. frayed up and downe diforderly befides, though otherwise they were not very obedient unto Many come their Captaines, being many commaunders, and fewe good followers: by reason whereof, a manders make small number kept in the campe, and all the rest of the great multitude intifed with the gaine souldiers. they made by spoyling and sacking of townes thereabouts, dispersed them selves many dayes iomev from their campe. For it is fayd, that at that very time they destroyed the city of PA-NOPEIA, facked the city of LEBADIA, and spoyled the temple without commaundement orlicence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, Sylla feeing so many ci-C ties and townes spoyled and destroyed, tooke it both grieuously, and also angrily : howeheit he fuffered not his men to lie idlely, but kept them in labor, to turne the course of the riuer of Cephifus, and to cast great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but contrarily with great severity punished such as went faintly and lasely to worke, to thend that being wearied with the paine they tooke after fo many workes, they would rather proue to ha-22rd battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begonne thus to labor, as Silla paffed by them, they cried out vnto him to leade them against their enemies. But his aun- A good policie (were was vnto them againe : that those were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then towear feare defirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so in deede, and that you have so good a will to with exfightas you make showe of : then I will fayd he, that you arme your selues presently, and get meane labor, D you to yonder place, showing them therewithall where the castell of the PARAPOT AMIANS whereby to floode in olde time, which then (the city being destroyed) was no more but the toppe of a stonymountaine cut all about, and seuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the ri- fight. uer of Assus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very soote of the same mountaine falleth into the river of Cephifus, and both these rivers running in one, carying a swift streame, doe make the knappe of the favd hill very strong of scituacion to lodge a campe vpon, And therefore Sylla feeing the fouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take up that place to lodge in : to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) hemarched thither in all hast possible, & got it even with the earnest good will of all his Couldiers. Archelaus being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHERO-E NEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHERONEANS that were in Syllaes campe, befought him that he would not for fake their city, and leaue it to their enemy. Sylla defiring to gratific them therein, sent one of his Colonells Gabinius with a legion, and therewithall gave the CHERO-NEANS leave to go thither, who did what they could possible to get into their city before Ga- Sylla senderb binius : but that they could not, such was the diligence and honesty of the man, ashe teemed Gabinius mare desirous of their safety, then they were them selues. Neuerthelesse, substitution of their safety, then they were them selues. Neuerthelesse, substitution of their safety, then they were them selues. the Colonell that was fent thither Gabinius, but Hircius. And thus was our city of CHERO- ronea. NEA preserved from the daungerit stoods in at that time. In the meane time came year good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles and prophecies, which promised them victory from oracle and the temple of I, BBADIA, and the caue of Trophonius: of which prophecies, those contry men prophetics of makegreat mencion. But Sylla in his tenth booke of his comentaries writesth, that Quintue Ti- Sylla tim, a man of quality & name amongest them that traffiked into the contry of Garage scame Vinto him after he had wonne the battell of CHERONE A TO sell him that Transporting game him

to understand, that shortly after he should have a second battell, and that he should yet a like

haue an other victory in the same place. After him an other ma of warre called Salar me

him also what successe he should have in the warres of ITALIE, saying, that he knew ir how

uelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they sayd, that the

had seene a god, in maiesty, beawty, and greatnes, like vnto the image of Impier Olympias, sai

la havinge passed the river of Assus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylium, hardle

Archelam, who had placed and fortified his campe betwene the two montaines of Aconting

and of Edylium, joyninge to the city of the Assans. The place where Archelaus campel

beareth his owne name Archelaus vnto this day. One day after Sylla had chaunged his roll

ging, he left Murana in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies fill

occupied that were in great trouble, and he him felfe in the meane time went and factified

by the river of Cephifus. His facrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of CHERO

NEA. to take the force he had there vnder Gabinius, & to know the mountaine also called This

them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came

two citizens of CHERONEA to him, one, his name was Omoloichus, and the other Anaxide

mue, who promifed him to drive the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken if

he would but geue the some small number of fouldiers. For there was a litle path way, which

the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the tem-

ple of the Mufes, by the which they might eafily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium fo that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they

might eafily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them mawgre their heads.

downe into the valley. Gabinius affuring Sylla that they were both very valliant men, and field

as he might boldly trust vnto, Sylla gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their

should not inclose them behinde bicause they perceived a farre of that the enemies put forth

a great number of horsemen and sootemen light armed in the wings, to thend that the povis

of their battell might the more easily bowe and enlarge them selues, to compasse in the Ro-

had fent vnder Hircius their Captaine, having compaffed about the mountaine Thurium, be-

fore the enemies were aware of them: fodainly came to shew them selues vppon the topped

MAINES on the backe fide. Now in the meane time, these two CHERONEIANS whome Sylle E

Acontium, Edylium mountaines.

rium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very steepe and sharpe of a

fides, with a narrowe point like a pine apple, by reason whereof we doe call it Orthopapum At the foote of the same runneth the river called Morion, and there is also the temple of Morion fl. Cheron the founder of she city of Charonea.

pollo furnamed Thurias: and they say that this furname of Thurias was genen vnto him of the name of Thures, who was mother of Cheron, the founder and builder of the city of CHERO NEA. Other thinke, that the cow which was geuen to Cadmus for a guide, came to him in the place: which hath euer fince kept the name, for that the PHENICIANS call a cow, Thor. Now when Sylla came neere vnto CHERONEA, the Colonell Gabinius whome he had fent thinker with a garrison to defend the same, went to meete him with his men very well armed, wearing a lawrell garland: and Sylla after he had faluted him, and his fouldiers, made an oration vnio

enterprise and he him selfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horsemen on the winges, placed him selfe in the right wing, appointing the left vnto Murana. Galba & Hortensius his Lieutenauntes, were placed in the tayle with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemis

the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flic, one of them for the most parte killing an other . There was no relistaunce, but flying downe the mountaine, fell apon the pointes of their owne partifans and pykes, and one of them thus fting in an others necke, tombled hedlong downe the mountaine together, having their ene mies besides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and strake them behinde where they lay open vnto them: fo as they were flaine a three thowfande of them about this mount taine Thurium, And as for them that fought to faue them felues by flight, Murana that was already fet in battell ray, met with fome, cut them of by the way, and flue them downe right; The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrufting into the battell of their footemen, put the most parte of them quite out of order, & maruelously troubled

A their Captaines before they could fet them againe in order : which was one of the chiefest causes of their ouerthrowe. For Sylla went and gaue a charge vppon them in this trouble and diforder, and had quickely wonne the ground that was between both armies, wherby he tooke

awaythe force of all their armed cartes with fythes, which are then of greatest force, when The force of they have the longest course, to geve them a swift and violent stroke in their chase: whereas the armed when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker, and of lesse strength, euen as Sythes confish arrowes are, that a farre of enter not deepe into the thing they be shot at : as at that time it fell miong courfe out with the barbarous people. For their first cartes set foorth so faintly, and came on with so feeble a force, that the ROMAINES fent them backe, & eafily repulsed them, with great slaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vie in the ordinarie games of

B horserunning at ROME. When they had thus repulsed the cartes, the battell of Syllaes soote Syllaes conmen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who basing their pykes, stoode close one to an stiff with Arother bicause they would not be taken : & the ROMAINES on thother side bestowed first their Thorisms. darres among them, and then fodginly drewe out their fwordes in the heate they were in, and mirafide the enemies pykes, whereby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fifteene thow fand flaues in the fronte of the battell of the barbarous people, whom Mithri-

dates Lieurenaunt had made free by open proclamation, and had deuided them by bandes a. States made mongest the other footemen. By occasion whereof there was a ROMAINE Centurion, spake free by author pleasauntly at that time, saying, that he neuer saw slaues before haue liberty to speake and do Lieutenaunt like free men, but only at Saturnes feaftes. Neuertheleffe, they against the nature of flaues, were in the fielde. Very valliant to abide the (hocke, and the ROMAINE footemen could not fo readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them geue backe, bicaufe they stoode very close one to an other. and their ranckes were of fuch a length befides: vntill fuch time as the ROMAINES that were behinde the first ranckes, did so pelt them with their slinges, hurling stones, bestowing their dartes & arrowes apon them, that in thend they compelled them all to turne their backes, and

flie a maine. And when Archelaus did first thrust out the right wing of his army, supposing to

enclose the ROMAINES behinde: Hortensius straight wayes caused the bands he had with him

torun & charge vpon the flanckes. Which Archelaus perceiving, made the horsemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in nuber aboue two thowsand : infomuch

as Hortensius, being fet apon with all his trowpe, was compelled to retyre by litle and litle to-

wardes the mountaine, perceiving him felfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and envi-

round round about with his enemies. Sylla seeing that, being in the right wing of his battelf.

and having not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of Hortensius. But Archelaus coniectu-

ring by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left Horsensine there, and with speede returned against towardes the right wing of his enemies from whence Sylla was gone. hoping he had left it vnfurnished of a sufficient Captaine to comaund them, Taxilles on thother fide, caused his copper targets also to march against Murana: so as the noyse they made on both fides, caused the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall Sylla stayed, standing in Hout which way to take. At the last he resolued, to returne to the place fro whence he came, & sent Hortensius with foure ensignes to aide Murana: and him selfe with the fift in great speede, went E towardes the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and joyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with Archelaus. By reason whereof, when Syllawas comen with his aide, they did easily diffresse them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them flying for life to the river, & vnto the mountaine Acontium. But Sylla notwithstanding forgate not Murana, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his fide syllar vittohad also put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chase of them that fled. There was a nof Muhrimaruelous flaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them supposing

city of CHALCIDE, Sylla for his parte wryteth, that he could make reckening of no more but

fourteene of his fouldiers onely that were flaine, whereof there came two agains to him the

famenight. Wherefore in the markes of triumphe which he fet up for tokens of that victory,

he canfed to be wrytten on the toppe thereof, Mars, victory, and Venue: fignifying thereby,

to have recovered their campe, were flaine by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped only tenne thowsande, who saued them selves by flying vinto the Molus fl.

that he had ouercome in these warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, of med a shall discipline. These markes of triumphe were let up for the battell which he wanne into plaine field, in that place where Archelaus beganne to flie, euen vnto the river of Molus; he fet vp an other also in the toppe of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were vpon behinde : and there is wrytten in Greeke letters, that the valliant deedes of Omological and Anaxidamus, gaue way to the winning of this victorie. Sylla for the ioy of this great women battell, caused musitians to play in the city of THEBES, where he builded a stage for all the musitians, neere vnto the sountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GREHCIANS were appoin ted judges of that musicke, whom he caused to be sent for out of other cities, bicause heme. tally hated the THEBANS: infomuch as he tooke from them halfe their landes, which hecon

Ispiter Olym pias. Flaceus Confull wens a. gainst Sylla.

secrated vnto Apollo Pythias, and Impiter Olympias, appointing that of the revenue thereofthe Apollo Prshould redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. Sylla after this having intelligence that Flaceus, one of his enemies, was cholen Confull at ROME, and had paffed the fea Ionium with an army, under pretext to make ware against king Mithridates, but in deede to make warre with him selfe: tooke his iorney towark THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newers him out of all partes, that there was a new and second army of the kings arrived, no lesse then the first, the which spoyled and destroyed all the contry which he had left behinde him. For Dorylaudi. Dorylaus, one of king Mithridates Lieutenauntes, was arrived in the city of CHALCIDE with great fleete of thippes, having brought thither with him foure score thowsand fighting men

the city of

Melas,and

fwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in enery place, that so many thowsandesof fouldiers coulde not have bene cast away in the first battell, without some notable treason Wherupon Sylla returned with all possible speede, & made Dorylaus know before many days paffed ouer his head, that Archelaus was a wife man, and knew well enough the worthines and valliant corage of the ROMAINES. And Dorylaus having had but a litle proofe only in certains light skirmishes which he made against Sylla, about TILPHOSS ION in THESSALIE: him felle was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazarde battell, but rather to drawout the warres in length, and supplant the ROMAINES with charge & expence. And yet not with ftading, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about ORCHOMENE, wherether were encamped, gaue great encoragement to Archelaus, who judged it a very fit place to gene battell in, specially bicause he was the stronger of horsemen in the field. For of all the plains that are within the contry of BOEOTIA, the greatest & largest of them, is the plaine nere to the city of ORCHOMENE: which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the marisses, where the river of Melas disperseth it selfe abroade. The head of the same river is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that river only of all other rivers in GREECE from the The river of very head whence it commeth, is nauigable; and hath befides an other fingular property that nature therof. it riseth & swelleth euen in the longest sommer dayes, as the river of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the felfe same plantes and trees, saving that they beare no frute, neither are they so great as those of Agypt. This river hath no longe course, bicause that the most parte of the water runneth into lakes and marisses, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litte parte of it that falleth into the river of Cephifus, in the place where the redes grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one nere to an other, Archelaus lay quieth and sturred not. But Sylla presently cast great trenches from one side to an other, to stoppe the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driven the Romainis into the marifles. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, fo foone as their Captaines had genen them liberty, discharged with such a sury, that they did not only scatter them that wrought in Syllaes trenches, but put the most parte of their gard also that stoode in battell F ray to defend them, in a maruelous feare, who also beganne to flie. Which Sylla perceining lighted straight from his horse, and taking an ensigne in his hande, ran through the middestel

the best trained, the best armed and appointed souldiers, that were in all his kingdom of Powe TVs in Asia: and from thence went into Boro Tia, had all that contry at commaundement and fought to fight with Sylla, notwithstanding that Archelaus alleaged many reasons to dif

a the mendian fled, world he came to his enemies and briging out; favely market all and a second white fouldiers, mine honor commaundeth me to the here work therefore when the most elethyou where you for fooke your Captaine, remember chargod minister it was brio Oped yeld to animate his MANNE. They were to alhamed at these worder; that he made them name shelides that these foundations. came two cohortes vito him from the right wing of his battell public under his leading game fuch a hortecharge voon their enemies, that they fleit forthwith a plor it. That dures Syllage in wall wed with his men, and made them dine and the rupon by and by sentient agains no she westchesto enclose his enemies campe, who then came out an better order there die befroat There was Diagenes, Archeland wives fonne flaine, fighting valliantly before themsaffer the Digener nohtwing of their battell. And the bowe men being proffed someore by the Rose and and the faint. their bowes would doe no good : tooke their arrowes in their handes in flead of fworded and frake their enemies with them to force them to gone backe, vntil fuch time as at the laft they were all driven into their campe, where they paffed that night in great forow, as well for the lufte of them that were flaine, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next inche

ning, Sylla leading his men againe rowardes the chappe of his enemies; went on full contract mehis trenchest& certaine of them being come out to skirmith with them, he fee appointed that folultely sther at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a leare to all the wholecampo of the enemies, that note man durft abide any lenger for as sylla vallianth foll syllational lowing on his victory, thuffled in among them as they fled, and in the title tooks all augether you within Smight way all the marifles were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead bodies would remained vntill this present day they find there in that place many bowes of the Barbarous people and Orthomene.

rums, peeces of talles, and fwordes drowned in the mudde of the marilles, norwithflanding that it is well neere two hundred yeres a goe fince this bartell was firiken; And thus flius hide thewarres about the cities of Chair one a, and Oncao MB NE. Now the warres being safety solla me theforte in GREECE, Cinna, and Carbo delt very cruelly and unnaturally agit one with the not came suche blemenand greatest persons : by reason whereof, many flying their tyrange, went to siller formers barcampe, as ynto the hauen of their health and fulnes of felicity, fo thabin fliort time sittle had telle at Chaan affembly of a ROMATNE Senate about him. Metella her felfe, his wife, having stollen away vonea and as very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houses in the citie and con

lide he knew not well how he might go, leaving fo great an enterprise as that watte was, and

focially against a king of such might and power as Mithridates thewed him felfe to be And

being in these dumpes, there came one Archelaus a marchant to him borne in the city of Du-

Liva. who brought him a fecret meffage from thother Archelaus, king Mithridates Eteitte

mont: the which pleased Sylla fo well; that he defited that Archeland & him felte meghanierie

th both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and held D them that yet remained at ROME. Sylla vppon hearing of thele newes, felt in great perplexite. For on the rone fide, it grieued him to fee his contry fo miferably afflicted; and on the other

andtalke together. So at the length they met by the lea fide, neete vnto the city of Dary pul where there is a temple of Apollo Archelaus beganne to enter the talke with him declaring wil Talkeberoise th Sylla that he would wish him to leane the conquest of A sra, & of the realise of Pontiand Sylla and Arthur as

maturne into his contry to the civill warres at Romant and infodoing, the king would he then meeting. with him, not onely with as much money; but with as many thippes and men, as he him selfe would defire sylla apon this motionted him agame ; that he would wift him to forfake Mi

thridates fernice, and to make him felfoking, offering to practaine hims frend and confede

rate of the Romaine's, fo that he would deliner him all his name which then he had ar his bandes. Archelaus feemed much to abhorre to heart himpfpeake of treaton. But State Bline on with his rate, replaced againe vinto him why Arebelane, fave he, their than are a Care Alio

coun, and fernaumero a barbarous king, or his frend arthe leaft : haft them to good a hart high thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee; thou wilt not once committanil acto And art thisi

indeede fo bolde to speake to me of treason; which am the Monator stillementant generally and Sylla & At if thou were not he, that at the barrell of CHEN ONE we didoft fauet by felle by 1892 , ing with a small number left theroffix score thowsand fighting men, which then before hat delin thy campe : and that hid thy felle two dayes together in the maitfles of O seu o water

swext Syllady Archelaus in Mithridates

leating the fielder of Hord in a with fudlaheapes of dead bodies, that no main could part of them After this replye; Machelaus altered tris peech; and falling downe at Syllaeb fuele; had bly belongh him to ende this water andro make peace with Mithridates. Whereuntout auniwered that he was were well concented withall. And thereupon peace was concluded swenethem under conditions that Muthicutes should departe from A six the leffe, and from BAPHEA GORINA, thatheshould reftort Bernt win vnto Nicomedes, and CAPPADOCHA deal Ariobarzanes, that he frioud play two thowfund talents to the Romaines, & gene them the

soreand tenne gallies, with all their furnime. And apon this Sylla would also affure himile reft of his realme : and would cause him to be proclaimed a frende of the Romaines! This articles being past by agreement betweet afrom , Sylla taking his iorney through THES SATE and My groon into the contry of Helieson Ty datied Archelau with him, whom behit notably intreated. For Archelaus falling dann gerously ficke of a disease in the city of Landste he staved there for him and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of the chiefest Captaines and companions. And this was the cause that made Archelans to better med for the battell of CHERONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor Syllatruly ween it. but by treason. And againe, Archelaus was the more suspected, bicause Sylla redeliness Mitbridates all his fervaynts and frends which he had prifoners, fauing the tyran Arifficults kept ATHEHS, whomehe poyloned, bicanse he was Archetaus enemie: but specially, forth

of lande) within the He of Eve one, and gave him moreover the title of a freitde of the last

MAINES for ever, But Sylla denyethall these thinges in his commentaries. In the meane time à

Mishridates

Suspected of

Aristion tyras

poyfoned by

Archelaus fent from Syl

p ang. Mithridates being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred faile of Impres without

The florenes

to speake first, that have request to make the for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peaks if and heare whatthey will fay. Then began Mathridates to excuse him selfe, and so laythous flon of the warre, partly ypon the ordinaunce of the goddes that fo had appointed it to partly

lands Sylla gaue vnto this CAPPADOGIAN. For he gaue him tenne thowfand Iugera; for alrei

Ambaffadors came from king Mitbridates vnto Sylluswho told him that the king their matter did tatifie and accept all the articles of peace, fauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the contry of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the gallies, he would not for much once say he would promise them. Syllabeing offended herewith, angerly aunswered thems gaine. Then Mithidates, as ye fay, meaneth to kepe P APHL MG ON IA ftill, and refuseth to gene the (hippes I demaunded : where blooked that he would have humbly thanked me on this knees, if Lleft him his right hand only, with the which he put so many Romaine citizens death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into A sia : but nower PERGAMUM, he speaketh his pleasure of this warre which he hath not seene. The Ambastic dors being afrayed of his wordes, replied not againe. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and his fought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hande. By intrested

in thend he obtained of Sylla to fende him vnto Mithridates : promiting that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles & condicions of peace that he demaunded or if he could not he would kill him felfe with his owne handes. Vipon this promise Sylla sent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the contrie of MEDICA: and after he hadde Atroved the most parte thereof, returned backe againe into MACHDON, where Archelauth ing returned from Michridates, founde him neere vnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all should be well, howebeit that his master cattheidates prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now, the matter that made Mithridates so earnest to speake with Sylla, was chiefely for Fimbria: who having Haine Flace in the Confull, being of the contratt! faction vnto Sylle, and certaine of Mishriddes Lieutenauntes also, wenchim felfeagainst him to fight with him . Mithridates feating his commine, chose rather to make him felfe solution frend. So Mithridates and Sylle met together in the contry of TROADE, in the city of Die

at lea, with twenty thowland footenich, fixed thowlande horse, and a number of armed cares with lythes belides by land, Sylla having onely but four enfignes of footemen; and two have dred horsemen. Matheridates went to Sylla, and offering to take him by the hand : Sylla asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the condicions which Archelaus had agreed with Mithridates made him no auniwated Sylla following on his tale; fayd ynco him. It is for fold

A also yppon the ROMANES them selves. Whereunto Sylla replyed, that he had heard of long rime that Mithridates was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing Syllats aunthat he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and tham efull dedes: but with all he tharp- four to Mis-

hyreproued him, and draue him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwardes asked him againe, if he did confirme that which Archelaus had done. Mithridates made aunfwer that he did. Then Sylla faluted, embraced, and kiffed him : and calling for the kinges Nicomedes, and Ariobarzanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their frende a- Nicomedes gaine. In conclusion, after Mithridates had deliuered Sylla three score and tenne gallies, and king of Birbyfrie hundred bow men, he returned by fea into his realme of Pontvs. But Sylla hearing that Ariobarcanes

his fouldiers were angrie with this peace made with Mithridates, bicause they could not abide king of Cappa R to behold that king, whom they accompted for their most cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing

in one selfe day caused a hundred and fifty thowsand ROMANE citizens to beslaine, that were Ahundred & dispersed abroade in divers places of Asia) so to departe, and go his way safe, with the riches fifty thousand and spoyles of the contry, which he had bereft them of, and vied at his pleasure, the space of Claime in one forty yeares together: aunswered them in excuse of him selfe, that he was not able to make day in Afra warres with Mithridates, & Fimbria both, if once they were joyned together against him. And dates comlo Sylls departing thence, went against Fimbria, who then was encamped neere to the city of maundement, THYATIRA, and lodged him felfe as neere vnto him as he conveniently might. Nowe whilest Fimbria camhewas compassing in his lodging with a trench, Fimbriaes fouldiers came out of their campe ina. in their coates without any armor or weapon, to falute Syllaes fouldiers, and holpe them very frendly to make up their trenche. Which Fimbria feeing, and perceiving his fouldiers mindes sochaunged, of an extreame feare which he had of Sylla, at whose handes he looked for no mercy: killed him felfe in his owne campe. Sylla hereuppon condemned the whole contry of Fimbria flain.

ferued for him felfe the librarie of Apellicon Teian : in the which were the most parte of Ari-

flotle and Theophrastus workes, not then thought meete to come in every mans handes. And

they say, that this librarie being brought to Rome, Tyrannion the grammarian founde the

meanes to extract a great parte of them; and that Andronicus the Rhodian having recove-

red the originalls into his hands, put them in printe, and wrote the summaries which we have

furthermore, Sylla being at ATHENS had fuch a paine and numneffe in his legges, and was fo

they were: they aunswered him againe, that they were of the city of ALES. What? of ALES

faydhe: is there any of them yet left aliue? speaking it, bicause that after the battell of O x-

CHOMENE when he followed the chase of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three ci-

ties of Borotia all at one selfetime, to wit Anthedon, Larymna, and Albs. The poore

Asia the leffe, to pay the fumme of twenty thow fand talentes among eft them, and prefently all he undid many poore householders through his infolent fouldiers, lying long your their charge, which he left in garrison there. For he ordained that every householder should gene sylla very the fouldier that lodged in his house, foure Tetradrachmas a day, & should be bound to geue hardly intended the found to geue hardly intended the sea them of him and his frendes (as many as he would bring with him) their fupper also: and that every Captaine should have fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to goeabroade into the city when he thought good. When he had geuen this order, he depar-

ted from the city of Ephes v s with all his fleete, and in three dayes fayling arrived in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was received into the fraternity of the mysteries, and re-

at this present. For the auncient Peripateticke Philosophers were of them selues very wise and learned men, but they had not all Aristotles workes, nor Theophrastus amongest them, and yet Aristotle and those fewe they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: bicause that the Theophrasius goodes of Nelew Schrink (towhom Theophrastus left all his bookes by will)came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimacion of them. And

heavy withall, that Strabo calleth it a spice of the gowte, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then beganne to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occasion he tooke the feacs, & went vnto a place called Added when where there are naturall hotte bathes: and there sylla went to remained a while folacing him felfe all the day long with musicke, seeing of playes, and enter- the bather as taining fuch kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the fea fide, certaine fisher men Adipsium for made him a present of fish, which pleased him maruelous well, & demaunding of the whence his leges.

foure hundred Syllaes returne into 1satie. Epheum mons.

shrew the Cofull Norbanus the younger neere so she mountaine Ephcum.

A Plane forefell out truely.

diers by the

fisher men were so amazed with his wordes, that they stoode still, and could not tell what is fav. Sylla fell a laughing thereat, & bad them go their wayes a gods name, and be not affravel for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckening of When Sylla had genen them these wordes, the ALLEIANS went home with a mery harte, to gather them selves together againe in their city. Sylla so passing through THESSALIA & MACEDON came to thesea side, intending to go from the city of DYRRACHIV M VNTO BRVNDVSIVM, with twelve hundred fayle. The city of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIVM, and thereabour is a parke confecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayer goodly greene meadowe in many Bubbles of fire places there commethout great bubles of fire that flame continually: and it is fayd that there was a Satyre taken fleeping, euen in the very felfe fame forme the painters and image granes hauefet him out. He was brought vnto Sylla, and being asked by all fortes of interpreters what h A Supressite he was, he made no aunswere that a man could vnderstand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neving of a horse, or whynnying of a goate. Sylla wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Sylla had imbaked his men to passe the sea, he was asrayed that so soone as they were landed in ITALIE, they would (hrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they sware and promise first of them selves that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would doe to hurt in IT ALIE. Moreover, perceiving that he stoode in neede of money, they offred him of theirs, & euery man to lend him as his ability ferued. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valliant fouldiers, he wenta. sainfifiene gainft fifteene generalls of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty enfignesoff footemen well armed, as he him felfe wryteth in his commentaries. But the goddes promifed and fifite en. him good fortune in his warres, by many fundry apparant fignes. For in a facrifice he made by TARENT V M, after he was come a lande, the liver of a certaine beaftfacrificed, was altoge ther facioned after the maner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bandes or rolles. And a little before he went into CAMPANIA, neere vnto the mountaine E. pheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuerthelesse was no matter of trueth, but a vision onely that anpeared, and rifing from the earth dispersed it selfe by little and little here and there in the aver. and in thende vanished quite away, as clowdes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the felfe same place, Marius the younger, and Norbanus the Consull, who brought two greater-1 mies against him, were ouerthrowen by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the corace and life of his fouldiers, whose goodwill to serue against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Confull Norbanus after he had flaine fixe thowfande of his men, w take the city of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exployte, (as him felfereported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he savth furthermore, that in the city of S YL V I V M, there was a flaue of one Pontius a citizen, who beinge inspired with a propheticall spirite, came to tell him from the goddesse Bellona, thathe should grow in strength, & cary away the victory of these wars: how beit that if he did not her him the fooner, the Capitoll at ROME should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his wordes, being the fixteene day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now July. And furthermore also, Lucullus (one of Syllaes Captaines) being neere vnto the city of Fidentia with fixteene enfignes only, against fifty enfignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, bicause the most parte of them were naked & vnarmed, was afrayed to hazard the battel and as he was even bethinking him felfe what was best to determine the A winde that of, there rose a little winde out of a goodly meadow that blewe a wonderfull sorte of flowers 2pon the fouldiers on every parte of them. These flowers stayed of them selves as they fell, fome apon their targets, and others apon their moryans, without falling to the grounde:10 that it seemed to their enemies a farre of, as if they had bene garlandes of flowers vpon that F heades. This made Lucullus fouldiers more lufty a great deale, then they were before, and with this good will they determined to geue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew,

A flue eighteene thow fand of them in the field, & tooke their campe. This Lucullus was brother Lucullus vi voto the other Lucullus, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings Mithridates, & Tigranes. Neuertheles, Sylla perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puisant armies, thought good to vie policy with force: & therefore practifed with Scipio, one of the Confulls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it: & thereupon were oft meetings & affemblies of both fides. Now Sylla draue of the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still feeking occasion of delay, to thend that his fouldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and syllaes policie fubrilty as well as him felfe, might in the meane time corrupt Scipioes fouldiers by repayre inrohis campe: for they comming into Serpices campe, being very conversaunt with the, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, & other with faver flattering B words, & many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practife had continued a while Sylla comming nere vnto Scipioes campe with twenty enfignes only : all his men faluted Scipioes fouldiers, & they refalluting them againe, yelded them selves vnto Sylla, so as Scipio was Sylla wanne leftposte alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwards let him goe. So Sylla with 40 enfignes his twenty enfignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds into their netts, policie. having gotten forty enfignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that Carbo tayd of Sylla, that he had to fight with a foxe & a lyon both: Carbou fay. his campe. I field it was that Carbo rayd of Syda, that the had a light with a lower any of Syda, but that the foxed dd him more hurte & mischiefe, then the lyon. After this, Marius the youngerhauing fourescore and fine ensignes in his campe necre visto the citie of SIGNIVM, pre- foxe and syon. lented battell vnto Sylla: who having very good defire to fight, and specially on that day, bi- Marius the C caule the night before he had feene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he sawe Marita sounds 85, enfigure the father (who was deceased long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. Syl- presented la for this respect desired maruelously to fight that day : and thereuppon caused Dolobella to Sylla basiell to for this respect defined manufactioning to fight that day and the emphorization by the city of come vinto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept between him Significant. and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from joyning with Sylla. Syllaes fouldiers to Syllaes vision the contrarie, fought to keepe the way open for him, with fo great labor and paine, that they mbis dreame. were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruelous great shower of raine vpon them as they were busie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labor they had in hande. Whereuppon the private Captaines of the bandes went to make Sylla vnderstande it, and to pray him to deserre the battell vntill an other day: showing him howe D thefouldiers wearied with labor, lay downe vpon their targettes on the grounde to take their eale. Sulla perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly in deede against his will. But when he had geuen the fignall to lodge, and that they beganne to trenche and fortifie their campe: Marius the younger commeth a horse backe marching brauely before all his companie, hoping to haue furprifed his enemies in diforder, and by that meanes to haue ouerthrowen them eafily. But farre otherwise did fortune then performe the reuelation which Sallahad in his forefayed dreame: for his men fallinge in a rage withall, left their worke in the trenche where they wrought, stucke their dartes uppon the bancke, ranne uppon their enemies with their fwordes drawen, and with a maruelous crie fet apon them fo valliantly, that they were notable to refift their furie, but fodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great E and notable flaughter made of them. Marius their Captaine fled to the citie of PRENESTE, Marius fled where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tied to Premifica

that Marius neuer fawe the battell : for beinge wearied with labor, and verie sleepie, he

laye under some tree in the shadowe to rest a little, after he had genen the signall and word of

the battell, and flept so sowndly, that he coulde scant awake with the noyle and fleeinge of

his men. Sylla him selfe wryteth, that he lost at this battell but three and twentie men, slewe

twentiethowsande of his enemies, and tooke eight thowsande prisoners. His Lieutenauntes

also had the like good successe in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Servi-

liu : which without any losse of their men, or but with a verie small, ouerthrewe ma-

F ny great mightie armies of their enemies. Infomuch as Carbo, the heade and chiefe of all

about his midle, and so was triced up by it. Yet some wryters say, and Fenestella among other,

the contrarie faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and carbofted inwent beyonde the seaes into A FRICKE. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Thelesinus 10 Africke.

Thelefinus the Sammie

SYLLA 120 SAMNYTE, who comming like a fresh champion to set apon him, when he was already, med a ried, and had fought many battells, had almost slaine him even at Rome gates. For Thele nus havinge gathered together a great number of fouldiers with one Lamponius Lycanian marched with all speede towards the city of PR ENESTES to deliuer Marius the younger the was befieged there. But vnderstandinge that Sylla on the one fide, came in great haste alsom meete him, and that Pomponius came behinde him on the other fide, & perceiuing, moreous that the way was fo thut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward being a vallian fouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, most daungerously ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stale away by night with all his whole power, and marchine to Rome ward, had almost taken it at his first comming for that there was neither watchner ward kept: but he stayed happely tenne furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with him. felfe, and beleuing that he should doe wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Can. taines. The next morning betimes came diverse young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmithe with Thelesinus: who flue a great number of them, and among others one Appine Claudius a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereuppon (asyon may eafily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shreeking and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble Balbus (whom Sylla had fent) came first with seuen hundred horse vpon the spurre, and staving but a litle to coole and geue them breath, brideled straight againe, and went to set aponthee. nemies thereby to stay them. Soone after him came Sylla also, who commaunded his men that came first, quickely to eate somwhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: not. withstanding that Dolobella and Torquatus perswaded him to the contrary, and besoughthin not to put his fouldiers wearied with their iorney, to fo great and manifest a daunger, and the rather, bicaufe they had not to fight with Carbo and Marius, but with the SAMNYTES and Ly. CANES, who were both) warlike nations & good fouldiers, and those besides that most dead ly hated the ROMANES. But for all that, Sylla draue them backe, and commaunded his tronpets to founde the alarome, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was tharper and more cruell, then any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where Crassius was, had the better much: but the left wing was very fore distressed, & stoode in great perill. Sylla hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vppon a white courser that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knewe him, and there were two that lifted up then armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he faw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lah

with his whippe, that he made him fo to gird forward, as the very pointes of the dartes came

Sylla fled. is reported contrarie shat Maria the

owne natural city among his contry men? And so crying out to Apollo for helpe, thrusting the prease among his men, intreating some, threatning others, and layinge apon the restu flay them. But for all he coulde doe, all the left winge of his army was broken and ouenthro. wen by his enemies: and him felfe amongest them that fled, was compelled to recoverhis fella besteged campe with speede, having lost many of his frendes, and familiars. There were moreoverman ny citizens flaine and troden vnder feete (both with horse and men) that came only to see the In the ende of battell fought: fo that they within the city thought them selues veterly vndone. Lucretim Of Marins life in fella furthermore (hethat befieged Marins in the citie of PRENESTE) had almost raised in fiege, upon the wordes of them that fied and came thither from the battell, who wished him Syllabefreged to remove with all speede possible, for Sylla was slaine, and Thelesmus had taken Rome, Now about midnight came certaine fouldiers from Craffus to Syllaes campe, & asked for meately Craffus supper, and his mens, who having chased his slying enemies whom he had overther wen, vnto the city of ANTEMNA (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campether. Sylla vinderstading that, & being advertised that the most parte of his enemies were overther wen at this battell: went him felfe the next morning betimes vnto Antenna, wherether

hard by the horse tayle, and stucke fast in the grounde. Some say that Sylla had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the city of DELPHES, and in time of warres wares

alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, sayd : O Apollo Pythia.

haft thou so highly exalted Cornelius Sylla, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous vi-

ctories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his

h thowland of his enemies fent to know if he would receive them to mercy, if they yelded them: 1000. land felues vogo him. His aunswer was, that he would pardon their lines, fo as they would do some them felder in mischiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. These three thowsand hereupon trusting and related to his promife, fell apon their companions: and for the most parte one of them killed an other. 10 Sylla apon Notwithstading, Sylla having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well promise of the three thow land, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of fix thow land men, within the Sylla against thow place where they vied to run their hories: whileft he him felf held a counfell in the teple the last of the goddesse Bellona, & was making his oratio there, he had appointed certe to set vpo those fix thow fand, & put them to the fword enery man. Great and terrible were the cries of fuch a confed fixe number of men flaine in fo finall a roome, as many may eafily conjecture: infomuch as the Se- thoughard men nators fitting in counfell heard them very eafily, and marueled what the matter was. But Sylla continuing on his oration which he had begon with a fet steady countenance, without chauging of colour, willed the only to hearken what he fayd, & not to trouble them felues with any thing done abroade: for they were but certen offenders & lewd persons that were punished by his comaundemet. This was enough to shew the simplest Romane in Rome, that they had but only chaunged the tyran, but not the tyranny. Now for Marins, that had bene ever of a churlift & seuere nature euen from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harde his natural stubbornes. Where Sylla cotrarily in the beginning, was very modest & civill in all his prosperity, & gave great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauor nobility wel, & yet loue notwith standing the benefit of the people. And being

moreouer a man in his youth gene all to pleafure, deliting to laugh, ready to pity, & weepe for

nes, he himselfe was condened to dye mot excepting the that had received their brothers, their

somes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of enery homycide & murtherer thankilled

one of the outlawes, was two talentes; though it were a flaue that had killed his maffer; on the

some that had slaine the father. But the most wicked & vniust act of all was, that he deprived

the sonnes fonnes of them whom he had killed of all credit & good name; & befides

blemurder, For the husbadswere flaine in their wives annes, & the childre in their mothers laps;

tender harrin that he became after so cruell & bloody, the great alteració gaue manifest cause to condemne the increase of honor & authority, as thonly meanes wherby mens maners con- Honor chauntinue not fuch as they were at the first, but still do chaunge & vary, making some fooles, others geth condivaine & fantasticall, & others extreame cruel & vnnaturall. But whether that alteracion of na- Sylla the exture came by chaunging his state & condicion, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out ample. of hidden malice, which then came to shewe it felfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in some other treatise. So it came to passe, that Sylla fell to sheading

of blood, & filled all Rome with infinite & vnipeakeable murthers: for diverie were killed for Infinite morprivate quarrels, that had nothing to do with Sylla at any time, who fuffered his frends & those there commitabout him to worke their wicked wills. Vntil at the length there was a young man called Caises by Silla and Metellus, that was so bold to aske Sylls in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and his fauorers. when they should know that all the mischieues were finished, the which they dayly fawe. For of Caise Meaid he, we will not intreate you to pardo life, where you have threatned death; but only to put relling, to sell the out of dout, whom you have determined to faue. Wherunto Sylla made auniwer, that he Sylla his was not resoluted whom he would saue. Metellus replied, the tell vs quod he, who they are that pen Senate. shall dve, Sylla answered he would. Howbeit some fay it was not Metellus, but Ausidius one of

his flatterers, that foake this last word vnto him. Wherefore Sylla immediatly without making any of the magistrats priny, caused source score mens names to be set up upon postes, whom he syllaes prowould put to death. Euery ma being offeded with althe next day following he fet up two hun- fix prion.

dred & twenty mens names more: & likewise the third day as many more. Herupon, making an oration to the people, he told the openly that he had appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remebraunce: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should dye by daies, as he did call them to minde. Who foeuer faued an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kind-

that, had take all their goods as conficate. And this was not only done in Rome, but also in althe cities of I TALIB through out: & there was no reple of any god what focuer, no auter in any bodies house, no liberry of hospital, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with blood & horriThe mader of oscilances shrough Isaly. Quintus Anteline.a aniet man that medled not, flaine fo his house.

outlawes names, found his owne name amongeft the reft, and cried out alowde: alas the that ever I was borne, my house of ALBA maketh me to be put to death. He went not fare from the market place, but met with one that killed him prefently. In the meane time, Main the younger feeing he could by no meanes escape if he were taken, flue him selfe. And sale Marius the younger stue him selfe as comming to PRENESTE, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine former of inflice in putting them to death: but afterwardes as if he had no lenger leafure to remain Pranefle. Sylla flue 12. there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelve thowsands shon fandmen men, whom he caused to be put to the sword every man, saving his host only, vnto whomke favd, that he shewed him specially fauor to faue his life. But his host aunswered him stowing being put all into one place gaine, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, feeing he had flaine all the refle together. his contry men: and so thrusting in amongest the citizens, was willingly slaine with them

I sicisa Catili.

fix score yeares before in vse, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past gening him free liberty afterwardes to kill whom he would, and to confifcate their goodes: to defte cities, and to build up new as he lifted: to take away kingdomes, and to geue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly fold the goodes confiscate, by the crier, sixting to

ple of Caftor and Pollux, and feeing from about the murder done. The people that were about Offella, layed hold of the murderer straight & brought him before Sylla. But Sylla bad thembe quiet, that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him goe, bicaulett commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished Romants who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of Rome, following his charee triumphant wearing garlandes of flowers on their heades, calling Sylla their father, and fauior: bicaute that by his meanes they returned to their contry, and recovered their goods, whies, and this

providly and stately in his chayer of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goods packt vp by them, to whome he gaue and disposed them: then to see them taken from those

that had forfeited them. For fomtimes he would geue a whole contry, or the whole renemes

of certaine cities, vnto women for their beawty, or vnto pleafaunt leasters, minstrells, or wife

ked flaues made free : and vnto fome, he would geue other mens wives by force, and make

them to be maried against their willes. For he desiring (howesoeuer it happened) to makes

liance with Pompey the great comaunded him to put away his wife he had maried and taking

AEmylia (the daughter of AEmylius Scaurus, & of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, callfed him to mary her great with childe as the was by Glabrio : but the dyed in childbed, in P

peris house. Lucretius Offella also that had brought Marine the younger to that distressentite

city of PRENESTE: fuing to be Confull, Sylla commaunded him to cease his fute. But he no

withstandinge that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with

great traine of men following him that fauored his cause. Whither Sylla sent one of his Can

Lucreting Of- turions that flue Offella before all the people: him felfe fitting in a chayer of effate in the term

and yet they which were flaine for private hatred & malice, were nothing in respect of that a that were murdered only for their goods. And they that killed them might well fay, his good ly great house made that man dye, his goodly fayer garden the other: and his hotte bathers other. As amongest others, Quintus Aureline, 2 man that neuer medled with any thinge, least looked that these cuills should light voon him, and that only pitied those which he fame fo miserably murdered: went one day into the market place, and reading the bill set up of the

They thought the act of Lucius Catiline also very straunge, who had slaine his owne brother before the civil warre was ended: and then prayed Sylla to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had benealine. Sylla performed his defire. Catiline thereupponing full that he had obtained his frendes fute from all other futers : tooke him a fide, & told him. shewe his thankefulnesse for the pleasure Sylle had done him, went presently, and she Marin o Indeede thou haft great cause to reloyce, young man my frende, for thou hast done a goodly Marius, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a prefent before all the people, in the middest of the market place where he was fitting. When he had so done he went and washed his handes all bloodied in the hallowed font of the temple of Apollo, that was hard by. But befides fo many murders comitted were were there other things also that grienel the people maruelously. For he proclaimed him selfe Dictator, which office had not beneat

neftest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou haddest not nede to sleepe; for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine ownedestruction, And Sylla proved a true prophet: for Legidu being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flath fell at defiaunce with Pomper, Now Stille confecratinge the diffuse of all his goodes vnto Herenles, made exceeding fumptuous feather Sylle feeles WHO the ROMANES, the prouision whereof was so unreasonable great, that every day they desproyee threwe a great deale of meate into the river, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and a - vine of forty boue. During these feastes which continued many dayes, his wife Metella fickened, and dyed, or your all and in her fickenes the Priestes and Soothsayers willed Sylls he should not come neere her.

was divorted from her in her tickenes, and cauted her to be carried into an other house, whileft she lived. And thus did Sylla curiously observe the supersticion and ordinaunce of the Southfayers: but yet he brake the law which he made him felfe, touching the order of funeralls, spa- Sylla brake ringe no cost at Metellaes buriall. So did he also breake an other order him selfe had made, his ovne lares touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his forrow with ordinary feaftes full of all he made. vanity and lasciniousnes. Within a fewe monethes after, he had fensers games at the sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnieuered, men and women fitting together, itsortuned that there was a fayer Lady, and of a noble house, that fat hard by Sylla, called Valeria: the was the daughter of Messala, and lister of Hortensius the orator, and had bene divor-

fednot long before from her husbande. This Lady passing by Syllabehinde him did softly put herhand on his shoulder, and tooke a heare from of his gowne, and so went on to her place. and fat her downe. Sylla marueling at this familiarity, looked earneftly voon her; it is nothing my Lord, (quod she) but that I desire with others to be parraker a little of your happines. Her Valeria desired words milliked not Sylla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them; for he row sobe fent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house the was, and how she had lined. Syllaes hope But after many flye lookes between them, they turned their faces one to an other vpon enery nes. occasion, with prety finyling countenaunces: fo that In the end, they came to promise & con- Sylla mailed trach mariage together, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. Forthough the was as Gher of Herwife, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sylla sension the o-

mary her, was neither good nor commendable, bicause he was taken straight with a looke and rater. afine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest pas-

A dren. In the end of his triumphe, he made an orazion in open affembly of the people of Rome in the which he did not only declare vnto the (according to the cultome) what thinges he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valliant deedes belides: and to conclude his oration, toldthem that by realon of the great favor fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by the Felix to say, happy or fortunate. And he him felfe when he wrote vnto the GRESCIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them : furnamed him felfe Epaphroditus, as who would fay, a pleasaunt man, beloued and fauored of Venus. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our contry, have this

Superscription. Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And when his wife Metelle had brought him two twinnes, a fonne and a daughter: he named his fonne Faultus, fignifying fortunate, Sylven B and his daughter Fausta: bicause the Romanes call Faustum that, which falleth out prosper med faustum roufly, and happely. To be short, he trusted so much vitto his good fortune and doinges, that and Faussa. notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a chauge

and innovation in the common wealth, yet of him felfe he left of his office of Dictator, and re- Salla leaveth flored the people to the authority of election of Confulls againe, without his presence at the bir Diffaorelection: and frequented the market place as a private man among the citizens, offering him hippe.

felle to every man that would aske him accompt of his doings past. It happened that a stowt and rath enemy of his was Chofen Confull against his will, called Marons Lepidus, not for at Marons Lepiny deuotion the people had to Lepidus, but onely to gratifie Pampey, who gave countenaunce dus chofen and fauor vnto him. Sylla feeing Pompey come mery homewardes from the election, and joy. Confull,

ace: to choose Marcus Lepidus Confull, the veriest affe in all Rome, before Catalus the ho-

norfuffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Stills

sions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he laided faver young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrells & tumbles had to have pleasaunt leasters and musitians about him, with whome he would lye wallowing drinking all the day long, yppon litle cowches made for the nonest. For, his companions that were in greatest estimacion with him at that time, were these three: Roseius a maker of conmon playes, Sorex a prince of fcoffers, and one Metrobius a finging man, whom he was in loss withall while he liued, & yet did not diffemble his loue, though he was past age to be belowed This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the original cause whereof had light foundacion at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an im-

Syllaes impoto lyce.

postume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his steshe in such some that it turned all to lice : so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shifthing continually night and day, yet the lyce they wiped away were nothing in respect of them the multiplied still yoon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor mean it selfe. but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many timesin the day into the bathe to washe and clense him selfe of them, but all would not serue : for the chaunging of his flesh into this putriture wanneit straight againe, that there was no clenting nor thifting of him, that could kepe fuch a nuber of lyce from him. Some fay, that in oldtime

did not only foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of wreath

(amongest the most auncientest men, whereof there is any memory) Acastus the sonne of the lias, dved of the lowfie euill: and long time after also, the Poet Aleman, and Pherecides the de-Diners fauine: and so did Callisthenes O LY NT HI AN in prison, and Mutius a wise lawyer. And if we shall that dyed of make mencion of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finder that a bonde man called Euros, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmenin Sicilia, being taken and caried to Rome, dyed also of the same disease. Furthermore, salls

Syllaes comting the two and twenty booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he dyed. In that book mentaries he favth, that the wife men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had lived has containe 11 norably, he should ende his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he saythalfor Syllaes fonne that his sonne (who departed a little before his mother Metella) appeared to him in his sleepe that was dead apparrelled in an ill fauored gowne, and that comminge vnto him, he prayed him he would appeared to him in bis go with him vnto Metella his mother, thenceforth to live in peace and rest with her, Butter dreame in ill all his disease, he would not geue ouer to deale in matters of state. For tenne dayes before the favored appadeath he pacified a fedition, and tumult, rifen among the inhabitantes of the city of Pviii LANVM (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinaunces, whether

they should gouerne them selves. And the day before he dyed, hearing that Granius who was Graniu in debt to the common wealth deferred payment of his money looking for his death: hefen frangeled in for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse him? Syllaes fight bout, and commaunded them to strangle him in his fight. The passion of his anger was sove by his onne hement against him, that by the extreame straining of him selfe, he brake the impostument his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood by reason whereof his strength

failing him, he was full of paine and panges that night, and fo dyed, leaving the two little dilldren he had by Metella. For Valeria, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which i

him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other frendes: yet he made fome for love, fome by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corpsinto Rome, gaue both safety and honor vnto the performance of his funeralls. And it is saydal fo, that the ROMANE Ladies, amongest other things, bestowed such a quantity of persumes odoriferous matter towardes the fame: that befides those which were brought in two hundred and tenne great baskets, they made a great image to the likenes of Syllahim felfe, and at other of a fergeaunt carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence & fynamon, When the day of the funeralls came, fearing least it would raine in the forenone, all the elemented

was called Polthumia, bicause the Romanes call those children that are borne after the death

of their fathers, Posthumi. Now when Sylla was dead, many gathered about the Consultant

due to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to bury no

ble men & men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sylla, bicause he had getten

melo clowdy: they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, untill past three of the clocke inthe afternone. And then rose there such a sodaine boysterous winde, that it set all the stake ofwodde straight afire, that the body was burnt at a tryce, and the fire going out, fell a great hower of raine that held on till night: fo that it feemed good fortune following him even to his ende, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the fielde of Mars, and they fay that he him selfe made his owne epitaphe that is wrytten voon it, which syllaes epiwas that no man did euer passe him, neither in doing good to his frendes, nor in doing mis- taphe. chiefe to his enemies.

COMPARISON Sylla with Lysander.



Ow that we have at large also set forth the life of the Romane, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, rifing of the felues through their owne vertue: but this only is proper to Lylander, that all the offices & dignities which he attained vnto in the common wealth, were layed apon him through the peoples good wills and confents. For he compelled them to nothinge, neither viurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vppon them, contrarie to lawe: for, as the common faying

VV here partialitie, and discorde once doe raigne:

There vvicked men are most esteemde, and rule with greatest gaine.

Asatthat time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the state of government ytterly subuerted and brought to nought: to day there rose vp one tyranne, to morow an other, And therefore we may not wonder if Sylla vsurped and ruled all, when such fellowes as Glancia and Saturninus, did both banish and drive out of Rome fuch men as Metellus was: and where also in open affembly they flue Confuls formes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & fold for gold and filuer, with the which the fouldiers were corrupted & where they made new lawes with fire and fword, and forced men to obey the fame. Yet I peake not this in reproache of him that in such troublesome times founde meanes to make him selfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he great years in so vn- The chiefe fortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from SPAR- person w nos C TA (at what time it florished most, and was the best governed common weale) hain all great disness the caules, and in most honorable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of

all chiefes. Wherefore it happened, that the one refigned up the authority to his contry men.

the sitizens, which they had geuen him, who also restored it to him againe many and fundry

LYSANDER & SYLLA. 526 times: for the honor of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him inftly accompanded the worthiest man. Where the other being once only chosen generall of an army, remaind tenne yeares continually in warres and hostilitie, making him selfe by force, sometime Can full, fomtime vice Confull, and fomtime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyranne, Indeb Lylander attempted to chaunge, and alter the flate of gouernment in his contrie, howbein was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then Sylla did. For he fought it by reason, and good perswasion, not by the sword:neither would he make a chaunge of the whole at one selferime as Sylla did, but fought only to reforme the election of kinges. The which thing according to nature, doubtlesse seemed very just: that he which was the best amongest good men, should be chosen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all GREECE, not for her nobility, but for her vertue only. For like as a good hunter doth not feeke for the whelpe of a good dogge, h but for the good dogge him felfe: nor a wife man of armes also, the colte that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse him selfe. Euen so, he that taketh vpon him to stablish a civil gouernment, committeth a fowle fault: if he looke of whom his Prince (hould be borne, and not what the Prince him felfe should be, considering that the LACED EMONIANS them felias haue depriued diuerse of their kinges from their crowne and realme, bicause they were not Princely, but ynprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet isi alwayes ill of it felfe: but vertue is honored for her felfe alone, and not bicause she isplaced

with nobility. Now for the wronges and injuries they both committed, the one did workeon

raine, that Lylander did great wronges to gratifie his familliars : and the most parte of them

whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannicall power of certaine his frendes. Where

Sylla fought for spite to take away his army from Pompey, and the Admirality from Dolobelle

which he him felfe had geuen, & caused Lucretius Offella to be slaine openly in his owne fight

bicause he sought to be Consull, for recompence of the good service he had done: for which cruelty of his, causinge his ownessrendes to beslaine in such forte, he made every man afeard

of him. Furthermore, their behauiors touching couetouines and pleasure doth thew that the

intent of the one was the defire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyranne. For we doe not finde that Lylander, for all his great Princely authority, did euer vie any infolency or lafei-

uiousnes in his deedes, but alwayes auoyded as much as a man might, the reproache of this

dy money he fold absolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his dayly fludy to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthiest houses in all the wholest-

tie of Rome. But all this spoyle and hauoke was nothing in comparison of that which he day-

ly cast away upon his leasters & flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we thinke he kept,

in his giftes at private banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of Rome being

15 fanders & ly to pleasure his frendes, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is cer.

common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroade: He led fuch a true LACONIAN life, I Lyfanders straightly reformed in all poyntes. Where Sylla could neuer moderate his vnlawfull lustes neither for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whilefthe and moderate gaue lawes to the ROMANES touching matrimoniall honestie and chastitie: him selfeinthe Syllaes licenmeane time did nothing but follow love, and commit adultries, as Saluft wryteth, By meanes sious and pro digail isfe. whereof he so much impouerished Rome, and left it so voyde of gold and silver: that for rea-

present to see him sell the goodes which he had caused to be confiscate) he made one of his frendes and familiars, to truffe vp a great deale of household stuffe, for a very litle price. And when any other had out bidden his price, & that the crief had cried it out allowed; then was he angry, and fayd: My frendes, I have great wrong done me here, not to fuffer me fell the spoils Syllaes pren- I have gotten at mine owne pleasure, and dispose it as I list my selfe. Where Lysander commarily sent to the common wealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very presentes that were geuen to him selfe. And yet I do not commende him in that deede. For, peraduenture he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold & filuer: then Sylladid to Rome, in washing and confuming that he confumed. Howbeit I alleage this onely, for proofe and declaration that Lylander was nothing couctous. They both have done that vnto their citie, which here I any other but them felues did. For Sylla being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citzens notwithstanding to good order and gouernment : and Lyfander contrarily filled his cine

A with vice, yet not infected withall him felfe. Thus were they both offendors, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was him felfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to defire those thinges, which he aboue all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and civil government. Now for matters of warre and battells fought, there is no comparison to be made of Lysander to Sylla, Sylla for wars neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Ly/ander wanne only burtwo bat- 10 be prefertells by fea, befides the taking of the citie of ATHENS: which (shough I graunt him) being to lander. rightly confidered, was no great exployte of warre, how beit it was a noble act, confidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in Bon or Inhard bythe citie of ALIARTE: a man might say peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he stayed not for king Paufanias aide (the which came from PLA-THES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and bicause he went in a geere infury; and in a vaine

ambition to runne his head against a wall: fo that men of all fortes making a desperate salve out of ALIARTE vpon him, flue him there to no purpose. Farre vnlike to Cleombrotus that died athebattell of Levernes, relifting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like Cyrus, nor Enaminondas, who to keepe his men from flying, and to genethem affured victory, receiued his deadly wounde: for all these men dyed like noble kings, & valliant Captaines. Where Islander rashly cast him selfe away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the auncient SPARTANS did like wife men, to auoyde the fight with walles. For the noblest and valliantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not onely by the first fouldier that commeth, but by every seely woman or childe. As they say that the worthy Achilles was killed by Paris within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrarie againe. the victories that Sylla wanne in set battells, and the thowsandes of enemies which he slue are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he tooke the city of Rome twise, and the hauen of ATHENS: not by famine as Lylander did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driven Archelaus out of firme land, into the maine fea. It is to be confidered also, against what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a ma might say, for Lylander to fight with Antiochus, a pylot of Alcibiades, or to surprise and deceiue Philocles, a common orator at AT HENS,

Much vvorse then tvvo edged svvord, his busie tongue did seeme: Which prailed still, and honestie did neuer once esteeme,

And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would not vouche fafe to compare with his horfekeeper, nor Marius with one of his sergeauntes or masebearers. But to leaue a side the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Confulls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernors that

made warres with Sylla: what ROMANE Captainewas there more to be feared, then Marius? Sylla fought made warres with sylla: what it of Man & Captaine was there in ore to be leaved, then a sub-min min of what king living was there of fuch power as king Mithridates? And of Generalls and Lieutegreatest power nauntes of armies in all ITALIE, were there any euer more valliant, then Lamponius and The- and our came lesimus: of the which Sylla draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and flue the them. two last? But the greatest matter of all that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Ly-

aideof men, or money, to warre against his enemies: but athing most chiefely to be noted a-

bouethe rest, he would not vouchesafe to speake to Mithridates, nor to take him by the hande sallate maonely, before he had spoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would gnanimity. forgoe Asia, deliuer him his gallies, and geue vp the realmes of BITHYNIA and CAPPAD O-F CIA vnto their naturall kinges. This me thinkes was the goodliest act that euer Sylla did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to have preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that forte, before his private comodity. For therin he was like vnto a good greyhoudthat first

fander did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole contrie: where Sylla to the contrarie E did his, (being banished from his contry) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time that they

draue Syllaes wife out of Rome, that they ouerthrewe his houses, and slue his frendes also in

Rome: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thowsandes of fighting men in Boe o TIA, and ventred his person in manifold daungers, so that in the end he con-

quered them all to the honor & benefit of his contry. Furthermore, Sylla would never stoude

to king Mithridates, for any particular allyance he offred him, neither yeelde vnto him for any

528 pincheth the deare, and holdeth him fast, till he have overthrowen him: and then afterwarden followeth the recouery of his owne private quarrell. And lastly, me thinkes it is easily indeed what difference there was between their two natures, in that they did both towardes the cite of ATHENS. For Sylla having taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with himfor the increase of king Mithridates greatnes : yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where Lisander to the contrary, seing such a mighty state and Empire as that, oue. throwen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the libertie of the pular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and established there very cruelland wicked tyrans. And therfore in myne opinion, we shall not much swarue from

troth, if we geue this judgement: that Sylla did the greater acts: and Lyfander committed the Sylla and Lyfewer faultes. And that we geue to the one the honor of a continent and modest man and to the other the commendacion of a valliant and skilfull fouldier.

THE LIFE OF



Eripoltas the Soothfayer, he that brought king Opheltas out of Tubs SALIE into the contry of BOEOTIA, with the people which werever dre his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time florishedin that contry, the more parte of the which were ever refident in theci-Yof CHERONEA, bicause it was the first city that was coquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great corage, and naturally geuen to the warres: who were so forward and aduenturous in all dam-

gers theros(in the inuasions of the Medes into Greece & in the battells of the GAVLES) that they were flaine all of them, but onely Damon (a little childe left fatherleffe and motherleffe) furnamed Peripole as that escaped, who for goodly personage and

The memers noble corage excelled all the lufty youthes of his time, though otherwise he was very rude, F estend parter and of a feuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when Damon was growen of full age, a Romans Captaine of an enfigne of footemen (lying in garrifon for the winter feafon in the citied

A CHERONE'A) fell in great loue with Damon: and bicause he could not reape the frutes of his whonest loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement presumptions that by force hawentabout to abuse him, for that CHERONEA at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. Damon misrulling the Captaines villanie, and detesting his abhominable desire watched him a shrewd miniciand got certaine of his companions (not many in number, bicause he might the more ferrelly compasse his enterprise) to be a counsel with him, and take his parte against the Capsine. Now there were a fixteene of them in confort together, that one night blacked their Gresall with foote, & the next morning after they had dronke together, by the breake of day

Reppon this ROMANE Captaine, that was making facrifice in the market place, and flue him with a good number of his men : and when they had done, fled out of the citie, which was fraight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a counsell, and in the market place condemned Damon and his confederates to fuffer paines of death: hoping thereby to have cleared their innocencie for the fact done to the ROMAINES. But the felfe famenight; as all the magistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the towne house according to their custome: Damon & his followers stale vpon them sodainly, flue them all & fled againe vpon it. It chaunsed about that time, that Lucius Lucullus being sent on some iorney, passed by the city of CHERONEA with his army: & bicause this murther was but newwione, he stayed there a few dayes to examine the troth & originall thereof. And found that Luchu Luculdiecommons of the citie were in no fault, but that they them selues also had received hurte: lus examined

wherepon he tooke the fouldiers of the ROMANES that remained of the garrifon, & caried the the marther. away with him. In the meane time, Damon destroyed all the contry thereabout, and still houeredneere to the citie, infomuch as the inhabitantes of the same were driven in the end to send with him, and by gentle wordes and fauorable decrees handled him to, that they intyfed him recome againe into the city: and when they had him amongest them, they chose him Gymnifiarchus, to fay, a mafter of exercises of youth. But thortly after, as they were rubbing of him

ped the daunger by testimonie of Lucius Lucullus, to honor him withall, they set vp his image

in stone in the market place, next vnto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be huing at this

with ovle in his stoone or hotte house, starke naked as he was, they slue him by treason. And Damon Stains bicause that there appeared sprights of long time after in that place, & that there were heard by weafon. gronings & fighings as our fathers tolde vs, they caused the dore of the hotte house to be walled up : yet for all that, there are visions seene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that selfe place vnto this present time, as the neighbours dwellinge by doe testifie. Now they that were discended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the contrie of Phocinas, neere vnto

the citie of Stiris, who do only of all other both keepe the language and maners of the Æ-TOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMBNI, fignifyinge blacke, and besmered with soote: bicause Abbolomeni. that Damon and his fellowes did blacke their faces with foote, when they flue the Romans when they Captaine, But the ORCHOMENIANS being neere neighbors unto the CHEROMEIANS, and fo called. therfore their enemies, hyered an informer of Rome, a malitious accuser, to accuse thewhole cine, (as if it had beneone private person alone) for the murther of the ROMANES, whome

Damon and his companions had flaine. The inditement was drawen, and the case pleaded be- Charonea inforethe gouernor of MACEDON, for that the ROMANES did fend no gouernors at that time direct for the

E into GREECE: and the counfellers that pleaded for the citie of CHERONEA, relied voon the tellimonic of Lucius Lucullus, referring them selves to his reporte, who knew the troth, & how Lucullus calit was. Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and Lucullus in his letter of auniwere aduer- led for a wittiled the very troth: fo was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stoode in daungerof viter destruction. The inhabitantes of the city of CHERONEA, for that they had esca-

present, though many yeares be gone and passed sence, do notwithstanding recken our selues partakers of his forepassed benefit. And bicause we are perswaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and condicions, is farre more exceltraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and conditions, is rarre more excelHistorie, is a
F lent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape only: we will comprehend

certaine i. his life and doinges according to the troth, in this volume of noble mensitues, where we doe mage of men compare and forte them one with an other. It shallbe sufficient for vs. therefore, that we shew moment and wist days.

our selues thankefull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he himselfe would mislike for remail of his true testimonie, to be requited with a fauorable lye told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a passinge faver sace drawen, and liuely counterseated, and that hath an excel A press fimi- lent good grace withall, yet some manner of bleamishe or imperfection in it : we will note lowe the drawer to leave it out altogether, nor yet too curiously to shewe it, bicause them

would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very villikely. Euen fo, bicauseitis. hard thing (or to fay better, peraduenture impossible) to describe a man, whose life shouldal together be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to wryte his vertues at large, and there by seeke perfectly to represent the troth, even as the life it selfe. But where by chauce we find certaine faultes and errors in their doinges, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by ceffity of the time or state of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperseding of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednes proceeding of vice.

certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our history, but rathe to passe them lightly ouer, of reuerent shame to the meere frayelty of mans nature, whiches not bringe foorth a man of fuch vertue and perfection, but there is euer fome imperfection

in him. And therefore, confidering with my felfe vnto whome I might compare Luculum Cimon, & Lu- thought it best to compare him with Cimon, bicause they have bene both valliant souldiers. gainst their enemies, having both done notable exploytes in warres against the barbaron people: and moreouer, they have both bene curteous & mercifull vnto their citizens, & wee both the only men that pacified the civill warres and diffention in their contrie, and both the one & the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was never GREECIAN Captaine before Cimon, nor Romane Captaine before Lucullus, that had made

warres so farre of from their contrie leaving a parte the deedes of Bacchus and of Hercula, and the deedes also of Persew, against the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANA and the deedes of Iason also: if there remaine any monument extantiince their time, worthis of credit in these our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that the neuer ended their warres, they only ouerthrewe their enemies, but neuer ouercame them together. Againe, they may note in them a great refemblaunce of nature, for their honelie curtefie and humanitie, which they shewed vnto straungers in their contrie: and for themgnificence and sumptuousnes of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we doe leave our forme other similitudes between them : howbeit in the discourse of their lives they will cally appeare. Cimon was the sonne of Miltiades and of Hegespyle, a THRACIAN woman borne and

Cimons Linadge. Thucidydes

were like.

the daughter of king Olorus, as we finde wrytten in certaine poeticall verses which Melanthia and Archelaus haue wrytten of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the historiographer him felle. who was of kinne also vnto Cimon, was called in like manner Olorus, showing by the agreeing of the name, that this king Olorus was one of his auncesters, and did also possessed mines of gold in the contry of THRACIA. It is fayd moreover that he dyed in a certaine place called the ditchie forrest, where he was slaine: howbeit that his ashes and bones were caried into the contrie of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongest the tombes of them of the house and family of Cimon, neere vnto the tombe of Cimons owne fifter called Elainick. Notwithstanding. Thucydides was of the village of ALIMVS, and Militades of the village of LACIA. This Miltiades Cimons father, being condemned by the state to pay the summe of fifty talentes, was for non payment cast into prison, and there dyed: and left Cimon and hissi-

Cimon defamed in his routh. Coalemos.

fter Elpinice aliue, both Orphanes, and veryyoung. Now, Cimon in his first young yeares had a very ill name and reporte in the city, being counted a riotous young man, & a great drinker, following his grandfather Cimons facions vp and downe, as he had also his name: fauing that his grandfather for his beaftlines was furnamed Coalemos, as much to fay as foole. Stefimbratu THAS IAN, who was about Cimons time, wryteth, that Cimon neuer learned musike, nor anyother of the liberall sciences accustomably taught to young noble mens sonnes of GREECE, & that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper vnto children borne in the contry of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diffirm F lacion, so that he rather lived PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he waseuen fuch as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be:

A to livered oris 36 To A fample man he ovas, and could not well diffuife: of could well denife.

orthis fertied fitly to be applied vnto Stefimbrotus wordes wrytten of him: but notwithftanmiglin his first younge yeares he was suspected of incontinency with his sister, who in deede Elimici Ciafficivite had no very good name. For the was very familiar with the painter Polygnotus, who mone offer you

Banning the TROIAN Ladies prisoners, vpon the walls of the gallery, called the Plesianaction, and now Pacile: (to fay, fet out and beawtified with divers pictures) he drue/as they fay) L AO-We's face vpon Elpinices picture. This painter Polygnotus was no common artificer nor hier- Polygnotus hie, that painted this gallery for moneys fake, but gaue his labor franckely to the common the painter.

wealth, as all the hilloriographers that wrote in that time do witnesse: and as the Poet Melan-Mine also reciterh in these verses: At his ovene proper charge, great coft he hath bestowed:

In decking up our temples here wwith gilted roofes embowved, For honor of the goddes. And in our tow une likewife, - amboolmus - 1 He hath advend the common place, with many a fine deuise. Painting and festing forth, in flately show to fee,

The images of demy goddes that here amongeft us be.

-Edyer fome fay that Elpinice did not fecterly companie with her brother Cimon, but lay with Elpinice be-Hillippenly as his fawfull martied wife, bicaufe the could not for her pouerty have a husband ingoore, had mm opening as in a manufacture and parentage to her felfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called Callias, being regards to match accormie of the richelt men of the citie, did afterwardes fall in fansie with her, and defired to mary ding to her har offering to pay her father Milliades fine of fiftie talents, wherein he stoode condemned a flare or cal-

Hebrer to the frate, fo that he might have her to his wife . Cimon was contented, and vepon ling. this condicion tharied his fifter Elpinice vnto Callias . This notwithstandinge , it is certaine that Cimon was Tomewhat amorous , and genen to love women . For Melanthis the Poet cimon fabiest intertaine of His elegies, maketh mencion for his pleasure of one Afteria borne at SALA- to lafonious life. wind and of another called Mnestra, as if Cimon had bene in love with them . But vindoutedly, he loued his lawefull wife Hodice marvelous well, the daughter of Euryptolemin; Mewillistonne, and tooke her death very grieuouslie, as we may conjecture by the elegies that Were whyteen vnto him, to comforte him in his forowe . Panatius the Philosopher is of obi-

fi mon that Archelaus the Philitian wrote those elegies : and fure it is not valikely, confidering the time in which they were wrytten. But furthermore, Cimons nature and condicions deferuidereat commendacion. For his vallfantnesse he gaue no place vnto Miltiades, and for The project the wifedome and judgement, the was not inferior vnto Themiftoeles : and it is out of all doubt Cimons condithat he was a juster and honefter man, then either of them both . For he was equal with the befor either of both iff the discipline of warres, and for the valliantnesse of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good governor, and in thadministracion of the affayres of a citte, when he was but a younge man, and had no expe-

rience of warres. For when Themistocles at the comminge in of the MEDES counfelled the PROJECT ATTACKS to goe out of the citie, to leave their landes and contrie, and to flibbe E diliogallies; and fight with the barbarous people by fea in the straight of SALAMINA: as e-The high was wonderinge at his bolde and venturous counfell, Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jolkie through the herecte Ceramious, vnto the castell, accompa-Hedwall his volinge familiars and companions, caryinge a bitte of a bridle in his hande to collectate with the goddeffe drifteria, fignifyinge thereby, that the citie had no neede of floilenten at that time; but of inarmers and leastnen. And after he had genen up his offer File, The tookelone of the targettes that honge uppon the wall of the temple, and havinge Made his prayer vino Mineria, came downers the hauen, and was the first that made the most parte of the citizens to take a good harte to them, and coragiously to leave the land, and the the fea. Belides all this, he was a man of algoodly starure, as son the Poet restifieth, and cimon perhad fayer curled heare and thickel and fought fo valliantlie at the day of the battell, that he forage comwaine Immedially great reputations, with the lone and good will of enerie man. So that

many were Hill about him to encounge him; to be linely and vallant, and to thinke thence

CIMON. foorth to doe some actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the bandle MARATHON. And afterwardes, fo soone as he beganne to deale in matters of state, the people were maruelous glad of him, and were wearied with Themifocles; by meanes when of Cimon was preiently advanced and preferred, to the chiefest offices of honor in the tie, being very well thought on of the common people, bicaute of his foft and plane ture. Moreouer, Ariftides also did greatlie furder his aduquncement, bicause he fawe him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vie him as a countrepease to control! The

whole armie whatfoeuer. And when kinge Paulanias had practifed with the barbarous peo-

ple to betraye GREECE, had wrytten also to the kinge of PERSIA about it, and in the meane

time delt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his contry, and committed ma-

focles craft and flowtnesse. Wherefore after the Mades were fled out of Greece, Comme Cimon Gene- being fent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by fea, when the citie of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor commaundement, but followed kinge Paulanias and the Liach shenians by DEMONIANS: he ever kept his contrie men and citizens in marvelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good feruice, then any other nation in the

his infolency the Laceda-Greece.

killed the young Bizansine virzine.

King Panfa- ny infolent partes by reason of the great authority he had, & through his foolish pride where of he was full: Cimon farre otherwise, gently entertained them whom Pausanias injured, and and pride, left was willing to heare them. So that by this his curreous manner, the LACED, EMQRIANS ha uing no eye to his doinges, he stale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, & brought the ATHENIANS to be fole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweete tongue, and gracious manner of ving all men. For the most parte, of the contesters of being no lenger able to away with Paulanias pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted them selves under the protection of Cimon and Aristides , who did not only receive them but wrote also to the counfell of the Ephores at LACED EMON, that they should call Paul and home, for that he dishonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they fay that king Paufanias being on a time in the citie of BYZANCE fent for Cleonice, a young maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her. Her parents durft not keepe her from him, by reason of his crueltie, but suffered him to cary her away, The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of Paulanias chamber to take away the lightes and thinking in the darke to come to Paulanias bed that was a fleepe, groping for the bedas foftly as the could to make no noyle, the vnfortunately hit against the lampe, and ouerther it. The falling of the lampe made fuch a noyfe, that it waked him on the fodaine, and though straight therewithall that some of his enemies had bene comentraiterously to kill him, when upon he tooke his dagger lying under his beddes head, and forftabbed it in the young virging that the dyed immediatly upon it. Howbeit the neuer let Paulanias take rest after that, bicaule

> this angrily to him in verfe, as followeth: Keepe thoushy selfe upright and instice freshow feare, For wwoe and shame be wnto him, that inflice dowwne, doth beare.

her spirite came every night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine have slept; and spake

This vile fact of his did so stirre up all the confederates harres against him, that they came to beliege him in BIZANTIVM under the conduction of Ciment from whom notwithfrom he escaped, and secretly saued him selfe; And bicause that this maidens spirite would here let him reft, but vexed him continually : he fled unto the city, of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that conjured dead spirites, & there was the spirite of Cleonice conjured, to pray her to be contented. So the appeared vnto him, & told him that he fhould be deliuered of all his troubles so soone as he came to SPARTA: fignifying thereby(in my opinion)the death which he should suffer there. Divers wryters do thus reporte it. Cimon being accompanied with the consederates of the GREECIANS, which were come to him to take his parte: was advertised that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allyed to the king himselfe, who kept the city of E1088. voon the river of Strymon in the contrin of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage votothe GREECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the lea, with his at F mie, and went thither, where at his first comming he vanguiss hed and ouerthrewe the barbar rous people in battell: & havinge overthrowen them, drawe all the rest into the city of E 1916.

A That done, he went to inuade the THRACIAN'S that dwelt on the other fide of the river of Strymon, who did commonly vittell them of E 10 NE: and having driven them to for sake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him felfe. Whereupon he held them that were befieged at EIONE fo straightly from vittells, that Butes the king of PERSIAES Lieutenaunt, difpayringe of the state of the citie, set fire on the same, and burnt him selfe, his frendes, Buter burneth and all the goodes in it. By reason whereof, the spoyle taken in that citie was but small, bi- him selfe, city, and antitie goods are people burnt all the best thinges in it with them selues: howebeit he and forder, cause the barbarous people burnt all the best thinges in it with them selues: howebeit he and forder of conquered the contrie thereaboutes, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being averie pleasaunte and fertyle soyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS suffered him

to confecrate and fet vp openly three Hermes of stone, (which are foure square pillers) vpon B the toppes of the which they fet vp heades of Mercurye : vpon the first of the three pillers, Statues of this inscription is grauen.

The people truely overe, of corage stouvte and sierce, VV ho having shut the Medes fast vp (as stories do rehearce) Within the vvalled towne, of Eione that tyde, VV hich on the streame of Strymon stands: they made them there abide The force of famines pinche, and therewith made them feele. The dynte of wwarre so many a time, wwith trusty tooles of steele, Till in the end dispaire, so pearced in their thought, As there they did destroy them selves, and so were brought to nought.

C Vpon the fecond there is fuch an other. The citizens which dwell, in Athens stately towne,

Have here let up these monuments, and pictures of renovune. To honor so the facts, and celebrate the fame. Their valliant chieftaines did achieue, in many a marshall game. That such as after come, when they thereby perceise, Howw men of service for their deedes, did rich rewards receive, Encoraged may be, such men for to resemble,

In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, which make their foes to tremble. And vpon the third an other.

When Mnestheus did lead forth of this citie here, An armie to the Troyane wwarres, (by Homer doth appeare) He vvas aboue the rest, that out of Gracia vvent: A valliant knight, a worthy weight, a Captaine excellent. To take in hand the charge, an army for to quide: And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide. That praise of provvesse then, (o grave Atheniens) Is now no newves to fill the eares of these your citizens. Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthy praise,

For marshall feates, to you of yore hath judged beene alwayes. Now, though Cimons name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a fingular honor to him at that time: for neither Militades nor Themistocles had ever the like. For when Miltiades requested the people one day that they would licence him to

weare a garland of olyue boughes upon his head there was one Sochares, borne in the towne Sochares Deof DECELEA, that standing vp in open assembly spake against him, and sayd a thing that mar-celean, spake ueloufly pleased the people, though in deede it was an vnthankeful recompence for the good isades request service, he had done to the common wealth. When you have Miltiades, (sayd he) ouercome for the garathe barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone also. But howe was it boughts. then, that Cimons feruice was so acceptable to the ATHENIANS? Yt was in myne opinion.

bicause they had with other Captaines sought to defende them selues and their contrie F onely: and that ynder the conduction of Cimon, they had affulted and driven their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of Elone and of Amphipolis,

which afterwardes they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wanne there also the liest Cimon Ranne SCYROS, which Cimon tookevpon this occasion. The Dolopians did inhabite it, who were the tie of Signar idle people, and lived without labor or tillage, and had bene rouers of the sea of a wonderful long time, vfing pyracie altogether to maintaine them selues withall: so that in the cod the spared not somuch as the marchasits & passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine THESSALIANS that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goods from the, yet would they cast them in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners found meanesm

The counfell of the Am-

escape, & after they had saued them selves, repayred to the parlament of the A MPHICT YONE which is a generall counsell of all the states and people of GREECE. The AMPHICTYON vnderstandinge the matter, condemned the citie of the Scyrians to pay a great summe of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, & bad them that it robbed the marchauntes and had the goodes in their handes, pay it if they would. And the fore, bicause there was no other likely hood, but that the theeues them selues should be driven to aunswer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto Cimon, and willed him to come with his army, and they would deliner their city into his handes : the which was performed. And thus Cimon having coquered this Iland, draue out the DOLOPIANS thence, & ryd the fea ÆGEVE of all pirates therby. That done, remembring that the auncient Thefeus, the sonne of AEeeus flying from ATHENS came into that Iland of SCYROS, where king Lycomedes suspecting his comming had traiteroufly flaine him . Cimon was maruelous carefull to feeke out his tombe bicause the Athenians had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring his

ashes and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knowed

not where he was buried, for that the inhabitantes of the Ilande would neuer before confese where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much a doe founde the Theseubenes tombe, put his bones abord the Admirall galley sumptuously decked and set foorth, and so brought to A brought them againe into his contry, foure hundred yeares after Thefew death. For this, the then 400. or ought them again into his contry, four enumered yeares after 1 negets death. For this, the years after bis people thanked him marueloufly, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the ATHENIANS good Supportes and the prefident perceiuinge there was great strife and contention amongest the lookers on,

nor of whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an othe vnto tenne, (which were of euery tribe of the people, one) and the othe being geuen, he caused

the to fit as judges to gene sentece, which of the Poets should cary away the prise. This made all the Poetes strine and contend who best shoulde doe, for the honor of the judges : but Sophocles, by their fentence bare away the victory. But AEschilus (as they say) was so angry and AEschylus o-ucrcome by Sophocles, da ellesh in Sicilia, and

grieued withall, that he taried not long after in ATHENS, and went for fpight into Sicilia, where he dyed and was buried neere vinto the citie of GELA. Ion wryteth that he being buta young boy, newly come from CHIO vnto ATHENS, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedons house, and that after supper when they had geuen the goddes thankes, Cimon was intreated by the company to fing. And he did fing with fo good a grace, that every man praised him d) eth there. that heard him, & fayd he was more curteous then Themistocles farre: who being in like com-Cimon Sang pany, and requested also to play vpon the citherne, aunswered them, he was neuer taught to paffing freiefing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and

mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in speeche, they entred in talke of Comons doinges: and having reheated the chiefest of them, he him selfe told one, which was the notablest and wisest parte of all the rest that ever he played. For the ATHENIANS and their confederates together, having takens great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of SESTOS and of BIZANTIVE the confederates to honor him withall, gaue him the preheminence to deuide the spoyles F mongest them. Whereuppon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by them selues, and layed the spoyles and their apparell by them selues. The

A confederates founde this distribution very vnequall : but neuerthelesse Cimon gave them the choyce to choose which of the two they would, and that the ATHEN IANS should be contented with that which they left. So there was a Samian Captaine called Herophytus, that gaue Herophytus the confederats counsel rather to take the spoiles of the Persians, then the Persians them Sanian gang

the contenerate commertative to take the spoiles of the prisoners goodes and apparell, and left cheefe the foole of the prisoners goodes and apparell, and left cheefe the the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Wherupon Cimon was thought at that time of the common floride. fouldiers to be but an ill deuider of spoyle, bicause that the confederats caried away great store of chaines, karkanets, and braselets of gold, & goodly rich purple apparell after the Persian facion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainred with paine and labor, But shortly after, the parentes and frendes of these prisoners, came out of Phrygia and Lydia, and redeemed every man of them at a great raunsome: so that Cimon gathered fuch a masse of readie money together by their raunsome, as he defrayed the

whole charges of all his gallies with the fame, for the space of soure monethes after, and left agreat fumme of money belides in the sparing treasure of ATHENS. Cimon by this meanes beingnowe become riche, bestowed the goodes which he had thus honorably gotten from the cimon libeharbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens. For he rallity and hos

brake vp all his hedges and inclosures, and layed them plaine and open, that trauellers passing by and his ownepoore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any maner daunger. And furthermore, kept a continual table in his house, not furnished with manv diffies, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore contrie men were dayly refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinary : so as they needed not otherwise care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leasure to ierue the common wealth, Yet Aristotle the Philosopher wryteth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indiffe-

rently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men onely in the village of LACIA, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his household servauntes well appartelled, & if he met by chaunce as he went vp and cimone charidowne the citie, any olde citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of these younge men strip him 7. willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the judgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when Sophocles the Poet, being a young man had played his first tragedy, Apheblion felfe, and chaunge apparell with the olde man : and that was very well thought of, and they all honored him for it. Moreouer, these young men caried euer good store of money about would not draw them by lottes that should be judges of this play, to geue the victorie vnio them: and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or else where, that Poet that had best deserued : but when Cimon & the other Captaines were come intothe D D knowinge his pouertie, they fecretly gaue him money in his hande, and fayd neuer a worde. Theater to fee the same, (after they had made their accustomed oblatios vnto the god, in ho-Which the Poet selfe Cratinus seemeth to speake of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archi-

> I am Metrobius the secretarie, he, Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be: At wealthie Cimons borde, where want was never found, VV hose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound. Therethought I for to passe myne aged yeares avvay, With that right noble godly man, which was the Greecians stay. Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine fayd, that Cimon got goodes to vie them, and that he vied How Cimon y-

E them to be honored by them. And Critias that was one of the thirty tyrannes of ATHENS, he fed his goods. wisheth and defireth of the goddes in his elegies, The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence, And noble hart of Cimon he, wwho spared none expence: The glorious victories, and high triumphant showves, Of good Agesilaus king, good goddes, oh graunt me those.

loches.

The name of Lichas Spartan, hath bene famous amongest the Greecians: and yet we know no other cause why, sauing that he vsed to feast straungers that came to LACED EMON The hospital

ontheir festivall day, to see the sportes and exercises of the young men daunsing naked in the spatian. city. But the magnificence of Cimon, did farre exceede the auncient liberality, curtefie, and ho-

F spitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the first men that taught the GREE-CIANS through out all GREBCE, how they should sow come, and gather it to maintaine them selues withall, and also shewed them the vse of welles, and howe they should light and keepe

she golden world againe.

grity and cleane hands. Refaces astempted to bribe Cimon. Darickes,

Cimons inte-

A noble

of eafe and

GREECIAN Captaine that brideled more the crueltie and power of that mightie Persian Cimo plagued king, then Cimon did. For, after he had driven him out of all Greece, he left him not so, but the Persian. following him foote hotte, as we comonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or geue wife and direct order for their doinges: he made fo great speede, that he tooke some ! of their cities from them by force, and other some by practife, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the GREECIAN'S fide. Infomuch as there was not a man of warreleft

fire. But Cimon makinge an hospitall of his owne house, where all his poore citizens were he and relicued, and permittinge straungers that trauelled by his groundes to gather such funds there, as the time and season of the yeare yelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world

cimi brought the goodes to be in common amongest them, as the Poets say they were in the old time of sa turnes raigne. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good willes by that means the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow the opinions that way of him. For Cimon euer tooke parte with the nobilitie, and lived after the LACED EMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwayes against Themistocks. who without all compasse of reason encreased the authority and power of the people: and for

this cause he joyned with Aristides, and was against Ephialtes, who would for the peoples the haue put downe and abolished Ariopagus courte. And where all other gouernors in his time were extorcioners, and bribetakers: (Ariftides and Ephialtes only excepted) he to the connarie led an vncorrupt life in administracion of iustice, & euer had cleane hands, whatsoeuer he fpake or did, for the state and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any

man living. And for proofe hereof, we finde it wrytten, that a noble man of PERSIA called Refaces, being a traitor to his mafter the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where

being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accusations of these tale bearers picke thanks, that accused him to the people, he repayred at the length vnto Cimon, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, thone full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of filuer, which be peeces of money fo called, bicaufe that the name of Darius was with f ten vpon them. Cimon seeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the twole would rather choose: to have him his frende, or his hierling. The barbarous noble man amfwered him, that he had rather haue him his frend. Then fayd Cimon to him againe, away with thy golde and filuer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy frend, that gold and filuer shall energe at my commaundement, to take and dispose it as I have neede. About that time begannethe

confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the warres against the barbarous people. defiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to have leafure to manure and husband their groundes. and to trafficke also, considering that they had driven their enemies out of their contrie, and that now they did them no more hurte: by reason whereof they payed the money they were fessed at, but they would furnish no moe men nor shippes as they had done before. Butthe other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and profecuted law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that to cruelly, that they made the seigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull vnto their

confederates. Howbeit Cimon tooke a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voyde ships of the that would not or could not serue in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become flothfull mongrells in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose them selues from good souldiers which they had bene, to laborers, marchauntes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beaftly flothfull defire they had, to line pleasauntly at home. And contrarily, causing a great num-The original of far- ber of the Athenians one after an other to serue in gallies, he so acquainted them with conwice: and the tinuall paines in his viages: that he made them in shorte space become Lordes and masters ouer them, that gaue them pay, and entertainment. For they beganne by litle and litle to flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they faw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armor, & carving their weapons in their hands, becomming expert fouldiers at their charge,

by reason of the pay they gaue them: so that in the end, they became subjects & contributaries as it were vnto the, where before they were their frendes & copanions. So as there neuer was A forthering of Passia, in all Asia, from the contrie of Ionia, directly downe to Pamphyand furthermore, being advertised that the kinges Captaines were vppon the coast of PANERYLIA with a great armie by fea, bicause he would feare them in such sorte, that they should not braue any more to shewe them selues apon the sea, on this side of the Iles of the CHREEDONIANS : he departed from the Ile of GINDOS, and from the citie of TRIOPIVM. with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had bene excellently well made and deuised by Themistocles, as well for swift sayling, as for easie turning. Howbeit Cimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell to affault theenemies, And so went first against the Phase Lites, who were Gree Cians borne, and vet por with standing would neither take the GREECIANS parte, nor receive their armie into their hauens: landed there, destroyed all the contrie, and then came and camped with his ar-

mighard at their walles. But the men of CHIO being auncient frendes of the FASELITES, and Chio on the. in Comons armie at that iorney : did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertisement to themosthe citie of their doinges by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shotte ouer

bewalles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condicion, that the FASELITES figuld pay tentalentes for a fine; and furthermore should also follow the armie of the GREE- fello. cans, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now Ephorsus fayth, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the armie by fea, was called TITHRAYS TES, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, PHEREND ATES. But Callifthenes wweth, that Ariomandes the lonne of Gobrias, was the kinges Lieutenaunt, havinge chiefe

Gauthority ouer the whole armie that lay at ancker, before the river of Eurymedon, & had no Ariomendes descretofight, bicause they looked for a new supply of fourescore sayle of the Phenicians, Lieutenans of that should come to them from Cypkys. But Cimon contrarily, sought to fight before these his whole armainson to the Phenicians came to loyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, my by fee, not sallies of the Phenicians came to loyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, my by fee, not sallies of the Phenicians. determininge to gene a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. before the ri-Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the river Euryme- uer of Eurydon bicaule they should not compasse them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell a- medon. gainst their willes. Which notwithstanding, when they saw the ATHENIANS come to set a-1800 them where they lay, they made out against them, a fleete of fixe hundred fayle, as Phanodemus declareth; or as Ephorus wryteth, three hundred and fifty fayle only. But they did no- cimon ville-D thinge worthie of so great a power, at the least touchinge the fight by sea, but turned their flow both by proces straight to the river, where such as coulde recover the mouth thereof in time faued fra and land. them selves, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies fonke or taken; whereby we may know that there were a great nuber of them, for many were

reduct, & received their first charge very valliantly; by reason wherof, the battell grew sharpe

andbloody infomuch as there were flaine all the greatest personages & men of best accompt

fauedas it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the Athentans tooke two cimon sooke hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by lande came neerer to the sea wo hundred Ade; which Cimon perceiving, stoode in some doubt whether he sould lande his men or not, at the battell bicause it seemed a hard & daungerous thing vnto him, to land in spight of his enemies: and fought by the to purforth the GREECIANS already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous peo-E ple, who were altogether whole, freshe, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Neuerthelesse, perceiuing that his men trusted in their force, besides the corage which the first victorie gaue them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: hepurthem a lande while they were whorte yet with the first bartell. And so with great furie and lowde cries they ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who stoode still & stur-

of all the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out fo valliantly, that in the ende they wanne the field, and with maruelous difficultie made the barbarous people flye, whereof they Ciman ouerwanderine neid, and with that the place, and tooke the reft priloners with all their tents & paulions, sell-ofibe ba-F which were full of all forces of riches. Thus Cimon like a valliant champion of the holy games, become people having in one felfe day wonne two victories, and having excelled she battell by fea also, which also by lands the Greecians had wonne within the channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne

then upon the lande: and the battell which the GRECTANS wante by lande before the day PLATEES, with that which he wanne the day before on the featyet he was not contented with all this. For, after two fo famous victories obteined, he would once againe fight for the he nor of the tokens of triumphe: and being aduertifed that the foure score sayle of the Parisi

CIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arrived at the hear) Hydra, he fayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this sleete, knowing certainty of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stoode in doubt of it, and would mile perswaded that it was ouerthrowen in that sorte: and therefore were they so much the interaffrayed, when they descried a farre of the victorious armie of Cimon. To conclude, they have all their shippes, & the greatest parte of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. The victorie against the Persians did so dawnte and plucke downe the pride and lostie mindes

cimentroughs the barbarous Persian king, as he made that condicion of peace fo much spoken of in the cient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should either no necrer to the GRECIAN fea, then the carrere of a horse, and that he would sayle no further forward, then the Iles Chelidonians, and Cyaneans, with any gallies or other thippess warre. Howbeit the historiographer Callisthenes wryteth, that it was no parte of any atter coprised within the condicion of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of dish great an ouerthrow : and that afterwardes he kept fo farre from the GRECTAN feet, that was eles with fiftie faile, and Ephialtes with thirty only, did fayle beyonde the Hes Caretto ho and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amone en

Common actes of ATHENS, which Craterus hath gathered together, the articles of this pear of are found wrytten at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is layd, that for this ores. fion the ATHENIANS built an aulter of peace, and that they did Callias great honor, for this the Callias fent Ambaffador was fent Ambassador vnto the king of PERSTATO take his othe for confirmation of this person to take the So whe all these spoiles of the enemies were fold to the that would gene most, there was he othe of the king of Perftore of gold and filuer in the sparing cofers of their treasuries, that there was enough to film their turne for any service they would employ it to, & besides that, they had sufficient to best vp the fide of the wall of the castell which looketh towardes the fouth, this voyage and

spoyle did so enrich them. And it is sayd moreouer, that the building of the long walles the iovne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legges, was built & finished afterwards howbeit the first fundacions thereof were built with the money Cimon gave towardes it the that the worke met with moorish and watery places, by meane whereof they were dringer mo buildings, fill up the marifles, with force of flyntes & great logges, which they threw unto the bottome It was he also that first did beawtifie and set forth the citie of ATHENS, with places of liberal exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he earled plane trees to be fet in the market place: and the Academie which before was very drye and naked he made it now a pleafaunt groue, and full of goodly springes which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long fmooth allies to runne a good could in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine Persians dwelling in GHERROW svs, (to fay a demy He of the contrie of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high THRACIA, to pray their aide to defend them felues against Cimon: of whom they made but litle accompt, bicause he was departed from ATHENS with a very few shipped who fet vpon them only with four gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And fo having

uen the Persians out of Cherronesvs, and subdued the Thraceans, he conquered all Cimon draue the contrie of CHERRONESUS, from THRACIA VIITO his owne contrie. And departing from out of Thrathence went against them of the Ile of Thasos, that had rebelled against the A THENTHE and having overcome them in battell by fea, he wanne three and thirtie of their shippes, and besides that tooke their citie by siege, and wanne the mynes of goldelying beyonde the land to the ATHENIANS, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way

open into Macedon, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best parte the cold that present time. But bicause he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was suffer ! cted to have taken money, and to have bene bribed by presentes of king Alexander : where sed and difupon, his fecret enemies layed their heades together, and accused him. But cimon to clere charged.

A him felfe before the judges of this accuration, fayd vnto them: I have practifed frendthione neither with the IONIANS, noryet with the THESSALTANS, both which are very riche and wealthie people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as some other haue done, to reremeboth honor and profit by them. But in deede I am a frende to the LIAC ED R'MON IANS, Cimo prailith

for I confesse I loue them, and desire to followe their sobrietie, and temperature of life, the the temperature which I preferre and effective about any riches or treasure: although I am very glad horwith edemonians. frandinge to enrich our state and common wealth with the spoyles of our enemies. Stefime-Stefimente brosse reporteth this accusation, and sayth: that his sister Elpinice went to Pericles house, (who the historium. was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extreamely with her brother: and that Pericles laughing on her, layd, alas, thou art too old, Elpinice. thou, now toouercome these matters. Yet for all that, when Cimons cause came to hearinge, he was a

more genue addentiate, then any only : fo that Cimon thereby escaped, and was cleared of this of March of acculation. And furthermore, folong as he was present in ATHENS, he alwayes kept the se-them, where ditious people in obedience, who would ever croffe and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, bicaule they would have all the sway and rule in their owne handes. But when Cimon was paging did fit fent abroade any whither to the warres, then the common people having no bodie to gaine to indige favthem, turned, and altered the gouernment of the citie topfie turney, and confounded all caufes of murthe auncient lawes and customes which they had observed of long time, and that by the procurement and fetting on of Ephialtes. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in maner from ters concer-C the court of * Areopagus, & put all authoritie of matters indiciall into the handes of the peo- ning the com-

ole, and brought the state of the citie into a pure Democratia, to fay: a common weale ruled Democratia bythe fole and absolute power of the people, Pericles being then in great credit, who altoge- rule of comther favored the peoples faction. Wherefore Cimon at his returne; finding thauthority of the Pericles in Senate and counfell to tham efully defaced and troden vnder foote, was marueloufly offended cimons abbenate and counted to triantening defacts and trouble with all, and fought to refore thauncient state of judgement againe as it was before, and set the committee of the committ vothegouernment of the nobility (called Optimacia) that was established in the time of cle-monwealth Abenes. But then beganne his enemies againe with open mouth to crye out vpon him, reuiuing the olde former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne fifter: Democratia &furthermore accusing him, that he did fauor the LACED EMONIANS. And amongest other government D thinges there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verses of the Poet Empolis, which were made of the mobile against Cimon. No vvicked man he vvas but very negligent, And there with all to wyne much more then unto money bent.

He stale somtimes avvay, at Sparta for to sleepe: And left poore Elpinice his vvife, at home alone to vveepe. And if it be so, that being thus negligent & genen to wyne, he have gotten so many cities. and wonne such sundry great battells: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene sober & carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor fince any GRECIAN Captaine, that had paffed him

E of the LACED & MONIANS : for of two twynnes which he had by his wife Clitoria, he named the Lacede. thone of them Lacedamonius, and thother Eleus, as Stefimbrotus wryteth, faying that for that monian macause Pericles did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit Diodorus the Geographer wryteth, that both those two, and an other third called Thessalms, were borne of Modice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the sonne of Mequeles. How soener it was, it is certaine that Cimons credit grew the greater, by the fauor and countenaunce which the LACED & MO-MIANS gave him, who had hated Themistocles of long time, and for the malice they bare him. were glad that Cimon being but a youg man, did beare more sway in ATHENS then he. Which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended with all at the beginning: bicause the goodwill of the LACED AMONIANS towardes him, did bring them great commo-

F dity. For when the ATHENIANS beganne to growe of great power, and to practife fecretly that the confederats of the GRECIANS should for fake the LACEDE MONIANS to joyne with them: the LACED EMONIANS were not angrie withall, for the honor and love they bare vn-

in glorie of the warres. In deede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner cimo followed

to Cimon, who did alone in maner manedge all thaffayres of GRECE at that time, bicanfelt was very curteous vnto the confederates, and also thankefull vnto the LACED E MONIANE But afterwardes when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they faw ci mon stuckenot for a litle matter with the LACED E MONIANS, but loued them more then they would have had him: they beganne then to enuy him, bicause in all his matters he had to do he euer highly praised and extolled the LACED EMONIANS before them. But specially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswadethen to do any thing: the LACED EMONIANS, fayd he, I warrantye do not fo. That, as Stefinder tue fayth, made him maruelously to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they ac. cused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out vpon this occasion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of Archidamus, the sonne of Zeuxidamus king of SPARTA, therefortuned the wonder a fullest and most fearefull earthquake in the citie of LACED EMON, and thereabouts, that ever was heard of. For the earth in many places of the contrie opened, and fell as into a bottom leffe pit. The mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, five houses only excepted, theref being wholy destroied. And it is said also, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young

a great galery couered ouer: & as they were sporting together, there started vp a hare hardle

them. The young men fpying her, ranne after the hare starke naked and oyled as they were

with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe

quake in La ced emon Taygesum men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exercising the selues starke naked water

apon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the same the tombewhere they were afterwardes buried, is called vnto this day Sismatias, as much to fay, as the tombe of those which the earthquake had slaine. But king Archidamus foreseeine straight uppon the sodaine the daunger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiuing his citizens busie in sauing their householde stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trompetters to found a hotte alarome vpon it, as if their enemies hadcome stealingly upon them to take the citie, to thende that all the inhabitantes should presently repayre vnto him (fettinge all busines aparte) with armor and weapon. That fodaine alarone Archidamus doubtlesse faued the citie of Sparta at that time: for the ILOTE, which are their slaves and bondmen in the contrie of LACONIA, and the contrie clownes of litle villages thereaboutes. came running armed out of all partes, to spoyle and robbe them upon the sodaine, that were n

Sodaine policy faned the city bondmen to the Lacedas escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwardes to make open warresypon them, when they had drawen certaine of their neighbors vnto their confederacie, & fpe-

Poet mocking fayed.

With visage pale and wvanne, he on the aulter sate, In skarlet govone requiring ande, to succor their estate.

cially the Messenians, who made hotte warres vponthe Spartans. Whereupon the La-

CED EM ONIANS fent Periclidas unto ATHENS to demaunde ayde: whome Aristophanes the

Against whom Ephialtes also spake very much, protesting that they should not ayde nortelieue a city that was an enemy vnto Athens, but rather fuffer it to fall to the ground, and to F fournethe pride and arrogancy of SPARTA vnder their feete. But Cimon (as Cricias faieth)being more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for thenlarging and encreasing of his contry: brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the Athenians sent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore Ion rehearfeth the very felfe wordes that Cimon spake to moue the people to graunt his request. For he besought them that they would enot suffer GRECE to halte, as if LACED EMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: not to suffer their citie to lose an other citie their frend, and subject to the yoke and defence of GRECE. Hauing therfore obteyined ayde, to leade vinto the LACEDE MONIANS, he went with his army through the Corint Hian's contry: wher with Lachartus a Captaine of Corintus was marueloufly offended, fayinge, that he should not have entred into their contrie with F an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the citie. For fayd he, when one knocketh at a mans dore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the master of the house commaundeth

A him. Butye Corint Hians (fayed Cimon to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEON EIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to comein, but have broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinkinge that all should be open vnto them that are the stronger. Thus did Cimon stowtely aunswere the Corint Bian Captaine againe, bicause it stoode him vppon, and so went on with his armie through the contrie of CORINTHE. Afterwardes the LACED EMONIANS fent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require ayde against the MESSE-NIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their flaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But

when the Athenians were come, the Laced & Monians were afrayed of the great power

they had brought, and of their boldnes besides: wherefore they sent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their fuccor, bicause they thew them to be men very tickle, defiring chainge and alteracions. The ATHENIANS return nedhome, misliking much that they were sent backe againe: infomuch as euer after they haredthem that fauored the LACEDEMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDEMONIANS take therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against Cimon, they banished him out of their contrie for tenne yeres: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that Cimon banis were banished with the Oftracismon banishment. Now within the terme of these ten yeares, shed for 161 the LACED EMONIANS fortuned to vidertake the deliuery of the citie of DBLPHES, from the feruitude and bondage of the Phocians, and to put them from the cultodie and keeping of

the temple of Apollo, which is in the fayd city. Wherfore, to obtaine their defire and purpofe.

they came to plante their campe neere vnto the citie of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the C ATHENIANS went to fight with them . Cimon understanding this, although he was in exile. came to the ATHENIANS campe armed, with intent to do his ducty to fight with his contrie menagainst the LACED EMONIANS, and so went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was him felfe. But his owne contry enemies cried out against him, and fayd, that he was come to none other ende, butto trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwardes bring them to the city felfe of ATHENS. Whereuppon the great counfell of the five hundred men were afrayed, and fent to the Captaines to commaunde them they should not receiue him into the battell: fo that Cimon was compelled to departe the campe. But before he went, he prayed Euthippus Anaphlystian, and his other frendes that were suspeded as him leffe was, to fauor the LACED EMONIANS doinges: that they should doe their D best endeuor to fight valliantly against their enemies, to thintent their good service at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their contry men: and so they did. For the A-THENTANS keeping the fouldiers Cimon had brought with him, which were a hundred in all. they set them aparte by them selues in a squadron, and fought it so valliantly and desperatly. that they were flaine euery man of them in the field, leaving the ATHENIAN'S maruelous fory for them, and repenting them that they had so vniustly mistrusted them as traitors to their contrie. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against Cimon, partely as I am perswaded, bicause they called his former good seruice to minde which he had done to their contrie aforetime, and partely also, bicause the necessitie of the time so required it. For the ATHENI-ANS having loft a great battell before T ANA GRE, looked for no other about the fpring of the E yeare, but that the Peloponnesians would inuade them with a great power: wherefore, they reuoked Cimons banishment by decree, whereof Pericles selfe was the only author & pro- cimon called curer. So civill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common be- from exile. nefit of their publicke state and weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most ve-

dominions by warre, for lukers fake: to preuent them that they should not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by fcowring and coafting vp and downe the contrie of PELORON-F NES V S, and the Iles of G RECE, with fo great a nauie, should moue occasion of civill warres amongest the GRECIANS, or of complaintes vnto their confederates against them: he rigged & armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, & in EGYPT,

hement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens mindes) geue place, and yeelde to

the necessities and affayres of the common weale. Now when Cimon was againe returned to

ATHENS, he straight pacified the warre, & reconciled both cities together. And when he saw

that the ATHENIANS could not live in peace, but woulde be doing still, and enlarge their

dreame.

bicause he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and i thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borne enemies. Rewhen all things were in readines to departe, and the armie prest to shippe and sayle away:c. mon dreaming in the night had this vision. It seemed vnto him that he saw a bitch angrie with him, and barking earnestly at him, & that in the middest of her barking, she spake with a man voyce, and favd vnto him:

Come hardly, spare not : for if thou come by me. My vuhelpes, and I which here do stand, will quickely welcome thee.

This vision being verie hard to interpret, Astyphilus borne in the citie of Posidonia man expert in fuch coniectures, and Cimons familiar frende, tolde him that this vision didbe. token his death, expounding it in this forte. The dogge commonly is an enemie to himbel barketh at . Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death, Fur. thermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitche, fignifieth nothingels

tation of the

but an enemie of the MEDES : bicause the armie of the MEDES is mingeled with thebe. barous people and the GRECIANS together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to thegod Bacchus, the Priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the blood that fell to the grounde, there affembled a swarme of antes, which caried the congealed blood of from the grounde by litle and litle, and layed it all about Cimons great toe, a great while together be fore any man marked it: Cimon at the last spied it by chaunce, and as he was looking of then to marke what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beastes liver that was facificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this there iudged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, hauing all things readie for preparation of this iorney, so as he could not well goe backe, he launched into the sea, and hoysed sayle, and sen

ding three score of his gallies into Egypt, sayled with the rest upon the coast of PARPHY LIA. Where he wanne a battell by sea of the king of Persia, ouercomming the gallies of the Phenicians and the Cilicians, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into Egypt. For he had no small thoughtes in his minde, but reached high enterprises, and determined vtterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty kingeof PERSIA, and specially for that he understoode Themistocles was in maruelous credit and reputacion amogest the barbarous people, bicause he had promised the king of Persiatolead his armie for him, and to doe him notable seruice when soeuer he shoulde have occasion wh warre with the GRECIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made Themistalls poison himselse, bicause he dispaired that he could not performe that service against GRECI which he had promised : affuring him selfe that it was no easie matter to vanquishe Cimon corage, and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongest the Ile of Cr-

PRVs, promiting him felfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane feafon, Cimon fent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of Iuppiter Ammon, to aske him some secret question for no man euer knew neither then nor fince, for what cause he had sent them thither neither

did they also bring backe any aunswere. For they were no sooner come thither, but theorecle commaunded them straight to returne: saying vnto them, that Cimon was then comming to him. So Cimons men receiving this aunswere, left the oracle, and tooke their iorney backet to the seawardes. Now when they were commen againe to the GRECIANS campe, which The death of at that present lay in Egypt, they heard that Cimon was departed this worlde: and recke ninge the dayes sence his death, with the instant of their aunswere received by the oracle that Cimon was then comming vnto him: they knew straight that darkely he had signified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the fiege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as some reporte, or else of a hurte he received at askir-

charge, to returne into their contry againe, and in no case to publishe his death: which comcimoni death maundement was so wisely and cunningly handeled, that they all came home safe, and not keps very fe- an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once understoode any thing of it. So was the f armie of the GRECIANS gouerned and led by Cimon, though him felfe was dead, the space of thirtie dayes, as Phanodemus wryteth: But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Cap-

mishe, as other holde opinion. When he dyed, he commaunded them that were vnder his

Orators and gouernors of the chiefest cities of GRECE stirred them vp one against another, and Grecians and there was no man that would once steppe in as a mediator to make peace between them. 10 the barba-And thus the GRECIANS now did one destroy and spayle an other by civil warre amongest rous people, them selues: which happely gaue the king of P B RS IA least ure and time to restore him selte a death. gaine, and contrarily was cause of such vitter ruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GRECE, as no tongue can well expresse. In deede a tong time after, kinge Agesilaus came with an armie of the GRECTARS into Asia, and beganne a finall warre against the Lieutenauntes of the king of Perstans governors of the lower contries of Asia But before he could doe any notable exployte, he was called home againe by occasion of newe troubles and civill warres rifinge amonge the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his contrie. leaning the treasorers of the king of PERSIA, railing of subsidies and taxes open the cities of the GRECIANS in ASTA, although they were confederates of the LACEDEMONANTS. Whereas in the time that Cimon gouerned, they never fawe any of the kinges fergeauntes at armes, or commissioner, that brought any letters pattentes or commaundement from the king, or any fouldier that durst come neere the sea, by fortie furlonges. The combes which cimons mon they call vnto this present day Cimonia, doe witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought them. Unto ATHENS. Neuertheleffe, they of the citie of CITIVM doe honor a certaine tombe, which they fay is Cimons tombe: bicause that in a great dearth and barrennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them. not to neglect Cimon, as the Orator Nauficrates writeth it, but to honor and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRECIAN Captaine.

The end of Comons life.

the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut of his vittells from him: sene

Tucullus into Egypt and Libya to bring him fuch thippes as he found in those partes. It was

in the deepe of winter, and yet he spared not to sayle with three brigantines of GREBCE. and

as many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting him felfe not only to the daunger of the fea in fo

long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing them felues to be the stronger,

went fayling euery where with a great nauie. But for all these daungers, he first arrived in the

Ile of CRETA, and wanne their goodwilles. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where

to appoint them some forme of gouernment for their common wealth, he made them aun-

receive counsell and government, then a man in advertity. This lefton framed the CYRENI-

ANS at that time to be more civilland obedient to the lawes Lucullus gave them. When he departed thence, he coasted towardes E G yer, where he lost the more parte of his shippes by

the Greeke tongue, bicause we finde a litle Greeke storic extant of the warres of the Ro- Lucullus books MANES against the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother Mareus Lucullus, as appeared of the ware by many manifest proofes: but the chiefest and most noted proofe among the Romanes was similari, in n this. Him felfe was elder then his brother Mareus, and yet for all that would neuer fue to beare Greeke. office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he to his brother should be chosen, and let his owne time passe ouer. This great curtesie to his brother so wanne Marcus.

the peoples hartes, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his brother Marcus Lucius & M. with him for his fake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARS TANS warres, Luculius both wherein he did many wife and valliant deedes. The cause not with standing that moued Sylla chojen AEdite.

his most weightie causes: as in a commission specially, he gaue him to coyne money. For in sylla game deede parte of the money that Sylla spent in the warres against king Mithridates, was couned Luculius com-C by Lucullus commaundement within the contrie of Peloponnes vs: whereupon they were continuous called Lucullian peeces, and were currant a longe time amongeft the fouldiers, to buy fuch in Peloporthings as they stoode in nede of, and neuer refused by any. Sylla being afterwards at ATHENS, nefac.

D he found the inhabitaunts turmoyled with civil warres, and continuall oppressions of tyrans: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to establishe gouernment a- Installate gemongest them, putting them in remembraunce of Platoes wordes spoken to their auncesters wesh lawes so in old time, in the spirite of a prophecie. For when they prayed Plato to write them lawes, and the Cyrenia.

fwere: it was a hard thing to gene lawes to fo riche and fortunate people as they were. For to Anotable fay truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to so ing of Pla-

E pyrates: but for his owne person, scaping their handes, he was very honorably received in the

citic of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kinges armie came to meete him ar fea, gallantly trimmed Lucullus in-

and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the kinge when he returned from any mey into Evoyage by fea : and king Ptolomye him felfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honorable entertainment as he possible could. For amongest other honors that he did him he lodged him in his courte, and defrayed his ordinarie dyer, where neuer ftraunge Captaine was lodged before: and did not only spend the ordinary allowance in feathing of him which he vfed vnto others, but commaunded foure times as much prouifion more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, Lucullus tooke no more then reasonable was for his person : nonyet would he receive any maner, gift althogh the king had fent him prefents to the value of foure

A he fell to the studie of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplative parte of his soule, & ()rator that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with Hortenfine the Orator, and Sifenna the historiographer (in iest as it were at the first, but afterwardes it fell to good earnest) that he would write the breuiary of the warres of Mars 1 cv m in verse or profe, in the Latin or 0.5000 Greeke tongue, which soeuer fell to his lotte : and I thinke his happe was to doe it in prose in to make choyce of him, was rather for his constancy, & good curreous nature, then for any other respect. For when Sylla had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in

Lucullus acculeth Seruilius the

Sooshfayer.

noble dede so wicked.

was no other talke in Rome but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valliant after done by him. For otherwise, though privately they had no just occasion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put lawe breakers in fute, as to fee a notable good course of a dogge at a hare. Howebeit there followed fuch sturre and bandinge vppon this fute, that some were verie fore hurte, andother flaine in the market place: but in fyne, Seruilius was cleared and quite difmiffed, Luculus was verie eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tongue infomuch as Sylla dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himfelfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole historie thereof, and cowche it more eloquetly together in wryting. For he had not only a ready tongue to ytter that he would speake. and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to doe, having matters of sure (or open audience.

Lucius Lucullus

😭 S for Lucullus, his grandfather was a Confull, and fo was Metellus (fur. A

named Numidians, bicaute of his conquest of NVMIDIA) his vncleby

the mothers fide. His father notwithstanding was conuict of fellow.

for robbing the treasure of the state whilest he was officer; and Cari-

lia his mother was reported to have led an vnchast life. But for Lucal-

lus felfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of state: the first thing he towched and tooke in hande for the cause of his contrie was that

cufation of Seruilius the foothfayer (who before had accufed his fa-

ther) for that he also had delt falsely in his office, and deceived the common wealth. And

this the ROMANES thought very well handled of him, infomuch as a pretie while after there

Like tonny fishe they be, which swiftly dine and doppe, Into the depth of Occean sea, wwithouten stay or stoppe:

But afterwardes also when ye take them out of their common practife and pleadinges,

Then are they graueld straight withouten grace or skill, Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they them selues be still.

For Lucullus had studied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refreshe his witte (after great troubles)

F fcoretalentes. And which more is, would not fo much as go fee the citie of Mampais, nor any other of the famous monumentes and wonderfull fightes in Boypr, faving: that it was for a man that trauelled up and downe for his pleafure, and had leafure withall, to fee fuch

rich emerod

fieged Mi-

thinges, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the fiege of the walles of enemies. To conclude, this young king Ptolomye would in no case fall in frendshippe with a la, fearing least he should thereby put him selfe into warres : but gaue him men and shipper bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerod fet in gold, which Lucullus at the first refused genen Lucui. Vntill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing leaf the vtter refufall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambushe by sea for him. Thus having gotten a certaine number of shippe together of the porte townes thereaboutes, ouer and besides such as the pyrates and seams uers had hidden, being parte of their spoyles, and bestowed with their receitors; went on with them into Cypa vs, where he understoode that his enemies lay close in certaine creekes with der the foreland, watching to bourde him as he fayled by. Whereuppon he vnrigged and be stowed his shippes in docks, and sent worde to all the porte townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him vittells & other necesfarie munition to be in readines against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time convenient, he put his whole fleete agains to the fea with all possible speede, went him felfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe fayle, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: fo that by this craftie fetche, he wanne RHODES, and loft not one shippe. The RHO DIANS they also furnished him with shippes: & besides the, he so perswaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitantes of the Ile of Co, that they for looke king Mithridates, and went to make warres with him against them of the Ile of Samos. But Lucullus him selfe alone draue kings (Mithridates men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS agains to libertie: and tooks Epigonus the tyranne prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, CAL. thridates was compelled to forfake the citie of PERGAMVM, and to retyre to the citie of Pie TANE, within the which Fimbria kept him befieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore Mi. thredates having the sea open vpon him, sent for his force and nauy out of all partes, not dering to hazard battell against Fimbria, who was very valliant, of a venturous nature, & at that time moreouer was him selfe a conqueror. Fimbria perceiuing what Mithridates ment, and hauing no power by sea of his owne: sent straight to Lucullus to request him to come with his nauie into those partes to his ayde, for thouercomming of this king, the greatest and most cruell enemie that euer the ROM ANE people had. Bicaule that so notable a praye, which they h followed with fuch daunger and trouble, thould not escape the ROMANES, while they had him in their handes, and was come him felfe within their daunger : and that therefore he should so much the more harken vnto it, bicause that if it fortuned Mithridates to be taken no man shoulde winne more honor and glorie by his takinge, then he that had stopped his paffage, and layed handes on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betwene them both: the one that had driven him from lande, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the ROMANES would nothinge regard all the famous battells and victories of Sylla in GRECE which he had wonne before the cities of CHERONEA and ORCHOMENE : in comparison of taking the king. This was theffect of Fimbriaes meffage fent unto Lucullus, wherein there was I nothing, in the which there was not great likelyhoode. For there is no man that can doubted it, but if Lucullus would have beleued him at that time (and have gone thither with his ships to stoppe the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which Mithridates was belieged, confidering also that he was so necre at hande) this warre had taken ende there, and the worlde besides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwardes. But, whether Lucullus preferred the confideration and respect he had vnto Sylla, whose Lieutenaunt he was, before all other due regarde of private or common benefit : or that he detelted and abhorred Fimbria as a curied persone, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captaine: or else that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the goddes that he spared Mithridates at that time, to the end he might bere, I ferued as a worthie enemie, against whom he might afterwardes shew his valure: how source it was, it so fell out that he harkened not vnto Fimbriaes message, but gaue Mitbridaes time

and leafure to flye, and finally to scorne all Fimbriaes force and powers But Luculius felfe alone Institute afterwardes ouercame the kinges armie by fea, once neete vnto the head of LeQum, which would not aide won the coast of T RO AD E: and an other time neere vnto the lle of T HNEDOS, where Neopto befreging Mi-Mithridates Lieutenaunt by fea, lay in wayte for him with a farre greater number of shridates. Appesthen he had. And yet so soone as Lucullus had discried him, he sayled before all his king Mishria ranie being Admirall, in a galley of the RHODES, at flue ores to a bancke, whereof one Dema-dates Linegorss was mafter, a man well affected to the service of the Romans, and very skillfull in bat- senan by fed. fell by fea. And when Neoptolemus on the other fide rowed against him with great force, commaunding his pylor that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prowe: Demagor as fearinge the full meetinge of the kinges galley which was very strong and heatie, and furthermore well armed with poyntes and spurres of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his gallie to winde about, & turned his poupe towardes him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, received the blow without hurte. considering that they hit uppon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwayes about water. In the meane time Lucullus other shippes were come, who commaunding his master. noturne the beakehead of his gallie forward, did many famous actes: fo that he made his enemies flye, and draue Neoptolemus away. And departing from thence, went to feeke out Syl- Luculius pus keuen as he was readie to passe ouer the seas, about Chernonesvs: holpe him to wast his amie, and so passed him ouer with safety. Afterwardes when peace was concluded, and that Mishridaes ling Mithridates was comen into his realme and contries againe, which lye vpon the fea Ma-Gior: Sylla condemned the province of Asia to pay the fumme of twenty thowsand talentes for a fyne, by reason of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fyne, left Lucullus there with commission to coyne money: which was a great comforte and hartes ease vnto the cities of Asia, confidering the extreamitie that Sylla had vied towardes them. For in fo grieuous and odious a commission vnto them all, as that was: Lucullus did not only behaue him selfe vprightly and justly, but also very favorably and curteously. For, as touching the MITYLENIans that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault. and that for fatisfaction of thoffence they had committed takinge Marius parte, they should fusfer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continewe in their naughtines, he went against them, and having ouercome them in battell, compelled them Diokeepe within their walles, and layed fiege vinto their citie, where he vied this policy with them. At none dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and sayled Luculius Bratowardes the citie of ELEA: howbeit in the night time fecretly returned backe, and making the fige of no noyle, layed an ambushe nere vinto the citie. The MITYLENIANS mistrusting nothinge, the Minister went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watche or ward. "went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watche or ward." to spoyle the campe of the ROMANBS, supposing every man had bene gone: but Lucullus comming fodainly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, flue about fine hundred such as relifted, and wanne fixe thowfandeslaues, with an infinite quantitie of other spoyle. Now did the goddes happely preserve Lucullus, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull mileries and troubles, which Sylla and Marius made poore ITALIB fuffer, euen then when he E was occupied in the warres of A six: and yet notwithftanding his absence, he was in as good credit and fauor with Sylla, as any of his frendes about him. For as we have fayd before, he de- Lucultus bodicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and te- acred of Syllas frament appointed him Tutor vnto his sonne, leaving Pompey out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwardes between them, bicause they The first ocwere both young men, and vehemently desirous of honor. Shortly after the death of Sylla, case of quart Lucullus was chosen Consull with Marcus Cotta, about the three score Olympiade: and then Pompey and they began to reviue the matter againe, that it was very needefull to make warres against Mis- Luculius. thridates, and specially Marcus Cotta, who gave out that it was not ended, but only stept for a Lucallin, M. while. Wherefore, when the Confulls came to draw lottes what prouinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was maruelous forie that the province of GAVLE, lying between the Alpes and ITALIE, fell to his lotte: bicause he thought it no contrie wherein any great exploytes were to be done; and againe, the glorie of Pompey grieued him greatly, whole honor dayly in-

Cethegue a

creased by the famous battells he wan in Spains. So that it was most certaine, that so some as Pompey had ended the warres there, they would have chosen him generall in the warres gainst Mithridates. Wherefore, when Pompey sent to Rome in earnest maner, to require man ney to make pay to his fouldiers, wryting to the Senate, that if they did not fend him more the fooner he would leaue Sertorius there, Spaine behinde him, and bring his army backein

to ITALIR: Lucallus made all the meanes he could to have it quickely fent him, fearing less he should returne into IT ALIE vpon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought the if he returned agains to Rome with so great an armie, he would easily do what him lift; and the rather, bicause that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the finan and rule at ROME, bicause he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being ave tious liver, and diffolutely genen, for which cause Lucullus hated him. But there was an other common Orator among the people called Lucius Quintus, and he would have had all Soller Lucius Quin sine, a feaidoinges reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the common wealth

Bious Otalor and to turmoyle the citie of Rome againe with civil differtion, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius Lucullus talked withall a parte to perswade him, ando penly reproued him with such words, that he was diffwaded from his euell purpose, & byres. fon ruled his rath ambition, handling it both wifely and as cunningly as he could poffible/for the fafety of the common wealth) bicause it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infi nite troubles were like to growe. While these thinges were thus in hande, newes came that Offanise the governor of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereuppon many put forward them selues to sue for this charge, & to courte Cethegus, as the only man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullus, he made no great reckening of the gouernment of CILICIA in respect of the contry, but bicause CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it, and perswading him selfe that if he could obtain the government thereof they would geue none other (but him felfe) the authoritie to make warres with Mithridates he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should haue it but him selfe. hing Millini. And having proved fundry wayes, was compelled in the ende, against his owne nature.

practife a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly detile to obtaine his defire. There was a woman in Rome at that time called Pracia, very famous for Pracia a faher passing beauty, and also for her pleasaunt grace in talke and discourse, how beit otherwise fan of Rome. vnchast after curtisan manner. But bicause she employed the credit & fauor of them that fre h quented her companie, to the benefit and feruice of the common wealth, and of them that loued her: the wanne the reporte (belides her other excellent commendable graces) to bea very louinge woman, and readie to fauor and further any good enterprise, and it wanneher Ceibegus 74- great fame and reputacion. But after the had once wonne Cethegus, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her fight: then had she all the whole power & authority of Rome in her hands, for the people did nothing but Cethegus preferred it, and Cethegus did what ever Pracia would will him to. Thus Lucullus fought to come in fauor with her, fending her many prefentes, and

vfing all other curtesies he could offer vnto her: besides that it seemed a great reward forto prowde & ambitious a woman as she, to be sued vnto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by E this meanes came to haue Cethegus at his comaundement. For Cethegus did nothing burchmend Luculius in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the government of Cicaria who after it was once graunted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of Pracia normal of Cetheeus. For the people wholly of them selues with one cosent did graunt him the charge to make warre with Mithridates, bicause he knew better how to ouercome him, then anyother Captaine, and bicause that Pompey was in the warres with Sertorius in SPAINE, and Metellius also growen too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deservedly have contended for this office with him. Neuertheles, Marcus Cotta his fellow Confull, made fuch fute to the Senate, that they fent him also with an armie by fea, to keepe the coastes of Pine-PONTIDE, and to defende the contrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, Luculius having his commission; went into Asia with one legyon only, the which he leavied a new at Rome: & when he was

come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he founde there, which were men marred and

A corrupted altogether of long time, through couetoufnes and delicacle of the contribution amingest others, were the bandes which they called the Fimbrian bandes, men gaven ouer to selfewill, and very ill to be ruled by marshall discipline, bicause they had lived a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were those selies souldiers that together with Fimbria, flue their generall Flaccus, Confull of the ROMANE people, and that af- diffilms and

nerwardes betrayed Fimbria him felfe, and forfooke him, leaving him vnto Sylla, being muti- corrupted. ners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwife very vallyant, well trayned, and painefull fouldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in shorte time brideled their boldnes meetely well, and reformed the others also, who before had neuer proued (in my ominion) what the value of 2 good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to commaund : but were vied to flattering leaders; that commaunded the fouldiers no more then they them felues liked of. Now

concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as these florishing Sophisters commonly are) vndertaking warre against the ROMANES, with a vaine unprofitable armie, but passing freshe and sumptuous to Mithridates against the that he was once foyled and ouercome with no lesse shame then losse, when Luculus: he came to make this fecond warre, he cut of all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a convenient furniture to serve for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multinude of fundrie nations, the fierce threatninges of the barbarous people in so many fundrie rongues, and clearely banisht also the riche grauen armors with goldesmythes worke, and set with precious stones, as thinges that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue frength or corage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMANE facion, and great heavy shields, and brought to the field a maruelous

number of horse, more ready for service, then riche in furniture. Then he joyned fixe score Milbridates thowsand footemen together, appointed & fet in order like vnto the battell of the ROMANES, amile, with fixteene thow fand horse of service, besides those that drue his armed cartes with sethes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of shippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden paullions, as at the first, neither with stoones nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen : but furnished full of armor, artillerie, and flinges, and with money also to pay the souldiers. With all this armie and pren paration, he went first to inuade BIT HYNIA, where the cities received him very gladly. & not those only, but all the other cities of As IA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their

former mileries and diseases, by the crueltie of the ROMANE farmers and vierers, who raising Asafellines taxes and impostes vppon them, made them abide vntollerable thinges. It is true that Luculling from mife draue them away afterwardes, like the Harpya, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens Romane vie. mowthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by ress. the perswasions he vsed vnto them, and qualified a little the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now Lucullus being bufie about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Confull (and his companion) supposing that the ab- conta the cofence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offered him to doe notable service, prepared to fight with full our come by Milbi-Muthridates. And although he had newes brought him from fundrie places, that Lucullus dates in bas-

was with his armie in Phrygia, and comming towardes him: yet notwithstanding imagi- rest. ning that he had the honor of triumphe affured alreadie in his handes, and bicause Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwardes to gene battell. But Mithridates onercame him both by fea and by lande: fo that Cotta by fea loft three fcore of his shippes with all

the men in them, foure thowfand footemen by lande, and was after with shame thut vp and besieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by Lucullus onely ayde and meanes. Howbeit there were in Lucullus campe, that were very earnest with him to leave Cotta, and to go further, affuring him that he should finde the realme of Mithridates both without men of warre, or any defence at all: fo that he might eafily be Lord of the F whole. And these were the wordes of the souldiers that spyted Cotta, bicause his soolishe

raftnes and fonde imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be staine and cast away, whom he had the leading of but had let them also, that they could not out-

come him, and ende this warre without blowes, for that they were driven to go to his helpe A Howbeit Lucullus making an Oration vnto them, aunswered, that he had rather faue the of one ROMANE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when the faming of a ci- chelaus, (who had bene Mithridates Lieutenaunt in Bosor I A in the first warres against Solle and now in this seconde warre tooke parte with the ROMANES) affured him that so someas

they sawe him in the realme of Pontvs, they would all rise against Mithridates, and veele them selves vnto him: Lucullus aunswered him thus, that he would not shewe him selfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer fuffer the beaft to recouer his denne. And when he had so sayd, he marched with his armie towardes Mithridates, having in all his came thirtie thowsand footemen, and two thowsande fine hundred horse. When he came so neem vnto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their hoast, he wondered at the great multitude of fouldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to geue battell, supposing vet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe these warres out in length. But one Marius a ROMANE Captaine, whom Sertorius had fent out of SPAYNE vnto Mithridates with a certaine number of fouldiers: came forwardes, and prouoked him to battell. Lucullus for his

parte did put his men also in a readinesse to fight. But euen as both battells were preparedm

iovne, the element opened vpon the fodaine, without any shewe of chaunge of weather decerned before, and they plainly faw a great flake of fire fall betwene both armies, in forme and fire fell be-

shape much like to a tonne, and of the colour of molten filuer. This celestiall figne put both tharmies in fuch a feare, as they both retyred, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderful armies, out of fight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Nowe Lucullus after of she element. wards confidering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor prouision so great in the world that could suffice to vittell so many thowsandes of people as Mithridates had in his campea ny long time together, hauing his enemies campe so lying before them: willed that one of

Liticke confithe prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what come he had left in their cabbin. And when the pridissipher the

foner had aunswered to all his demaundes, he returned him to prison, and sent for another then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of vittells they had, with the number of men the same thould maintaine : he founde that all would be spent in three or source dayes at thus

might take the citie of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowen before with Cottage the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had loft three thowsande men, and tenne of their thippes. And bicause that Luculius should not understand of his enterprise, Mithridates stales. way by night after supper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thitherwardes with such speede, that he was before the city of Cyzicvs by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddeffe Adrastia standeth, which is the goddesseof fatall destinie. Lucullus receiving intelligence of Mithridates departure from his campe, fol- E lowed him straight wayes steppe by steppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in disorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiously seated also vppon the high wayes, and through fare of the neighbors therabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to vittel Mithridates campe, Wherefore Lucullus wifely forefeing what would follow: would not keepe his purpose secret from his fouldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counsell, and there making an oration vnto them, tolde them openly by manifest demonstration of affured hope, that ere many dayes paffed, he would geue victorie into their handes, and that without losse of one droppe of blood. In the meane season, Mithridates environmed the GRECIANS round about by lande, having deuided his armie into tenne campes, & flopped vp the mouth of the arme of the fea, which deutdeth the citie from firmelande, with his thippes from one fide to an other. Now the CYZICENIANS were valliant men, and determi-

most. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of bat-II

tell. So he caused a maruelous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euclie

quarter, that the same being throughly vittelled, he might easily tary the occasion which his

enemies necessitie should offer him . Mithridates in the meane time , sought which way he

A ned to abide all extreamity for the ROMANES fakes: but one thing only troubled them much. that they knew not what was become of Lucullus, neither could they heare any newes of him. though his campe stoode in such a place, where they might easily decerne it from the citie. But Mithridates fouldiers deceived them, for thewing them the ROMANES campe that lav shoughard by them, fayd vnto them: doe ye fee yonder campe there? They are the MEDES. and the Armenians, whom Tigranes hath fent to the ayde of Mithridates. These wordes The frantand the Akmentars, which are the control of the con

round about them: that when Lucullus should come to their aide, he could not well tell which diers. way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of Lucullus approach, by one called Demonax. whom Archelaus sent vnto them, but they would not beleue him at the first, taking it for a tale, only Bromake them be of good corage, and valliantly abide the furie of the fiege: vntill fuch time as a litle boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had take him prisoner, was come

againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where Lucullus was: the boy laughed at them. thinking they reasted to aske that questio of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he (hewed them the ROMANBS campe with his finger: then they beleued it in deede, and were coragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the citie of Crzic vs called Dascylitide, and it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. Lucullus tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in acarte, and so caried it to the sea, and there put as many souldiers in her as she could well cary, who by night entred into the citie, the skowte of the enemies neuer discoying them. This mall supply did maruelously comforte the besieged CYZICENIANS: and it seemeth that the C goddes, deliting to fee their noble corage, would further increase and affure the same by many manifest tokens which they sent from heauen, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of Proferpina was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cowe to offer in folemne facrifice, as their aunciet ceremonies required: fo they made one of paste, & brought ithard vnto the aulter. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this facrifice, & which they recred A wonderfull vpofpurpose to serue for that day, was feeding amongest the heard of the citie in the fieldes, token of a onthother side of the arme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, to offer her and fwamme over the arme of the fea, and came into the citie: where the went of her felfe vn- felfe to the to the place of the facrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse Froserpina her selfe appeared vnto A-Civiceniania

so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines a funder, and specially a tower

overthrewe it to the ground. And it is fayd furthermore, that in the citie of I LIVM the god-

desse Minerua appeared vnto diverse in their sleepe, all in a sweat, and showing parte of her

vaile torne, as if the had bene newly retorned from geuing ayde vnto the CYZICENIANS: in

confirmacion whereof, the inhabitantes of I LIVM haue a piller yet vnto this day, whereupon

this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was Mithridates maruelous fory for the

breaking & loffe of his engines, by meanes wherefithe CIZICBNIANS had escaped the daun-

E of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde shooke so vehemently, that it

riftagor as in his dreame, secretary of the state and common wealth of the CYZICENIANS, and ced D layd vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBIA, against the trompet of Pont, Ariflagords and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good corage. The next mor-

ning when the secretarie had tolde them his vision, the CIZICENIANS maruelled much at

the goddesses wordes, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there role a great whiftling winde, that made the lea billowes rife very high: and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one Niconides 2 THESSALIAN enginer had made and denised) began to make such a noyse, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might eafily judge what would follow upon it. Then all at one instant, the southwinde was become

ger of affaulte,& of the fiege in like maner, vntill he truly vnderstood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be fuch, as the fouldiers were compelled to care Extreame famans fleshe, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for a time kept fecret from his know-thridates F ledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in dede, he left of his vaine ambition obstinately to continewe fiege: knowing well that Lucullus made not warres with threats and branery, Pros tribe: He but (as the common prouerbe fayth) lept on his belly with both his feete, that is to fay, he did by with both

what he could possible to cut of all the vittells from him. And therefore one day when London lus was gone to affault a castell that troubled him very neere vnto his campe: Mithridatesk cause he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most parte of his horsemen to get vinels BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beaftes of cariage, and his most vnprofitable footenea Lucullus hearing thereof, returned agains the felfe fame night vnto his campe, and thener morninge betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten entirgues of footemen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sham and the weather for ough, that many of his fouldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the river of Rinds.

cus, where he gaue them fuch an ouerthrowe, that the very women came out of the cities

APOLLONIA, and went to steale the vittells they had loden, and strippe the dead, which were

cullus for a time behinde him, determined to fende Aristonicus his Admirall with his armylu

a maruelous great number, as a man may judge in such a case: and neuerthelesse there were shridases

taken fixe thowfande horse of seruice, an infinite number of beastes for cariage, and fifteen thowsande men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer Saluft, who wryting of this matter fayth, that here was the first time that ever the ROMANES faw any camells. Me thinks it straunge how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercomen Antiochus the great under Scipio, and thothers that a little before had fought against Archelaus, necrevon the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHERONEA, should not have seene camells. But to returne againe to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this ouerthrow, resolued with him selfimmediatly to flie, with all the speede he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay is

fea, into the fea of GRECE. But as Aristonicus was ready to hoyse fayle, his owne men betried him, and deliuered him into the handes of Lucullus, with tenne thowfand crownes which he caried with him, ro corrupt if he could parte of the ROMANES army. Mithridates hearing of Mithridates fled by fea. this, fled by fea, leauing the rest of his armie by lande in the handes of his Captaines, tobe brought away by them as well as they could. Lucullus followed vnto the river of Granicus. Lucullus onerwhere he set apon them, and after he had slaine twenty thowsande of them, tooke an infinite shroweth Minumber prisoners. And they say there dyed in that warres, what souldiers, what slaues, what footemen by lackeis, and other stragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred the river of thowfand people. This done, Lucullus returned to the citie of Cyzicvs, where after helped Granicus,

Lucullus

spent some dayes, enjoying the glorie due vnto him, and received the honorable entereinment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visite the coast of Hellespont, to get shippes to gether, and to prepare an armie by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of Venus: where, as he flept in the night, it feemed to him he faw the god desse appeare before him, which sayd these verses vnto him. O Lyon fierce, and stoute: why sleepest thou so sounde? Since at thy hande fo fayre a praye, is ready to be founde.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his frends to him, tolde him the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came fome vnto him from the citie of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of kinge ! Mithridates, having five ores to every bancke, that were seene in the haven of the ACHAIANS, and that fayled towards the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon Lucullus tooke shippe straight, went and tooke them enery one: for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called Isidorus, and went afterwardes to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeingehim come, drew towardes land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of Lucullus fouldiers, bicause they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had layed their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the fea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. Lucullus with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best fouldiers he had about him, in a place of F the Ile where they might eafily lande. These souldiers went straight and set upon the enemies behinde, flue some of them even at their first comming, & compelled the rest to cut a funder

A therables that faitned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from lande, Lucultus or thegallies brused and brake one an other : and that worst of all was, ranne vpon the povntes nercaute Miand fourres of Luculling gallies. And so many of them that stoode about harches were slaine; who feet werest taken prisoners: amongest whom, Marins the ROMANE Captaine was brought was Blacullus, whom Sertorius had fent out of SPAINE VINO Mithridates. He had but one eye, and I usullus had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye: bicause Marius should not dye so happy a death, as to be flaine, but that he thould dye fome shamefull death, and be condemned by order of lawe. That done, Lucultus went in persone with all the speede he could possible to follow Mithridates, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where Voconius should have stayed him: for he had sent this Poconius before with a certaine number of thippes vnto the citie of NICOMEDIA to flob him from flying. But he taried fo long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA facrificing to the goddes! of the fame, and to be received into the fraternitie of their religion, that he could never after

comencere Mithridates to stoppe him from flying : having alreadie made fayle with all the whole fleete, and hasting with all possible speede to recouer the realme of Pontys, before turullus could returne from whence he went. But in fayling thitherwardes, he met with fuch are rible frome, that caried parte of his shippes so away, that they ranne stragling to seeke their fortune, and parte of them splitted and drowned outright: fo that all the coastes and rinersthereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and shippewrackes cast a there by wanes of the fea. Nowe for Mithridates owne persone, he was in a shippe of great Mithridates burden, the which for her greatnes could not sayle neere the shore, nor recouer land, she was in great dailalso very euill to be guided by the pylots in so boysterous a storme: the mariners besides were season the

put out of all their skill and knowledge, and the shippe her selfe moreover tooke in such store ofwater, and was so heavely charged withall, that they durit no more put her out to the sea. Bureason whereof Mithridates was compelled to goe abord a litle pinase of pyrates, and to. pur him felfe and his life into their handes, by whose helpe in the ende, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to lande, and recoursed the citie of H BRACLEA in the realime of Pontys. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauerie Lucullus shewed VIIto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauor of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of these warres to prepare a great name of n thippes, and therewithall had geuen order also for three thow sande talentes: Lucultus stayed

charge and great preparation he would be strong enough to drive Mithridates from the sea, with the onely (hippes he would borrowe of their frendes and confederates. And in deede, theullus one through the special fauor of the goddes, he brought it soto passe: for they say, that this ter- bition comriblestorme that destroyed the armie of Mithridates, was raised up by Diana, being offended mendable, with the men of the realme of Ponrys, bicause they had destroyed her temple in the citie of PriApos, and had caried away her image. Now there were divers that counfelled Lucullus to deferre the rest of this warre, vntill an other season: but notwithstanding all their persiva-

them by letters that they should not doe it, wryting brauely vnto them, that without all this

hous he went through the contrie of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the realme of Mi- Lincollins ior-Ethnidates. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vittells, so that there were thit-ney into Pon-Withowland men of GALATIA following his campe, that carried enery one of them a builtell of wheate on their shoulders: howbeit entring further into the contrie, and conquering the whole, there was fuch exceeding plenty of all thinges, that an oxe was fold in his campe but for a Drachma, & a flaue at four etimes as much. And of all other spoyle there was such great Anoxe flore, that either they made no reckening of it, or elfe they made hauoke of it, bicause there bought for a was no man to fell it vnto, every man having fo much of his owne. For they ranne over all the contrie vnto the citie of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay apon the river of Thermodon, and stayed no where lenger then they were a spoyling. Thereupon the fouldiers be- The muting ganne to murmure at Lucullus, bicause he assured all the cities vpon composition, and neuer of Lucullus tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich them selues by spoyle: and

yetfayd they, he would make vs now go further, and leane Amis vs agreat rich citie which we might eafily take by force, if it were but a litle straightly besieged, and lead ve into the de-

fertes of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALD EIANS to fight against Mithridates. Lucullings A fed ouer all these complaints, and made no reckening of them, bicause he would never be thought that they would have fallen into fuch mutinie and furie, as afterwards they did and Lucullist ora- contrarily excused him selfe the more carefully to them that blamed & reproued him forbie tion to excuse long tarying vpontownes and villages that were not worth the reckening, and fuffering the thridates in the meane time to gather a new force and armie together at his pleafure. For Gid " he, that is the marke I shotte ar, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, wi-" thing nothing more, then that he might once againe make him felfe strong, and bringafe. " cond armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftfoones to the fight with vs. and " runne away no more. Doe you not fee, fayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number " of defert contries, where it is vnpossible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him at a " fo the mounte Caucasus, and many other vnpassable places, which are sufficient not only to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings befides that would flie barrell ,, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the contrie of the CABIREND ,, ANS VIIto the realime of Armenia, where Tigranes the king of kinges inhabiteth, whose no. " wer is so great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS OUT of Asia, and carieth whole townes and " cities of GRECE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALESTINE inhis " handes, and hath flaine and rooted out the kinges and fucceffors of the great Seleucus, and

" hath caried away their wines and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mightie kinge is allyed vnto Mithridates, for he maried Mithridates daughter: and it is not likely that when

Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that Tigranes will per mema, maried fuse him, but rather we must thinke certainly that he will make warres ypon vs in his desence. And thus, in making hast to drive out Mithridates, we shall bring our selves into great days " ger, to prouoke a new enemie, euen Tigranes against vs, who of long time hath lurked for " iust occasion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honester cause to take armes, the " to defend and kepe a king his neighbour, and to neere a kinfeman, from vtter destruction, and one that is compelled to feeke vpon him for fuccor. What neede we then to prouoke himm procure it, and teache Mithridates (which he purpofeth not) to whom he should repayre for aide, to make warres against our selves, and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with ", our owne handes into the way to go feeke aide of Tigranes: which of him felfe he will neue ,, doe, (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) onlesse we drive him to it for very necessitie. Is it not it " better for vs to gene him leafure and time, to gather a fecond force againe of him felfe, and " his owne people, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAP-" PADOCIANS, and with such other people whome we have so many times overcome: then

camped as Ca-Mishridates Lycus ft.

her/emen.

which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed ouer the river of Lycus, & went I and presented battell to the ROMANES in the plaine field. There the horsemenskirmished, & the ROMANES had the worfe: for there was one Pomponeus a ROMANE taken, of great estimate cion, who was brought vnto king Mithridates hurt as he was. Mithridates asked him, if infauing his life, and healing his woundes, he would become his feruaunt and frend. Straighterplyed Pomponeus, with all my hart quod he, fo that thou make peace with the Romanes: f. not, I will euer be thine enemie. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him so mane soudier. hurt. And as for Lucullus, he was affrayed to come into the plaine, bicause his enemie was the ftronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on thother side to take his way by the mountains, bicause it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stook thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRECIANS by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in F caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promifed Le cullus if he would beleue and follow him, he would bring him into a fure ftrong place to lodge

" with the MEDES and ARMENIANS? With this determination Lucullus taried a great while

before the citie of A misvs, continuing this fiege of purpole, without diffressing thematall. Afterwardes when winter was past, he left Murena there to continue the siege, and him selfe

with the rest of his armie went to meete Mithridates: who had planted his campe neere vito

the citie of CABIRA, determining to tarie the ROMANES comming, having gathered toge-

ther againe a new armie of fortie thowfand footenen, and foure thowfand horsemen, in the

A his campe, where was a castell about the citie of CABIRA. Lucullus beleued the olde mans wordes, wherefore fo foone as night came, he raifed great fires in his campe, and went his way and after they had paffed certaine straight and daungerous waves of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place which Artemidorus had promitted to bring him. Now the enemies were maruelously amazed when day light came, to see him there ouer them; in a placewhere if he lift to fight, he might come apon them with aduantage: and if he liked not ro flutte, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stoode indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the meane feason, they say certaine of the kinges campe by chaunce were a hunting the harte. The ROMANES perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them of by the way: and they began by this meanes one to charge an other in such sorte, reliefe growing still from ei-R ther side, as Mithridates men grew the stronger. But the ROMANES seeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, were in such a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to Lu-

cullus to pray him he would leade them to battell, and geue them a fignall to fight. Lucullus, bicause he would shew them by experience how much the presence & eye of a good wise Capraine in time of neede was worth : commaunded them they thould not once sturre, and he The fight of him selle in persone went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the first of his men a bassellist of he met withall flying, to ftay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make force, their enemies returne, that before had them in chase, and draue them backe, fighting with

them euen hard to their owne forte. Afterwardes vppon his returne againe to his campe, he C fette his fouldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to shamethem withall, which the Apoliticke ROMANES are wont to vie in such a case: & that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelve deufe of the footelonge, being in their shirtes, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeinge punish them doe it. Now there was in king Mithridates campe, one Olthacus, prince of the DAR- sowards foul-PARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vpon the marishes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his persone, vallyant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good judge-

ment to doe any great enterprise as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of People they great good grace and entertainment in companie, knowing how to facion him felfe with all men. This prince, being alwayes at strife with other Lordes of his contrie, and contending who should have the first place of honor and favor about the king : went vnto Muthridates, & D promifed him that he would do him notable feruice, and that was, that he would kill Lucullus. The king was very glad of this promife, and praifed him marueloufly in fecret: howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries, bicause he might have some colour to counterfeate anger and displeasure, and to gene way for him to goe yelde him selfe vnto Lucullus as he did. Lucullus was maruelous glad of him, bicause he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his Limitus date-

campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly in the which he behaued him ger by Ouhafelfe fo well, that Lucullus greatly esteemed his wisedome, and commended his diligence, in 59. fuch forte that he did him this honor, to call him fomtimes vnto the counfell, and make him fitathis borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince Olthacus thought to have found fit Olthacus occasion to execute his enterprise, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horse Dardarians. E out of the trenches of the campe: and at none dayes when the fouldiers tooke rest, and slept

here and there in the campe, he went vnto Lucullus tent, thinking to have found no body there to kepe him from comming in, confidering the familiaritie Lucullus shewed him, faying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of and fure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if fleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not at that time preserved & faued Lucullus that flept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called Menedemus, who by Lucullus life good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, bicause Lucullus being wearied with trauell and lacke of fleepe, was but then newly layed downe to reft. Othacus whatfocuer the other fayd to him, would not be fo aunswered, but tolde him he would come in whether he would or not, for he must nedes speake with him in a matter of great im-

F portaunce. Menedemus aunswered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessarie, then the preservation of his masters life and health, who had neede to take rest: and with these words, he thrust him backe with both his hands. Olibacus was affrayed

AAA ii

and rode straight to Mithridates campe without his purpose he came for, which was

Lucullus. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and oportunity of time, eucning

matters delinereth meanes, to faue or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicine

geuen vnto the ficke and difeased persones. Shortly after, Lucullus sent one of his Captains

called Sornatins to get vittells, with tenne enfignes of footemen. Whereof Mithridates being

aduertised, sent presently at his tayle one of his Captaines also, called Menander, vnto whom

Sornatius gaue battell, and flue him with great flaughter of his men befide. And afterwards

Lucullus fent an other of his Lieutenauntes called Adrianus with a great companie of foul

diers. to get vittells into his campe more then he thould neede. Mithridates did not let linge

this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines also called Menemachus and Mina

with a great number of men, as well footemen as horfemen: all which were flaine, two only

excepted, that brought newes backe to Mithridates campe: the which he fought to falless

well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it form

moyles, and flue them presently downe. Amongest others there was slaine Dorylaus, one of

the chiefest Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne,

for the which they killed him: & Hermens the Priest of the facrifices was troden under foots,

and smoothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great

disorder. The king him selfe amongest others sled, but having neuer a one of his gardeabour

him, nor any of the quiries of his stable to bring him a horse: Ptolomy, one of the groomesof

his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted of his owne horfeand

then even hard at his tayle: and it was not for lacke of speede they missed the taking of him.

gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the Romanes that followed him were B

Lucullus vi Story of certaine of Mithridates Captaines.

ned through the ignoraunce and rashnes of his Lieutenauntes. But Adrianus at his returne. passed by Mithridates campe with great pompe and maiestie, carying a huge number of camp loden with corne and spoyles he had wonne: which draue Mithridates selie into so greated spaire, & all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the nobility and fuch as had place of credit about him, beganne to fend before, and secretly to conuey their stuffe out of the campe, but veterly prohibiting othersm doe the same. The rest of the souldiers seing the stowenes of the kinges minions, begannen o fet vpon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to iffue out of the campe. This mutinie grewe to fuch a fury, that they ouerthrewe their cariages and fumper

throwe of his

whole army.

Conetonines, she ouershron of fauldiers.

for they were very neere him: but the couetouines of the fouldiers was the loffe of the prave they had so long sought for, with so great paine and hazard of battells, and depriued Luculus of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were so neere vnto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates neuer fo litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and silver (whether by Astraigeame chaunce, or of pretended policie of Mithridates, as a matter purposely habandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the high way betwixt him that fled, &the Ro-MANES that followed: who stayed there to robbe the gold & filter, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that meanes wanne ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come ! neere him againe. And this loffe was not all which the couetouines of the fouldiers made to cullus to lofe. For, one of the chiefest secretaries of the king being taken, called Callifrance, whom Lucullus commaunded to be brought vnto him to his camper they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fine hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedines of them, flue him by the way, and yet notwithstanding Lucullus suffered them to spoyle andde stroy the whole campe of their enemies. After Mithridates flight, Lucullus tooke the citie of CABIRA, and many other castells and strong places, where he founde great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the GRECIANS, & many Princes a kinne vnto the kinghim felfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then feeing them felues deliuered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of Lucullus, thought with themselves they? were not only taken out of prison, but reuiued & turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king Mithridates fifters called Niffa, whose taking fell our profitable forher

... LVIQ V LLVIS. bicanfeall Mithridates other wives and fifters, whome they placed furtherbot, as our ofall daunger (and fent into a contrie of greateltilalery, neere vino she citie of Pun rocatila) dyed Mithidaer nitefully, and were milerably flaine. For Mithridates fent one of the groomes of his printer and vises and vises. chamber unto them called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must all die . Amongest many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kinges fifters, called Roxane & Statira which were forty yeres old a peece, & yet had never bene maried: & two of his wives also whom he hadmaried, both of the contrie of Ionia, the one called Berenice, borne in the lle of Chio. and the other Monime, in the citie of MILETVM. Monime, the was very famous amonget the GRECIANS: for notwithstanding king Mithridates importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her infomuch as he fent her fifteene thowfand crownes at one time, yet the would never gene eare vnto his fute, vntill fuch time as the mariage was agreed vpon between them, and that he had fent her his Diadeame or royall bande, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Ladie after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long lived a woefull life, bewailing continually her accurred beauty, that in steade of a husband, had progured her. amafter: and in steade of the matrimoniall companie which a noble woman thould enjoy. had gotten her a gard and garrifon of barbarous men, that kept her as a prifener, faire from the weete contrie of GRECE: in chaunge whereof, the had but a dreame and thadow of the hoped goods the looked for having vnfortunately left the within her owne contry the handely enjoyed before. Now when this Bacchides was come vnto them, & had commaunded them from the king to choose what maner of death they would, & which every one of the thought most easiest, and least painefull: Monime pluckt of the royall bande from her head, and tving. The conge of iton a knot about her necke, hung her felfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake in-

continently. Whereupon the cried out : O curfed and wicked tiffue, wilt thou not yet ferue wife. metoend my forowfull dayes? And speaking these wordes, cast it on the grounde and spit aponit, and held out her throte to Bacchides to be cut a funder. The other, Berenise: flie tooke Monime her acuppe full of poylon her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the shrote was which the did, and they dranke it of between them. The force of the poylon was fironge enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not fo quickely to destroy the daughter: bicause the had not taken that proportion which would have ferued her turne but draig out the paines of her death in length, vitill fuch time as Bacchides halting to dispatch her, the in the

vomaried; they fay, that one of them also dranke poison, cursing & detesting the creeky of her glad ber fuffe, brother: howbeit Statira gaue neuer an euill word, nor was fainte harted or forowfullto dye. The word, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that feeing him (elfe in daunger, States Mishad not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them dye, before they shoulde fell as for flaues into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonor them, or do them villany. These pitiefull misfortunes went to Lucullus hart, who was curreous and gentle of nature: nevertheleffe he went on further, still following Mithridates arthe hecles water the eity of TALAVRA. And there understanding that he was fled foure dayes before unto Tigranes in Armenia, returned backe againe, having first subdued the Chaldeans, and the Taban E BENIANS, taken ARMENIA the leffe, and brought the cities of aftells, and from places verto

his obedience. That done, he fent Appius Clodius vnto king Tieranes, to summone him to de-; Appius Clliver Mithridates vnto him: & him felle tooke his iorney towards the citie of A & was which dim fen vnwas yor belieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficients and great ex- from Lucul. pedence of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called Callimachus: who vinder thoude fo well: Im howeall fortes of engines of batterie were to be yed, and was fo lubtill befides in all innen- Callimachine tions that might ferue to defende a place belieged; as he troubled the R OMARES much in Junjus. this attempt: but afterwardes he was not only met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but also ourreached by Lucullus for all his finehelle. For where before he had alwayer yied to found the retreate at a certaine hower, & to call his men backe from the affaulter to reft them:

Fone day he brake that order on the fodaine; and committing to affaulte the walles methe first, seeding was charge wanne a peece of it, before those within could come in sime to relife them; Calling, Amifu. the feeing that, and knowing it was now unpossible to keepe the city any longer, for fooke it. 1.00

D end did strangle her felf. As for the kings two fifters, Roxane & Statyra, which were virgines yet Berent fra-

AAA iii

Bur before his departing he sei the citie a fire, cithen for the malice to the ROMANES, bienes he would not they should enriche them selves with the facke of so great a citie : or elegent policy of warre to haue the more leafure to faue him felfe, and flie. For no man gaueste them that fled by lea, bicaufe the flame was fo great, that it difperfed it felfe even to the west walles, and the ROMANS fouldiers; they only prepared to spoyle. Lucultus seeing the fire with

Lucullus cor- out, had compassion of the citie within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for the purpose praved the fouldiers quickely to quench it: but not a man would harken to him, euery ones. ping after the spoyle, making great noyse with classifying of harnesse, and being very lowders fides otherwife, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to fpoyle; he ping thereby to faue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the foldiers them felues in feeking all about with torches & linckes lighted, to fee if any thing were hidden the fet a number of houses a fire. So as Lucullus comming into the citie the next morning, and feeing the great defolacion the fire had made, fell of weeping, faying vnto his familiar frends about him: he had oftentimes before thought Sylla happy, howbeithe neuer wondredmore at his good fortune, then that day he did . For, Sylla layd he, defiring to faue the citie of A.

THENS, the goddes graunted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would faincfollow Luculus gen- him therein, and faue this citie, fortune thwarting my defire, hath brought me to the comme cion of Munmius, that caused Corint HE to be burnt. Neverthelesse he did his best endance at that time to helpe the poore citie againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly aftering was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that turns ched it: and Lucullus selse before he left the citie, made a great number of the houses which o were foovled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curreoutly received all the inhabitauntes that were fled, befides them he placed other GRECIANS there also, that were willing to dwellamongelt them, and increased the boundes and confines of the citie which he gaue them one hundred and ewenty furlonges into the contrie. This citie was a colony of the ATHENIANS who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire florished, and that they ruled the feas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of Aristion, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the fame. This good happe fell your them. that forfaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enjoy the goodes of other men but the very citizens of ATHENS it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation. Lucally clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and fent them agains in

to their contrie. Transion the grammarian was taken at that time, whom Murana begoes of Lucultus and Lucultus having graunted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dollies ry discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner uppon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane Murana should take him for a bondeman, whereby he should neede afterwardes to make him free. For fee ming to make him free, and restore him to libertie was no more but to take that freedome and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other thinges, and not in that only, Murana layed him felfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Cape taine should have in him. When Lucullus departed from A MI S V S, he went to visite the cities of As 1A, to thend that whileft he was not now occupied with warres, they might have four !! refreshing of lawes and instice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long rimein As SIA, the poore contry was to afflicted, and opprefied with to many enils and miferies tand man living would feant below, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and hos rible conetonines of the farmers, customers, and ROMANE vierers did not only denoure in but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were drivento fell their goodly young fonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and viery of the money which they had borowed to discharge their fines withall: & publikely the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the statues of their goddes, and other church juells; and ver in the end they them selves were also judged to be bondmen & slaves to their cruell creditors, to weath out their dayes in miserable seruitude. And yet the worst of all was, the payne they pur them ! to before they were fo condemned for they imprisoned them, fer them on the racke, tormed sed them yppon a litle brafen horfe, fette them in the flockes, made them flande naked in the

A meatest heate of fommer, and on the sem the deepest of winter, to as charbontages emed which a reliefe of their mileries, and a releof their to montes. Livelle for the the critics of Asia full of fuch oppressios, but in athorte time after he delinered them all what were wrongfully formented. For first he tooke order, they thould accompt for the viery that was paved

monethly, the hundred parte of the principall der onely, and no more. Secondly the ent of all That hat after Meries that paffed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordered the rate of it. matthe creditor & vierer should enjoy the fourth parte of the profites & revenues of his det- for the place. ter. And he that foyned viery with the principall, that is to fay, tooke viery vpon viery: Thould Lange for bethe whole. So that by this order, all dettes were payed in leffe then foure yeares and the which landes and retienties fet clete of all maner payments. This furcharge of vieries, came Afthe twenty thow lande talentes, wherein Sylla had condemned the contrie of Asta: the

which Rittine they had payed twife before vnto the farmers and collectors of the Roman's who had raifed it, still heaping viery vpon viery, to the lumme of fixe icore thow fand talents! Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to Rome, and eried out vpon Littallas, favings

which edid them the greatest wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured remaine of the common counfellers to fpeake against him : which they mighe casily doe! bicause they had diverse of their names in their bookes that delt in thatfaires of the common wealth at Rome. But Lucultus was not only beloued of those contries whom he did good vnto but was wished for and defired also of others, who thought the contries happy that might haue hier a governor. New for Appins Clodies, whom Lucallus had fent before from Pict xv- Appins clo-O an vitto king Tigranes in ARMENIA, and whole lifter at that time was Lucullus wife: he first disc, twellise tooke certains of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high contry, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many dayes forneys spent in vaine: vntill

such time as one of his infranchefed bondmen that was borne in S vil a taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leaving the wrong wayes they hadled him, within fewe dayes past ouer the river of Euphrates, and arrived in the citie of Emphraness. ANTIOCH, furnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commaundement to abide Tieranes returne who was then in the contry of PHENICIA, where he subdued certaine cities, & had some othervet to conquer. Appins in the meane time wanne fecretly divers of the princes and noblemen, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, and against their willes, amongelt whom was Zarbierus, king of the prouince of Gordi ENA: & promised the aide of Zarbierus

Lutullus alfoto many the cities that fent vnto him; (which had not long before bene fubdued diena, & brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he game in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once sturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of these ARMENIANS Was in- Tigranes tollerable to the GR ECIANS, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who by pride and reason of his great prosperitie, was growen to such pride and presumption, that what so ever mendid commonly efteeme best, & make most reckoning of, he would not only hate at aid vieiras his owne, but alfo tooke it that all was made for him lelfe what locuet and this preat ouerwening grew, by reason offortunes speciall grace and fauor towardes him. For at the beginning he find but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he con-E quered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the PARTHIANS as thurst as any manthatetier was before him. He replenished the contry of Mesono TAMI with Gaz-CIAN mhabitauntes, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPAD deray com-

pelling them to inhabite there. He made the Anabet an schaunge their maner of liming who he orbetwile called the Schnitzes, as much to lay, as rent dwellers, Bieaufe they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houses but tentes? Which they ever vie to carle with them. and brollefit their out of their naturall contrie; and made them followe him, whing them for his commodity in trade of marchaundife. There were ever many kings in his courte that waired on him. But amongeft others, he had fourte kinges that wanted continually on the perion. as his fooretheh? for when he rode abroade any whether, they tanne by his fling pelatheir filmes. And when he was fet in his chaire of frace to gene and ence; they floode of this feete

about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenance friewed the mole manifelt confession and tokens of bondage that they could do vitte him : as if they had thewed AAA nij

The boldnes cullus Ambaffador unte

thereby that they refigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and new fter, more ready to fuffer, then any thing to doe. Notwithstanding, Appius Clodius being thing abathed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was genen him and king Tigranes boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king Mithridates away with him who was due to the triumphe of Lucullus: & therefore did fummone him to deliuer that line into his handes, or else that he proclaimed warres vpon him selfe. They that were presented this fummons, knew well enough that Tigranes (although he fet a good countenaunce of the matter openly with a fainte counterfeate laughing) yet hearing these wordes so boldly & sal lantly spoken out of this young mans mowth, was galled to the quicke, and hitte at the hand For Tigranes having reigned, (or to fay better tyrannically gouerned) fine and twenty years space, had neuer heard any bold or francke speache but that. Notwithstanding, he aunifered Appins, that he would not deliuer Mithridates: and if the Romanes made warres with him. that he would defende him felfe. And being greatly offended that Lucullus in his letters game him not the title, king of kinges, but only king fimply: in the letters he wrote backe to Land.

not once see king Msthridates his so neere kinseman, who by fortune of warres had loft so puis

fant and great a kingdome, but prowdly kept him vnder in fennie, marrishe, and vnhollome o

lus againe, he did not so much as vowchesaue to call him Captaine onely. But when tooke his leaue, he fent him goodly riche presentes which he resused. Whereupon the kine fent others againe vnto him, of the which Appises tooke a cuppe only, bicause the king should king of giftes. not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will : and so sending all the rest againe your him. made great hast to returne to his Captaine Lucullus. Nowe Tigranes before that time would

grounds, without any honor geuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner in deedehow. beit then he sent for him honorably, and received him with great curtesie. When they were Tigrants and neere together in the kinges palace, they talked fecretly one with an other, & excusing them Mithridates

praise, and

selues, clearing all suspicions conceiued between them, to the great hurt of their servannes and frendes, whom they burdened with all thoccasion of vnkindnes between them: among which number Metrodorus Schpsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquentin speache, and one whome Mithridates so much loued and esteemed, that they called him the kinges father. Mithridates at the beginning of his warres had fent him Ambaffador vnto Tigranes, to pray ayde of him against the ROMANES. At which time Tigranes sayd vnto him bur what fayest thou to it Metrodorus: what aduise wilt thou geue me? Metrodorus either bicaule he had regard vnto Tigranes profit, or else bicause he was loth Mithridates should escapean fwered himagaine. As Ambaffador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsel, lor, that you should not do it. Tigranes now reported this speache vnto Mithridates, not thing king he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though in deede he prefently put him to deathy. pon it. Whereat Tigranes was hartely forie, and repented him greatly to have tolde himfo much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but only reuiued Mithridates euill will before conceiued against him . For he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that Metrodorus should be put to death: but in recompence thereat Tigranes buried his body honorably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead body of him, whom B liuing he had betrayed. There dyed in king Tigranes courte alfo, an Orator called Amphierate, Athen, dred if he deserve that mention should be made of him, for the citie of ATHENS sake whereof he

an Orator of inking Tigra- was borne: for it is fayd, that when he was banished out of his contrie, he fled into the city of Selencia a cisy flanding a-

aunswered them prowdly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto Cleopatra, Mithridates daughter, and king Tigranes wife, where he was quickely suspected and accused sother he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS copany any more, which grieued him formuch that he familhed him selfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very hos. norably buried by the Queene Cleopatra, nere vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that contry. Now when Lucullus had quieted all thinges in As IA, and had established good lawes

SELEVCIA, which standerhypon the river of Tigris. When the inhabitats of the same praise

him to teache them the arte of eloquence in their contrie, he would not vowchefaue it, but

A ambing them, he was not careleffe also of games and pleasaunt pathimes, but while he was at lessing in the city of EPHES vs, he made many games, feaftes, wrollinges and fence playes at the flampe for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of A san with them, the which in re-

compencetherof did institute a solemne feast also in the honor of him, which they salled Lucollege and did celebrate it with greation, thewing a true and no fained frend this peand good will nawardes him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honor they could deuise to gene him. But after that Appine Glodin was returned from his Amhillade; and had tolde Lucultus that he must make warres with Tigranes: Lucultus went backe againe vnto the realme of Pontvs, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garrifon. and brought it before the city of SIN OVE to lay frege vnto it, or father to befrege certaine CIrice and that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of Mithridates. But when they lawe Lu-

come against them, they flue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city. Hed sheir way by night. Lucullus being advertised of it, entred the citie, put eight thowsande Lucullus saof the CILICIANS to the fword which he found there, and reftored the natural cirizens and keth Simpe in inhabitantes thereof to all that was theirs. But the original cause that made him to be carefull to preserve the city, was this vision he had . He thought in his sughtes drearne that one Luculius came to him, and fayd: goe a little further Lucullus, for Autolycus commeth, who is defirous to meake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vi-

for ment. It was the felfefame day on the which he tooke the city of Sinops, where following the CILICIANS that escaped by flying, be found an image lying on the ground voon the

lea fide, which the CILICIANS would have caried away: but they were taken and followed fo neere, that they had no leasure to shippe it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the good- Affante made

lieft and notableft workes of Sthenis the Image grauer. And some say that it was the image of Autolyous who founded the city of SINOPE. For Autolyous was one of the princes that went Autolyone out of THESSALIE with Hercules to go against the AMAZ ONEs, and he was the sonne of Dei- founder of the muchus. And they reporte that at the returne from this voyage, the shippe in the which Auto- city of Sinope. how was imbarked, with Demoleon & Phlogius, made shippewracke vpon a rocke on the coast of CHERRONBSVS, where the was cast away: howbeit that he & his me scaping with all their

fumiture, came to the city of Sinope, which he tooke from certaine Syrians, who came (as The Strians they fay) of one Syrus the sonne of Apollo, and of the nimphe Sinope Alopus daughter, Lucullus why so called D understanding this matter, called a faying of Sylla to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may gene more credit vnto, then that which solder, note is fignified to vs by dreames. In the meane season he was advertised, that Tigranes & Mithri- for dreams.

dates were ready to come downe into Lucaonia, and Cilicia, bicause they might first enter Asia. Lucullus marueled much at Tigranes counsell, that fithence he was minded to warre with the ROMANES, he did not vie Mithridates ayde in his warres at fuch time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then joyne his power with Mitbridates. rather then suffer him to be destroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding him felfe with those, that could not helpe them selues. While these thinges passed in this sorte, Mathares king Mithridates sonne, that kept the realme of Bos PHORVS, fent a crowne of golde vnto Lucullus, of the waight of athomiande Matheman

Sornatius with fixe thow fand men to keepe the realme of Pont vs, he departed with twelve. Lucullus. thowfand footemen, and leffe then three thowfand horfemen rogo to the second warres. And hereinall the world condemned him, and thought it too rath and light a parte of him to goe Incolled 20with fo small a company to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put him felle vnto the eth against hazard of fo many thowfandes of horsemen, in a maruelous large contry, and of a wonderfull a small comlength, enuironned round about with deeperiuers, and mountaines, couered with fnoweall party. the yeare through : fo that his fouldiers, which otherwise were no special well trained men, The quarelenor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an enill will, and did stubbornly diffobey him. linge counfel.

And on thother fide, the common counfellers at Rome, are cried out on him continually, and o- lers at Rome, penly protested before all the people, that out of one warre he sowed an other, which the property.

crownes, praying him that he would name him a frende and confederate of the Romanes. Mithreland Whereupon Lucultus thought he was then at the very last ende of his first warra, and leaving frendsipped

still to raise newe occasions of warres, to the ende he might alwayes haue armies at his

maundement, & neuer leaue the warres, bicause he would make him selfe great with there

riuer of Euphrates, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddes: and these kyne ther

and perill of the common wealth. These crying counsellers in the end obtained their purpose which was: to call home Lucullus againe, and to fubstitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speede he coulde, so that he came few dayes vnto the river of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reasons

to the riber of the winter season: which troubled him maruelously at that present, doubting least it would found it very hold him there a long time in finding out of boates, & making of postes and planckes to build high, and a bridge to passe ouer his army. But towardes night the water beganne to fall a litte, and in the rough. The fireunge and fodaine night fell fo much, that the next morning the river was comen to her ordinary streamer and a moreouer, the contrie men them selues decerning certaine litle Ilandes that appeared was fall of the rithem in the middest of the water course, and the river very calme as a marrishe rounde about ner of Enthem, did honor Lucullus as a god, bicaufe it was a thing they had neuer feene chaunce before phrases from as though at his comming the river had sodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to geue him safe and easie passage. And bicause he would not loose that oportunitie, he pass fed ouer his army immediatly: and was no fooner on thother fide, but he met with a happie token of good lucke, which was this, On thother fide of the river, there was a certaine number of kyne confecrated to Diana Perfica, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyondethe

employ to none other vie, but only to facrifice them vnto this goddeffe. They wander all and bout the contry where they will, without any maner of tying, or shackling otherwise, having Kyne confena Perfica.

Tigru fl.

only the marke of the goddesse, which is a lampe printed upon their bodies, and they areno easie to be taken when one would have them, but with great a doe. One of these consecrated kvne, after that Lucullus army was passed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her selfe vpon a rock which they suppose is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddesse, bowing downe her head, and stretching out her necke, like those that are tyed shorte, as if she had comen euen of purpose to present her selfe to Lucullus, to be sacrificed as the was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also vnto the river Euphrates, in token of thankes for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first offer her felfe day did nothing but encampe him felfe only, on the other fide of the river: but the nextmos-10 Liculius 10 ning, and the other dayes following, he went further into the contry by the way of SOPHENELL The course of hurring none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly received his army. For when his men would have had him to have take a castell by force, where they said was great stored gold and filuer: he shewed them mownte Taurus a farre of, and told them it is that which we must rather go to take. As for the thinges which be in this castell, they be kept for them that vanquishe: and going on still with great iorneys, passed ouer the river of Tigris, and so entre therealme of ARMENIA with a maine armie. Now for Tigranes, the first man that ventured to bring him newes of Lucullus comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut of his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durft no man fay any thing vnto him, vntill such time as he was at the last enuironned rounde with fire, which Lucullus army had raised about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was sporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that Lucullus in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durft butta-TY Tigranes comming downe in the citie of Exhausvs only, and howe he would straightflie out of all Asia, so some as he might but heare tell of his comming against him with so miumphing an army of so many thow and men. And thus may we see, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like strong nor able to cary much wine: so in like case all wittes be not resolute and constant, neuer to doe amisse, nor to swarue from reasons bandes in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes, one of Tigranes familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the troth: whose boldnes had little better reward for his newes, then the furth that was beheaded. For Tigranes fent him immediatly with three thowfand horse, and a good deh Milhre- number of footemen, commaunding him that he should bring Lucullus aliue vnto him, and F that furthermore, he should marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus alreadie camped with parte of his army, & the other parte comming after, when his skowtes brought

a himnewes of the barbarous Captaines approache: which at the first out him in feare that if theenemy (hould come and affaile them thus feattered in companies, & not raunged in bacrell and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in oil order. And therefore beremained within his campe to fortifie the same, and sent Sextilines one of his Lieutenaunts, Lucullan ferwith a thowland fixe hundred horse, and as many footemen (or a few more) as well maked as against Misamed: commaunding him to approach as neere to his enemy as he could without fighting; in baryanda only to flay him there, vntill fuch time as he heard newes that all his army was come together into his campe. Sextilius went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight;

shough against his will) Mithrobarzanes came so brauely & lustely to affayle him. So was the hartell striken between them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was flaine valliantly fighting, & all Sentition state hismen either broken or killed, fewe excepted, that onely by flying faued them lelues. After ner and onerthis ouerthrow, Tigranes for fooke his great royall citie of Tig RANOCBRTA that he built him shrene his telfe, & went to mount Taurus, where he affembled a great number of men out of all partes. force. But Lucullus would geue him no leafure to prepare him felfe, but fent Murena on the one fide Tigramoceria;

rocut them of by the way, and to ouerthrowe those that were affembled about him : and on built by Titheother fide Sextilius to Stoppe a great company of the ARABIANS that were comming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius fet apon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner every man. And Murana following king Tigranes at the heeles, spyed an occasion to genethe charge as he passed a long and narrow valley, in the bottome wherof the way was very ill, and specially for an armie of such a length: & taking the oportunity, set apon the rereward, which C. Tioranes perceiuing, fled ftraight vpon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe in the way before the enemies to fray them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS flavne in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Those thinges having this successes, Execultus went to the ci-Wof TIGRANO CERTA, the which he besiegeth round. In that citie were a maruelous number Lucillas beof GRECIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the bar-granound barous people also whom they had vsed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the AD I-

ABENIANS, the Assyrtans, the GORDI ENIANS, and the CAPPAD OCIANS, whose towness

and cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By rea-

fon whereof, this city of TIGRANGERTA was full of golde and filter, of mettells, Ratues,

rables and pictures, bicause every man (as well private, as Princes and Lords) studied to please

fell for geuing of the battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates did enuy the glory of king

Tigranes, and therefore did thus diffwade him from battell. For which respect Tigranes would

not somuch as tary for him, and bicause also Mithridates should have no parce of the honor

of his victory: but went into the fielde with all this great army, vaunting amongest his famis

D theking, to enrich and beawtifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for

thesame. And hereuppon Lucullus straighted the siege as much as he could, perswading him selfe that Tigranes would neuer suffer, that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would prefent him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he gessed right, had it not bene that Mithridates had dissiwaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should in no case hazard battell, and perswaded him ra-

ther to cut of the vittells on all fides from the ROMANES with his horsemen. The selfe same counsell and adusse did Taxiles (the Captaine whom Mithridates sent) geue him in his campe, Taxilesporand prayed him very earnestly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROM ANES. Fradesh Ti-Tigranes pacientile harkened to their reasons at the first. But when the Armenians were fight with the E come, and all the force of the contry besides, and the GORDIENIANS, and that the kinges of Romanies the Medes and of the Adiabenians were common also with all their power, and that on thother fide there came a maruelous great hoft of the ARABIANS that dwell apon the fea of BABYLON, and a multitude of the ALBANYANS from the Caspian sea, and of the IBBRIANS their neighbors, besides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by theriuer of Araxes, some comming freely to doe him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table nor in counfell. but of affured hope of victorie, and of great bragges and barbarous threatninges, fo that Taxiles was in great dauger of him felfe, bicaufe he was against the determination taken in coun-

The provde faying of Ti granes.

Tigranes whole armie: swo hundred shree Score thou fand men.

Lucullus army against Ti-

liars as they reporte, that nothing grieued him but one; that he should fight with lone, and not with all the other ROMANE Captaines. Now this brauery was not fo forder fo farre out of square, but that there was great likelyhoode of it when he saw so many similar nations about him, fo many kinges that followed him, fo many battells of armed footene and so many thowsande of horsemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and slinges one twenty thowfand : fine and fifty thowfand horfemen, whereof feuenteene thowfande menor armes, armed from toppe to toe, as Lucullus him felfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thowsand armed footemen, deuided by ensignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carnin. ters, masons, and such other kinde of handy craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridgesm passe ouer rivers, to stoppe streames, to cut worde, and to make such kinde of workes, of this forte of people, the number of fine and thirty thowfand, who followed in battell ray in there. reward of the army, making their campe seme farre greater, & by so much the more stronger When Tigranes shewed on the toppe of mount Taurus, and that they might plainly seeking whole army from the city, and that him felfe also might easily decerne Lucullus armie that he fieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the citie were fo glad of this fight, that they made wonderfull howtes of ioy, and great clapping of handes, threatming the ROMANES from their walles, and shewing them the army of the Armenians, Lucullus inche meane time fate in counfell to confider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided against Tigranes. But others liked northat he should leaue so great a number of enemies at his backe, neither than he should raise his siege. Lucullus made them aunswere, that neither of them both did count fell him well, but both together did counfell him right: Whereuppon he deuided his amir. and left Murens at the fiege of TIGRANO CERTA with fixe thowfand men: and he with four and twenty cohortes (in the which were not about tenne thowfand armed footemen) and all his horfemen, with a thowfand bow men and flinges or thereabouts, went towardes Tigran, and camped in a goodly broade fielde by the rivers fide. The Romanes feemed but a hand full to Tigranes campe, so that for a while Tigranes parasyts made but a may game of themm sporte withall. For some mocked them to scorne, other drewe lottes, and played awaytheir parte of the spoyles, as if they had already wonne the fielde: and enery one of the kinges and Captaines came and offered them selves to Tigranes, and besought him everie man forhim felfe, that he would geue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would please him to fit by in some place to see the sporte. Tigranes then, bicause he would shewe that he could be as pleafaunt as the rest, spake a thing knowen to euery man. If they come as Ambassadors, quod he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played youn the ROMANES, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time : but the next morning by breake of day, Lucullus brought all his men armed into the fielde, and put them in a der of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on thother fide of the river towards the East, and by chaunce the streame of the river turned sodainly towardes the West, where there was a better ford to passe ouer. Wherfore Lucullus marching with his army by the rivers fide, following the streame to meete with some forde, hasting to ger ouer, Tigranes thought he had marched away, and called for Taxiles, and fayd vnto him, laughing. Doeft thouses Taxiles, those goodly Romane legyons, whom thou praisest to be men so inuincible; howe they flie away now? Taxiles aunswered the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miraclethis day: for dourlesse it were a straunge thing that the ROMANES should sie. They are not wont to weare their braue cotes and furniture vppon their armor. when they meane onely but to marche in the fieldes: neither doe they carie their shieldes and targets vncased, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this present, having throwen away their leather cases and coueringes. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we fee so bright and glistering in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they marche towardes vs. Taxiles had no sooner spoken these wordes, but Lucullus in the view of his enemies, made his enfigne bearer turne fodainly that carried the first Eagle, & the bands F tooke their places to passe the river in order of battell. Then Tigranes secretly comen to him felfe, as out of dronkennes: cried out alowde twife, or thrife, come they then to vs? But then

A was there no finall four e and tumule, to put fuch a world of people into hattell. The king Tigrate him felfe yndertooke to leade the midle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the APIABENIA NS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the most patte The ordering of the complete armed men, who made the first front of all the battell, But as Lucallus was rea- of Tigrames dyto paffe the river, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vitto him, to with him to rake heede that he fought not that day, bicause it was one of those which the ROMANES thought unfortunate; and call them Atri, to fay, blacke: for upon one of those dayes, one Co- Artiblacke or niewas ouerthrowen in a fet battell with all his army by the CIMBRES, But Lucultus gave the inforunaise aprety aunswere againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (layd daye. helfor the ROMANES. It was the fixteenth day of the moneth of October. And lo with thole wordes encoraging his men, passed ouer the river, and went him selfe the foremost man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of ficele, made with scalloppe, Luculius barhelles, thining like the funne, & vpon that an arming coate fringed tound about, holding his, tell with Tiword drawen in his hand: to let his men understand, that they must sodainly joyne with their Luculus arenemies, and fight at the fwordes pointe, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre of with mor. hotte and flinges, and that he would fo quickely winne the distaunce of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they should have no leasure to shoote. And furthermore. perceiuing that the strength of their men of armes (wherof they made so great accompt) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and quen, and the way vp the hill not passing foure furlonges trauaill, and not very hard nor steepe to clime: he sent thither Coettaine horsemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commaunded them to geue a charge on the flancke to diforder them, & affay to cut their launces, with their swordes. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for them selves, nor against their enemies, they are so heavely armed and lodens foasit feemeth they are locked up in their armor, as in an iron prison. And he him selte therewithall taking two enfignes of footemen, stroue also to gaine the toppe of the hill, his fouldiersfollowing him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, bicause they saw him the formost mantrauailing a foote, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten up to the toppe, he stayed a litle in the highest place he could finde, and then cried out with a lowd voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those wordes, he ledde them ap gainst these men of armes, commaunding them they should not medle with throwing of their dartes, but taking their swordes in their handes they should strike at their thighes and legges. bicause they have no other partes of their bodies naked. How beit there was no neede of such fight, for they taried not the ROMANES, but with great crying out turned their horse heades immediatly, and ranne cowardly (them selues and their horses, heavie armed as they were) through the middest of the bandes of their footemen, before they had striken a stroke. And Luculus fathus were fo many thowfandes of men broken without any stroke striken, or any man hurt, or of Tigranu. one droppe of blood seene to be spilt. But the great slaughter was, when they beganne to sie, or (to fay better) when they thought to flie : for they could not flie, they ranne fo one apon anothers necke by reason of the maruelous length and bredth of their battells. Tigranes amongest the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, & seeing his sonne running the fame fortune, flying as him felfe did, tooke of his diadeame or royall bande from Tigrames his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to faue him felfe as well as he could by flight. some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his deameraken trusty servauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto Lucullus: so that a- by Lucullus. mongest the other spoyle and prisoners, there was taken Tigranes diadeame. It is thought that there were flaine arthis ouerthrow, aboue a hundred thowland footemen, and very few of all the horsemen saued. On the ROMANES side, there were about a hundred hurt, and five slaine. Antiochus the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, wryteth that the funne neuer faw the like overthrowe. And Strabo an other Philosopher in a certaine Fabridgement he made of stories sayd, that the ROMANES were ashamed, and laughed at them selves that they had drawen their swordes against such dastardly saues. And Titus Linius declareth alforthat the Romans were never in any battell with fo small a number of fighting

praife. Two purfant kinges ouer-

166 LVCVLLVS. men, against fo great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world and twentith parte(nothing like)of those that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldest and before perienced Captaines of the ROMANES did highly commende Lucullus, bicause he had one cometwo of the greatest & most mighty Princes of the world, by two fundry corrary means the one by tract and delay, and the other by fpede and fwiftnes. For he vndermyned and end fumed Mithridates, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time when all his stregth was whale and to the contrary he deltroyed Tigranes with great speede and haste. And thus did he that which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vied delay of time to execute, and vallianterns. dition to winne the victory. This was the cause why Mithridates made no hast to come to the battel, thinking still that Lucullus had vsed his wonted policy, to delay and gene backe always and therefore he came by small iorneys vnto Tigranes campe. But meeting at the first with a fewe of the Armenians that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed be straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them nakeds. fore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to fecke out Tigranes, whom he found alone, for faken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite Tigranes in aduerfity with that pride and difdaine he had vied him before in his miferie: but lighted of his horse, to bewaile with him their common missfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine of a kings court that followed him to ferue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to place vo his hart againe, and to be coragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied a freshethe whole force & power they could from all the partes of their dominions. In the meane feafor there fell out great fedition in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, between the GRECIANS and there

barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would have yeelded up the towne into Luille Lucullus tooke hands. Whereupon, Lucullus geuing an affault to the city at that very inftant, wanne it. & fee-Tigranocerra. fed yoon the kings treasure there, leaving all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which

besides all other riches, there was eight thowsand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoile that was won ap in the enemies, eight hudred Drachmas vnto euer fouldier. And vnderstanding that there were divers musicians, common players, minstrels, and fuch kinde of people meete for feaftes and sporte, whom Tigranes had sent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in his city:he caused all the to serve at the spores and feastes of this victory. After the solempnization whereof, he sent the GRECIANS home againe vnto their contry, and gaue them money to defraye their charges by the way, and then barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their native contries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city for faken, many others were builts gaine, and stored with people: bicause those cities had thereby recourred their naturallinhabitants againe, who euer after did loue & honor Lucullus, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also, according to his vertue and merites. For Lucullus liked better the praise that came of bounty, of iustice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of marface and cit- shall proves & cheualty. For in deedes of armes, he fayd his army partly deserved praise, and fortune also caried the best parte away : but the praise of the other, were onely due vnto him felfe. Whereby he shewed the valor of an excellent good man, well raught and trained win vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wannethe B hartes of the barbarous people in such force, that the kinges of the ARABIANS came of good will to put them selues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHEN IANS alfo yeld them felues vnto him. The GORDIENIANS in like maner, they liked Lucullus fo well, that they would willingly have for faken their cities, houses & contry, to follow him with their wines & children vpon this occasion, Zarbienus king of these Gordienians, as we have recited before, had privily entred amity with Lucullus, by meanes of Appius Clodius, who could no lenger away with the tyranny of Tigranes. This practife was bewrayed vnto Tigranes, who put Zarbienus, his wife, & children to death, before the ROMANES maine army came into the contry of ARMENIA. Howbeit Lucullus did not forget it, but paffing through his realme, gauehim very royall funeralles. For having heaped vp a huge pyle of wodde, sumptuously ser out with F cloth of gold and filuer, & other rich spoiles of Tigranes: he him selfe in person, would needes fet it a fire, and made the funerall effutions and accustomed sprincklinges at burialles, with his

Zarbienus king of the flaine by TiA frendes and kinsemen, doing him this honor, as to call him frend and confederate of the Ros ways people, & appointed also a great summe of money besides to erect a sumpruous tombe for him. For they found great store of gold and filuer in the kinges castell, and there was blenry of prouision also of three hundred thow sand but hells of wheate: the which did enriche his fouldiers marueloufly, and made Lucullus to be wondered at, that havinge received not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at Rome, he had not with standing made the warre entermine it felfe. About the felf same time also, the king of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors vnwhim to offer him his frendshippe and allyance : which Lucullus willingly accepted, and sent Ambassadors fro him also of acceptation, who made reporteto Lucullus at their returne that theking of the PARTHIANS stoode doubtfull how to resolve which parte he should take, and that fecretly he fent vnto Tigranes, to aske the realme of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aide him against the ROMANES, Lucullus being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leave Tigranes and Mithridates, as two enemies wearied & ouercome. Walitle to proue the force & power of the PARTHIANS by making warres upon the thinking irgreat honor vnto him, if he might discomfit and ouerthrow three so mighty kings one after another, like a valliant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had naffed through the contries of three of the greatest Princes vndet the sunne, alwayes a conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto Sernative and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realine of Pontvs, that they should repayie to him with all speede with the bandes they had under their charge, for that he was determi-Ched to departe out of the contry of GORDIENA, to go against the PARTHIANS: howbeit his Lucultus pripurpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenauntes that had many times before sounde their paresh to goe purpose affected by occasion. For its Electromagnation and Mary and Society of the foundation of the f homakes & incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by Lucidius foulany compulsion or perswasions they could vie: but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them dies fall to plainly, that they would no lenger tary where they were, but would goe home to their contry. and leave the realme of Pontvs without gard or garrison at all. And further, that worst of all was, when these newes were brought to Lucullus campe, they gaue a full example of boldnes to his fouldiers there, to mutiny in such forte, having good will and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become Full purses, 60 so dull and lasie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but defired to live in eafermaketh all idlenes and ease. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes stowtenesse, called them Instie Conditions. laddes, faying they must needes take the like course, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good feruice of long time done, which well deferued leave nowe to departe home with lafety, and thenceforth take their rest. Lucullus hearing of this their talke, & many other their words worfe, and fuller of fedition then thefe: brake of his enterprise against the PARTHIANS. and went againe in the middest of sommer to meete with Tigranes, But when he was come to. the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to see the fields so full of wheate yet standing, which came by the feafon of the years, and coldnes of the ayer, being so slacke and slowe in all those partes. Neuertheles, he came downe into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes ouerthrew E the Armenian s, that ventered to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley. and destroyed the whole contry, without let or stoppe of any man, taking away the provision,

of corne that was made for. Tigranes campe: wherby he straighted his enemies vnto that nede

and necessity of vittells which him selfe feared, & yet ceased not to prouoke them (by all other

meanes) to come to battell. Somtime enclosing their cape with trenches about, as if he ment

to famish them: sometime againe destroying and spoyling the whole contry before their face.

But bicause they had so ofte bene discomfitted, they would no more stirre, nor once mone 4gainst him. Lucullus perceiving that, in the end raised his campe, & went and layed siege vnto Incultus be-ARTAXATA the chiefe city of the kingdom of ARMENIA, in the which were Tigranes lawfull fiegeth Areawines & young children, hoping that Tigranes would rather hazard an other battell, then fuffer that city to be loft. It is fayd that Hanniball of CARTHAGE (after king Antiochys was ouer- nia. throwen in battell by the ROMANES) went vnto king Artaxes, whom he taught many necessa-

ry and profitable things for his realmer& amongest others, considering that one of the good-

plat of a city, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The kinglibed

his deuise maruelous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to see the worke fini.

shed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, Attare

ta: and held euer after the reputacion of the chiefest place of the whole realme of Armenia

Tieranes being aduertised that Lucullus went to laye siege thereunto, could not endure it being

Hanniball

against the Awhich are people of Me-Three kings ranged in

went with all his army to follow the ROMANES, and the fourth day came and camped hardhe them: infomuch as there was but the river of Arfanias between them, which the ROMANIA of necessitie must passe ouer to goe to ARTAXATA. Lucullus havinge first sacrificed vuto the goddes, affuring him selfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie passe ouer in order of battell, putting twelve cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, fearing least the enemies having a great number of men of armes shoulde environne them? their backes. They had against them also the MARDIAN bow men a horse backe, and the Iss. RTANS with their lances, in whom Tigranes trusted more then in any other, as in the best food diers he had in pay and yet for all that they did no notable feruice. For when they had skirming shed but a little with the horsemen of the ROMANES, they durst not tarie the legyonaries or footebands that came behinde them, but dispersed them selues, some slying one way, some an other, which intifed the ROMANE horiemen to follow the chase. But when the men of arms that were about Tigranes person, sawe the horsemen so scattered abroade, they began straight to breake vpon the footemen. Lucullus feeing the great multitude of them, and how paffingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat affrayed thereof: sent in hast to call in his o horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meane time him selfe marched foremost, against these Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the fronte before him with all the nobility of their hoaft, whom he put in fuch a feare, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kinges ranged in battell one hard by an other, how beit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was Mithridates king of Ponty s, who had not the hart so much as to abide the cries of the Romanes. The chase was very long; forit continued all night vntill fuch time as the Romanes were wearied with killing, taking of prifoners, and packing vp of all kindes of fpoyles. Titus Liuius fayeth, that there were flaine moe men in the first battell: but greater personages in the seconde, and the chiefest of the enemies her Tigranes were all taken. After this battell Lucullus hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to 1 goe further into the contry, even vtterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumne (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that feefon haue thought) there fell out so great a cold, that for the most part it did nothing but snow. and if the element did any thing cleere, then frose it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the rivers were so extreamely congealed with ife. And there could no man passe over by forde: for they did not so soone enter, but the ise brake, and cut the vaines & sinewes of the horse legges a sunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore, the contrybeing full of trees, woddes and forrestes, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to passely the fieldes, they were through wet with fnow that fell vpon them: & when they came to their lodging, then it was worfe, for there were they constrained to lye in fost & moyst places. And E therefore the fouldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refused to goesny further. And first they sent their Collonells and Captaines to intreate Lucullus to leane of this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in trowpes, and in the night time beganne to murmure and groyne in their tents (which is a certaine figne and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell against their Generall) although that Lucullus vsed all gentle perswasions to winne them with pacience to abide this iorney, at the least, till time they might take the citie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to thende they might there destroy the worke and memory of the greatest enemy that euer the Romanes had in this world, meaning The count of Hanniball, But when he faw all this would not prevaile, he brought them backe againe, & pal-Mygdonia.
Nifibis, alias fed ouer mount Taurus an other way, and came downe into the contry called Mygdonia. Anisochia, a very hotte and fertile foyle, where there is a great city, and marueloufly replenished withincity of Mys- habitauntes: who call it N 151B15, and the GRECIANS call it ANTIOCH, Of MY GOONIA IA

A thit city Gouras was Gouernor, who was Tigranes owne brother but for experiece in engines of battery, and for fufficiencie and skill in fuch matters, there was Callimachus alfo, he that fo marucloufly troubled Lucullus before at the fiege of the city of Amis, vs. Lucullus placing his campe before this city, befieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, and that so valliantly, that in very shorte time he tooke it by affault. And as for Gouras, who submitted him Lucullus mas felic to Lucullus mercie, he was very curteoully intreated. But for Callimachus, he would not by affault. once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would saue his life he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him felfe onely. But Turallus commaunded them to bring him with gyues to receive the punishment he had justly described, for setting the city of AMISVS a fire, and taking from him the meane to showe the Collimanter R GRECIANS his goodnesse, affection and liberality towardes them. Vntill this present time, it did feithe cimight be truely fayd, that good fortune euer fauored & followed Lucullus in all his enterprises afre. and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickely feene that the fauorable blaft of for- Thalteracion mefailed him, he did all his things with fo great payne, and all that he did fell out contrarie of Luculius vito him, and to very ill purpose. In deede he did euer thew the valiancy, pacience, and great good fortune: corage that should be in a valliant Generall, or Lieutenaunt of an armie. But his exployts and doinges had neuer after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to have: but to the contrary, he was like to have loft all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose, But the worst was, that they make him selfe thouly author of all these euills, bicause he could Luciding confe C not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his fouldiers: thinking that of all his mifwhatfoeuer a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them fortune. he hath under his charge, is to dishonor him felfe, and to gene cause unto his souldiers to defoile his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gave no estimacion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to him felfe, but diffained them, and thought them Lucullus vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faultes and impersections, but o- faulte. therwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good condicions that could be posfibit wished for, or desired. For he was a talle gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise Lucillist verand discreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encorage his fouldiers in warre. Saluft wryteth of him, that his fouldiers began to millike with him, even from the first entry into these warres, bicause he made them lye why Lucullus our two winters together in the field, one after an other: the one before the city of Cizicys, fouldien mifand the other before the city of Amisvs. And even as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies contry, or elfe if they lay in their frendes, yet he made them campe abroade in the field, and shrowd them selves in their tentes: Lucullus army for Lucullus neuer entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of GRECE. Now eur lay in the if the fouldiers of them felues misliked Lucallus, the consellers at Rome that were his enemies, and famour, and enuied his prosperity and glory, gave them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they cotinually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warrein length, purposely bicause he would alwayes have occasion to rule, & meanes to get, having in E hishands in maner all Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontys, Ar-MENI A, and all the provinces and regions as farre as to the river of Phasis; and yet he had not Phasis it. long before spoyled the Princely houses of Tigranes, as if he had bene sent thither only to sack and spoyle, and not to destroy & ouercome those kings. And they say that it was Lucius Quintim, one of the Prætors, that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moved the people to take order that Lucullus should be called home, &other sent to succeede him in the charge & gouernmet of the contries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained: that divers which were vnder his charge, should be dispersed with all for their othes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But befides those & such like great causes, there was yet an other more daungerous plague, & that most ouerthrew Lucullus proceedings, pasfing all the other enills being put together: and that was Publius Clodius, a wicked, licentious, Publius Clo

and a harebrainde man. He was Lucullus wives brother, and she was so light of her body, that dies a micket Clodius her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This Clodius being at that time in """. BBB iii

Publius Clodius stirred upshe fool diers against

Lucullus campe, caried not that estimacion and credit he thought him selfe worthy of. Forbit A tooke him felfe equall with the best, and would needes have bene holden for chiefe: whenh deede there were many of farre better defert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill dispose person. Whereupon he beganne for spight to suborne the bandes called FIMBRIANS, and ftirre them vp against Lucullus, sowing sweete and pleasaunt wordes amongest the souldier. which being wonted therunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom Finding had procured to kill the Confull Flacew, and choose him in his steede for their Captaine. Bu reason whereof they gaue good care to Clodius words, and called him a noble Captaine, and louer of fouldiers. For when he spake vnto them, he made as though he had pittied them for that they should neuer see an end of their great paynes and warres, but should miserably confume their dayes in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with any ther: and that they wandered through all the contries of the world, receiving no worthing ward of fo long and painfull feruice, seruing only to gard Lucullus cartes & camells loden with plate and veffell of golde, and filuer, and other pretious stones. Where the souldiers that had ferued vnder Pomper, tooke nowe their ease at home in their contry with their wives and chik dren, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fayer cities, as rich burgefes and wealthy citzens: and yet they had not driven Mithridates and Tigranes out of their kingdomes, into defert places vnhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of Asia, but only made a line warre in Spayne against those that were banished, & in ITALIB against fugitive slaves, Shall we then favd he, cary harnesse on our backes all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped vntil this present, reserve our selves, our bodies & lives for that noble Cape (taine, who esteemeth the greatest honor and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his fooldiers rich that serue vnder him? Lucullus army was so seduced and corrupted, with these musinous and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no lenger sollow him, neither against Tieranes, nor against Mithridates: who went presently out of Armenia into his realment PONTVS, and beganne to conquer it againe, whilest the ROMANE souldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the province of Go RDIENA, excusing them selves by the winter season, & tarying vntill Pompey or some other Captaine should quickely come to raise the fiege, and fucceede Lucullus. Notwithstanding, when they understoode that Mithridates had ouerthrowen Fabius, one of Lucullus Lieutenaunts, and that he went against Sornatius & Tris-Mithridates rius: they were then ashamed of them selues, and became contented to be led by Lucullus, But D victory of Lu-Triarius in a brauery, when he heard that Lucullus drew neere, made hast to winne the victory. as if it had bene cocke fure before Lucullus came : and was him felfe ouerthrowen in a great Mithridases battell, where some say there dyed aboue seuen thowsande Romanes, amongest the which Triarine Luwere a hundred and fifty centurions, & foure and twenty Captaines or Collonells of a thorfand men a peece, and yet besides, Mithridates tooke their campe also. Shortly after this ouerthrow, Lucullus came thither, who hid Triarius, whom the fouldiers fought in their angerby all the meanes they could to kill. Now when Lucullus was come, he prooued fundrie meanes to procure Mithridates to battell: but Mithridates would not once sturre abroade, bicause he looked for Tigranes that came downe with a mighty power. Whereuppon he determined againe to goe against Tigranes to fight with him, before Mithridates and he joyned forces to E The Fimbrian gether. But as he was in his iorney towardes him, the FIMBRIAN bandes beganne torebella finding for new, and would not follow his enfignes, faying, and alleaging of them felues, that by decree of the people they had leave to departe, and were discharged from their othe: and surthermore that Lucullus had no more to do to commaund them, confidering that the government of the prouinces which he had, was genen vnto others. Lucullus perceining this, did so humble him felfe vnto them, supposing that way to winne them, as there was no kinde of vncomely humility but he submitted him selfe vnto it: insomuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with so great lowlinesse, as enemo shake handes with them. But they fiercely rejected all his curtefies and faver intreaties, casting their pennylesse purses before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, since he had with the spoile of them all so well enriched him selfe alone. Neuerthelesse, at the intercesfion and earnest request of the other soldiers, these FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to pro-

cullus Lien-

tenauntes.

oner: ame

cullus Cap-

taine.

fouldiers.

A milk that they would yet tary all that former, to that if no main the meane time offred them. The Fimbridia bartell at the ende of the tearme, they might go where they would. Lucalless was forced to accenthis condicion, or elfe to remaine alone, & confequently to forfake the contry of the bar-mer, apon caharous people. With much a do thus he kept them together, but in fach forte, as he durft no dision to demore venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting him felfe that they were willing former wat onely to flay with him, being forced to fuffer Tigranes in the meane time to deltroy and over done. runne the contry of CAPPADOCIA, & Mithridates also to bragge againe, of whom he had beforewrytten to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: infomuch as there came commillioners & deputies from Rome by his owne procurement, to order the state of the realine of Pont vs with him, as of a kingdom already wonne to the Roman's Empire. But whe they were comen, they found him not mafter of him felfe, & that his owne fouldiers flowted him. and did him all the spight and iniury they could. For they were so vnruly towardes their Capmine and did fo much disdaine him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed them felues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their fwordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fielde: and after they had made the novie anderves accustomed when they joyned battel, and made as though they fought, hurling and fwinging their fwords in the ayer, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promifed Lucullus to tary. On thother fide Pompey had wrytten vnto theother fouldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him : for through the peoples fa- Pompey, In-Generall in Lucullus place. Which much misliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought Lucullus greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not to succeede him in troubles and daungers, but in honor and glory of triumphe. And that they should compell him not onely to reime vp the office of a Generall to an other, but (for the good fernice he long time had done) thereward of his honor due for the fame; and this also more milliked them, that were then about him. That so soone as Pompey was arrived in Asia, he tooke all power & authority from Initalies offe-Lucullus, to punishe or reward any man, for good or ill service done to the common wealth in by Pompey. those warres, & did moreouer prohibite by publicke bills fet vp in euery common place, that they should no more repayre vnto him, nor obey ought, that he, or any of the ten comissioners lentro dispole of the state of the provinces wonne by him, should commaund or ordaine; and bicause Pompey came with a greater power and army then his, he was in some seare of him. Their frends thought good neuertheleffe they should meete together: and so they did incontinently, in a village of GALATIA, where at their first meeting they faluted ech other very cur- Lucullus and teoully, rejoycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. Lucullus was the elderman, but Pomper of greater dignity, bicause he had bene Generall of the Romane people in many warres, & had already triumphed twife. The bundells of roddes which the fergeaunts caried before them, were wreathed about with lawrell braunches for the victories they had both atchieued: but Pompeys bundells were withered away, bicause they had comen a longe iorney through hotte and drye contries. Lucullus officers feeing theirs withered, curteoufly gaue them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which Pompeys frendes tooke for a figne of good lucke. For to fay truely, the thinges that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honor that Pompey afterwardes wanne. How beit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better frendes: but departed thone from thother more straunge then they met. For Millikinges Pompey by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked, and difanulled all Lucullus ordinaunces, and taking bein ene from him all his other fouldiers, left him but only fixtene hundred to accopany his triumphe, Lucallus. and yet they followed him with vnwilling mindes: fuch was Lucullus imperfection & mayme. either by nature, or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a Generall should haue, which was, to be beloued of his fouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, a- Lucullus me mongest many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimity, wisedom, judgement, & justice: beloved of his theriuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermost confines of the Empire of Rome on Asia F side, but it had exteded as farre as the sea Hyrcane, yea even vnto thutmost parte of the world. For king Tigranes had already conquered the other nations that lye beyonde that, fauing the

contrie of PARTHIA, which then was not so great nor stronge, as it appeared afterwardes in

when he might have bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnfatiable minde and

ambitious defire to rule and beare fway, (being withall a very olde man) went and forted him

Alleamongest young men desirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to comit ma-

or ourrages, but made him felfe also to fuffer greater cruelties. It is thought also than Chero

hatended his aged course more happely, if after he had quenched Catilines cospiracy, he had

dentaken his ease. And so had Scipio in like case, if when he had joyned: Ny MANTTA VINCO

CARTHAGE, he would then have quieted him felte. And therfore, some fay, that there is a cer-

mine revolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wife man should medle any more

with that favers of the common wealth : no more then a man whose youth & strength is gone

marily, Crassus and Pompey mocked Lucultus, bicause he gaue him selfe so much to pleasure and

canddecayed, is any more fit to just, wrestle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But con-

See the Life of Craff.u what successe he Lucullus re tarne to

Rome.

lowed eight mules loden with golden beddes, and fixe and fifty other mules that caried film bullion, & a hundred & feuen other moyles that caried filuer coyne, amounting to the fumme of accompt caried also, wherein were particularly wrytten the summes of mony which Lucal lus had deliuered before vnto Pompey for the warre against pyrates on the sea, & vnto thetreaforers and high treasors, to put into the sparing coffers of the common wealth at ROME. And afterwardes in an article by it selfe, that he had genen nyne hundred and fifty Drachmas meuery fouldier by the polle. After the shewe of this triumphe was ended, he made a general feast, in the which he feasted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the ROMANES call Lucullus for-Vicos. And afterwardes for sooke his wife Clodia for her vnchast and wanton life, and maried Saketh Clodia Seruilia Catoes fifter: howbeit he wanne nothing by thexchaunge, for he fped as euill with the and marieth seconde, as he did with the first. For, fauing that she was not flaundred with thincest other Scruilia Catoes fifter, as owne brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and vnchast as Clodia: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers sake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as hehad Clodia. done Clodia. Nowe when he had filled the Senate with a maruelous hope and expectation of

Crassiu time: nor so ioyned and knit together, but (what through civill diffentions amongs. them at home, and forrein warres of their neighbors abroade) was so weake, that with difficulty they could defend themselves from the Armenians, that continually harried the out of their skinnes. But to take thinges rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that I was did more hurt vnto his contry by other, then he did benefit the same by him selfe. Forther kens of triumphe and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA fo neere vnto the PARTHIAM the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had facked and spoyled, the great treasure that he brought to Rome, and the Diadeame also of Tigranes, which was shewedin triumphe as a prisoner with the rest: moued Crassius with such a maruelous desire to passes to Asia, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an affured spoyle, and a purse. fed pray vnto all those that would come to take them. But Crassus farre otherwise, finding time felfe galled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that is cullus had not so much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a coward people, as he had done through his wifedom and valliantnes. But that shalbe seene hereafter Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rome, found first of all his brother Marcus 25. cused by one Gaius Memmius, for that he had done in his office of treasorer, in Syllaes time and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by sentence of the judges. But Man miss of spight turned his anger against Lucullus selfe, stirring up the people against him, and letting them vnderstand that Lucullus had kept backe and robbed much parte of the treasure. which should have comen to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged these warres as he did: wherefore he perswaded them flatly to deny him the honore of his triumphe. And truely Lucullus was in great daunger to haue lost it vtterly: but that the noble men of the city, and they that were of greatest authority, intermedled them selues with the tribes when they came to passe it by voyces of the people, whome they intreated so much through fute and perswasion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people suffred him to enter the city in triumphe. So Lucullus made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shewe or fight thereof, nor for the multitude of thinges that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he caused the showe place (which they call Circus Flaminius at Rome) to be fet out and furnished chiefly with armor and weapons of the enemies to a maruelous number: and with the kinges engynes and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleasant fight to behold. And in this show, there had been been a supported by the support of the was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with fythes that passed by, and three score of the chiefest frendes and Captaines of the two kings that were led prisoners through the city. And there were also drawen after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prooues with strong spurres of copper, and a statue of Mithridates all of cleane gold, fixe foote high, with a rich target fet with pretious stones, Besides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of filuer plate as could be, and thirty cubberds full also of golden vessell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens shoulders. After themsolof two hundred three score and tennethows and Sestertios. Furthermore, there were books E

A hint (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withfrande Pompeys ryranny anil withold and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that hothsmoble deedes he had atchieued fo great fame and reputacion) he fodainly gaue ouer all Limitian geme in that a very set of the common wealth: either bicaufe he fawe it to beft, being a hard were set of the common wealth: Magnow to kepe it from ruine: or else (asother sayd) for that he felt him selfe sufficiently furwith honor and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to line quietly all wealth whitehic, after fo great paynes, trauailes and troubles, the end whereof fell not our ouer foranately. And furely forme were of his minde, and liked this great channge of his maruelous well hicause he did not as Marine did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that Ma winhad. For Marin after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMERES, and afthe his valliant actes in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not so lease of.

pallime: as if to line pleafauntly, & delicatly did not worse become his age, then to comaund marray or to goueme thaffayres of a common weale. And for my parte, reading Lucullus lifes methinkes that I read an auncient comedy, the beginning wherof is tedious, & the latter end jowfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exployts done by him in warres, and great good government also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts, and banckers. and lacking litle of maskes and mommeries, dauncing with torches, and all other fitch delights fitte for young men. For I bring within the compasse and reckoning of his fine he's and Luculius bailphasures, his sumptuous buildinges, his stately walles and galleries, his hotte houses and pheasures. floues, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanshippe and curiofitie he had besides of all other cartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge, abusing therein the world of goodes and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwise. Infomuch, that notwithstanding excelle and superfluity hath ener since increased until this present time, yet they reckon the gardens Lucullus made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors haue. Lucullus gar-And therfore Tubero the Stoike Philosopher, having seene these stately works which Lucultus dens of great had caused to be made neere vnto NAPLES, by the sea side, (where there are mountaines cut estimacion. through light as day, and hanged upon vawtes) and great ditches call by force to make the feat palle and runne through his houses, to keepe fishe therein, and lodginges also that he built in Lucullus cal-E the sea it selfe: he called Lucullus, Xerxes the gownman, as if he would have sayd, Xerxes the led Xerxes ROMANE. For euen so did Xerxes in olde time cause the mountaine Atho to be cut in funder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his shippes through. He had also many other Xerxes en pleafaunt places within the territories of Rome, neete vnto Thy scy white there were through the great large halles fet upon tarraffes to fee rounde about farre of in the day time! And Pompey the on made a

houses accordinge to the season? An other time there was a Prætor of Rome, that makinge

playes to shewe the people pastime, sent vnto Lucullus to borrow certaine purple clokes to set

forth his players: Lucullus made him auniwer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had

any. And the next morning demaunding of him, how many he should neede the other aun-

fwered, that a hundred would ferue his turne. Whereupon Lucultus told him againe, he would

going thither formime to fee him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a marge channell for bus fayer formmer house, but notto be dwelt in, the winter featon. Lucullus laughing, answered his shopes u him: doe ye thinke me to have leffe wit and reason then storkes or cranes, that Francos shift

furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the Poet Horace waying this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: that men thinks the poore house, where there is no more riches then necessary, and where there is not more than appeareth in fight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinaries. uice at his borde, not only in that his beddes whereon he fedde, were couered with righes. pettes of purple, and him selfe served in gold and silver vessell set with pretious stones settle there was dauncing, mulicke, playes, and other fuch like pattimes of ordinary but also forther he was continually ferued with all fortes of fine dainty diffies, with workes of paltry, bands. rolly or exciffen meats ting dishes, and frute curiously wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered collemments at of men of simple vnderstanding and meane condicion. Therefore was Pompey maruelous esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisting

by in sommer, but at Lucullus house where they brought them up all the yeare through; he would in no wife they should aske any of him, but fayd vnto his Phistitian. What if Land were not genen to pleasure: could not Pompey line? And so willed them to get him some other fuch thing, as they might more easily come by. Cato was Lucullus frend & kinseman both, and vet he so much misliked his maner of living and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate(out of time, and to no purpose) touching

had willed him to eate of a thrushe. For when his servaunts told him they were hard to come

meane dyet, sobriety, & temperaturce of life: Cato could no lenger abide him, but rose ypane fayd vnto him.What, wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art riche as Craffe. Carrer faying that linest as Lucullus, and speakest as Cato? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not Cato that spake them : neuerthelesse it is certaine, by the notable sayings

they have gathered of Lucullus, he did not only delight to live so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some wryte that he feasted certaine GRECIANS many dayes together in his house that were come our of GRECE to ROME: and that they being men brought up with the sobries and simplicity of GRECE, after they had bene feasted there divers times, were ashamed & to fused to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to Lucullus, supposing that he had made them this great chere for their owne fakes, Lucullus hearing of it, told them:my Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. In deede I must needes graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinary, to welcome you with all: but I tell you truly, the most pane is for Lucullus sake. An other time when he supped all alone, and his men had layed but onen bord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was serued so: the steward aunswered him. My Lord, bicause I sawe you sende for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What, sayd he againe: knewell not thou that Lucullus (hould suppe to night with him selfe? In fine, Lucullus fare was comonly knowenthrough Rome, that there was no talke but of Lucullus noble housekeping, Whereupon, Cicero and Pompey being desirous to see the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place feeing him at pleasure: (for Cicero was Lucullus very good frend, and Pompey allo: and though there was some iarre between them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to speake gently one to an other) and Cicero after he had faluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, sayd he, with all my E hart: I pray you come to me. Well then, fayd Cicero, Pompey and I will come and suppe with you to night, with codicion that you prouide no more then your ordinary. Lucullus told them againe, they should then fare but badly, and therfore it were better they taried till to morrow, But they would none of that, no nor fuffer him to speake with his men, for feare he should comaund them, to prouide somewhat more then for him selfe. Neuerthelesse, at his desire, they fuffered him onely in their presence alowde to tell one of his men, that he would suppe that night in Apollo: (for fo was one of his most stately and sumpteous halles of his house called) and with that word only hefinely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every halle had his certaine fumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery supper

pointed every they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and service for the same. So that when his lethell bus creen uauntes had their watche worde but in what halle he would suppe, they knewe straight what charge he would be at for his supper, & what orders should be observed therin, Now Luculin

Registerwas to spende when he made any feast in the hall of double, fifty thowsand pence, and What Lividme let day the fupper was prepared according to that value: infomuch as Pompey maruewatered it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so sodainly peptied: Infuch thinges therefore did Luculius lauithly andriotoully spendihis goodes, like have indeede gotten of flaues and barbarous people. But that specially which he bestowed with bookes, was very commendable and honest expence. For he had gathered together a Limited the or distinumber of notable histories, the vie wherof was more honor to him, then the hauing of bray. Him For his library was euer open to all comers, and they suffred the GRECIANS to come intellisgeodly tarraffes & fayer walkes, or other pleafaunt places thereabouts concenient to handreafon together, and neuer fhut dore against them: where learned men met common-Blithed oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses, hingvery glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leasure as but so goe

the And Lucullin felfe would also many times be amonged them, in those tarraffes and

oferfant walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did ever helpe to dispatch them the had any busines with him, and graunted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his higher was a common receite for all them that came from GRECE to ROME. He loued all muse of Philosophy, and refused no sect of the same. But from his youth vpward, he ever lo- Lucultus lomile efteemed best the Academicke sect, not that which they call the new Academicke wed Philoso-(although it florithed at that time through Carneades workes, which Philo made fuch estimainitiof) but the old ACADEMICKE, which the Philosopher Antiochus of the city of Asca- Antiochus of

1000 did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well spoken, some loquent rethoritian whom Lucullus fought to win by all meanes to make him his frende, and to have him in house risian. withhim: bicause he might inuey against Philoes hearers and followers, whose scholler Cicero among the rest was, that wrote a notable booke against this olde ACADEMICKE sect. And in the same he reciteth Lucullus, maintaining the opinion of the old ACADEMICKES: who hold, The opinion mataman may certainly know, and comprehend something, and called that Catalepsin: but of the Acade-Charodefended the contrary. The booke is intituled Lucullus : for they were (as we have reharled before) very good frendes, and had both one selfe defire for gouernment in the commonwealth. For Lucullus did not so withdrawe him selfe from matters of state, that he would

nomore medle at all, nor heare speake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & conremion as a thing of no small daunger, & breeding great reproache and dishonor to Marcus Marcus Craf-Craffmand Cato, to be chiefe in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, Sugar Linding. and whom they raised up to withstand Pompeys greatnes, being affrayed of him, after that Lu- gainst Poorcultur had refused the chiefe place of authority. But otherwise, Lucullus would be in the mar- per. ketplace at courtes and common counfells, to pleasure his frendes when they requested him: and would goe to the Senate also, when there was occasion to breake any new practise, or to ouerthrowe Pompeys ambitious policie. For he ouerthrewe all the orders and constitutions Lievallus and that Pompey had made, after he had ouercome the kinges, Mithridates and Tigranes: and with Cato against

thehelpe of Cato hindered a distribution of money which Pompey had wrytten for to Rome, whereupon Pompey fell in frendshippe, (or to speake Pompey. Emore plainly, in conspiracy) with Crassius and Casar, by whose helpe and affishaunce, he filled crassius, car Rome with armes and fouldiers: and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he force to passe and confirme what he would have done, after he had violently expulled Lucullus and Cato out of the marker place, gainft the Whereat the noble men were much offended, and milliking the great wrong they had offred face. Lucullus & Cato, Pompeys followers suborned a * BRVTIAN, and faid he was taken lying in waite him Lucius tokill Pompey, Wherupon the fayd BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine: Veffins, how but when he came before the people, he named Lucullus, saying that he had hyered him to kill beit it may be Pompey. But no man beleued him. For they perceived openly in the market place, that he was Brutianburne. procured by them selues falsely to accuse Lucullus, & Pompeys other aduersaries. And this was proued more plainly within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this BRVT LAN dead in the middest of the streete, out of the prisone: who they say dyed of him felse with sickenes.

Howbeitthe markes being plainly seene of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and

thestripes appearing also which they had geuen him: did plainly shew that they them selues

Lucullus fell out of his wi before his death

Callifibenes poyfoned Luhe died. Luculine death.

did it, whom after they had fuborned to accuse Lucallus, they flue in this maner. This manual cause why Lucullus did more the before absent him selfe from medling in publicke causes after, when he fawe that they had so wickedly exiled Cicero, and sound meanes also to com-Cato farre enough of, vnder pretenced colour to fende him with charge into the Ileof C. PRVS: then he gaue vp altogether. Some wryte that a little before his death, he was not pen in his wittes, decaying through age by lide &lide. Howbeit Cornelius Nepos fayth, that have not for age, nor fickenes, that his wittes did alter : but through poyfon which one of his lane had geuen him, whom he had made free, called Callifthenes: who gaue it him, not of any aud intent, but bicause his master should love him the more, supposing that this poyson had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits fo much with this poylon, that Lucullus while heliued was faine to haue his brother Marcus to ouerfee his goods. Notwithstading this wie. he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyedinhi best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the people ranne to honor his funeralls, and his he die was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people would war case have buried him within the field of Mars, as they had before buried Sylla, But bicausean man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be prouided for the place: his brother Marcus befought the people they would be content his funeralls might be at a towne of his owne, neere vnto the city of Thyseviv M, where his tombe was prepared, and he him selfe lived not long time after. For as Lucullus both in age, and honor, hadnot left him farre behinde him : fo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had always dearely loued him, he could not then long line, and furnine him.

THE COMPARISON Lucullus with Cimon.

el s

11/2

cilvls.



Othing(in my opinion) made Lucullus more happy, then to dye when E he did, before he fawe the chaunge & alteracion of the comon weale, which the fatall destinies plagued the Romanes with all, with sedition & ciuil warres: and that he dyed in his contry yet enioying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likest vntocimon about all other things: who died whilest the GRECIANS werein good loue and peace with other, and not in broyle of discorde and ciuill warres. In deede Cimon dyed in his campe, being Generall of his contry, at the fiege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not withdra-

wen to his home, as one wearied, living idlely, or leading a voluptuous life in feaftes and barkets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphes: but as Plats faid, (when he wisely blamed and reproued Orpheus, who promiseth perpetuall dronkenes in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merily. And truely it is

weakenes, to withdraw him felfe from the world, as well in matters of government in neace, as inwarres : and quietly to passe his time instudie, where delight is loyned with honest conremplation. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure at your other dithuendand moreouer, to grow old by pleafurg and vanity, tolemnifing Fanus feedt all tide reft of his life lafter he hath made such warres & commanded such ampies that me shinkes athing vowerby of an honest Acade Micke, and altogether vnmcere for one profession olds. Xenomate doctrine, but fit rather for a man genen over altogether to Epicurus discipline. There is awonderfull thing to be confidered of in these two men, that the ones wouth was alto bether vitious and reproachfull, and thothers to the contrary, honeft and vertuous But he is the ber-B orthat chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, it whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young; then that which by continuance of time betweeth hill the decayeth, and vertue waxern young; there may mine to your fellen means; but they did not both a decayeth, and furthermore, they both grew, rich by one fellen means; but they did not both a decayeth wildows of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow, they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow they want to be a compare the buildones of the wall that flow they want to be a compared to be a compa like we their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that stany deth fouth within the castell of ATHENS, which was built with the money Cinew brought this ther; with the fine built chambers, and high railed turrets to gale a farre, & equitonned about with conduits of water, which Lucullus erected by NAPLES, with the spoyles of the barbarous neople. Neither is Cimons table also of moderate fare & dyer, but yes open to every managed inparable to Lucullus borde: which was sumptupully furnished, and shewed the greatnes of his Lord. For Cimons bord fed many mouthes dayly with a small charge and Lucullus table exceded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Onlesse they will say, that time caufed this difference between them. But who can tell, if Cimon had bene at leafure to have withdrayen him felfe to quiet in age from government, and armes, he alfo would not have ledde a more sumptuous & diffolite life, geuen to all pleasure, then Lucullus did ? For of his ownena, turche loued wine, banckets, and playes, and was also getten to women, as we have told you before, But prosperity, and fortunate successe of thinges doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine defires. And therefore had Lucullus dyed abroade in the warres, whilefthe commaunded armies: there had not bene that living man, how curious foeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faultes, that could have detected him of any reproachefull vice. And thus much for their maner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warress no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by fea as by land. And like as in games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in GR # CB; they that in one felfeday winne the games at wreftling, and weapons both, are called by a ftraunge cuftome. not conquerours only, but victors also, to honor them withall: euen so me thinkes that Cimon inlike case having in one selfe day crowned GRECE with two notable markes of triumphe. for two battels he wanne, the one by fea, and the other by lande, deferueth to have fome place cimen to and preferment before other Captaines. And moreover, Lucullus received the authoritie to videoies ob. commaund, of his contry and common wealth: but Cimon gaue his contry both authority. & tained in one ability to commaund, Lucullus found his contry a commaunding people to all their frends and E confederats: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And Cimon contrarily found his contry marching under an others enfigne, and through his valliantnes did to behave him folfe. that he made his city goe before her confederars, and triumphe ouer her enemies; compelling. Great diffethe Persians by force to gene them the rule by fea, and petfwading the LAGED AMONIANS reme beiness willingly to geue place vnto them by lande. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make him felfe to be beloued of his fouldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was Lucullus despised of his souldiers, & Cimon esteemed and wondred at, even

of the confederates them felues. For Lucullus was for faken of his owne men: and Cimon was

followed by very straungers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. Lucullus retur-

ned home into his contry, for faken of those he carried out with him. Cimon returned againe,

his contry three notable things, & hard for them to have compassed: to wit, made peace with

F commaunding them that were fent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for

the enemies, genen them authority & rule of their confederats, and loyned frendshippe with

Boffborns.

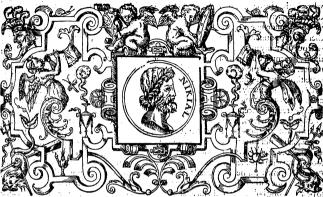
im felfe so

the BACED & MONIANS. Both of them undertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquesti A A st a, But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reasonathin death, which cut him of on the fodaine being Generall, and when his affayres prospered bea The other can hardly be exented, that there was not a great fault in him:either in that he could not or bicaufe he would not fatisfie the complaints & griefes of his men, which caufed them so much to hate and missike him. And yet it might be layd also that in this fault he was like ve. to Gimon : who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his comie

for the space of tenne yeares, bicause that in tenne yeares space (as Plato sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truely, it seldom times happeneth, that the graue wittered noble inor do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common prophelic cause they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much a as furgeons doe their pacients when they binde up their fores with bandes to cure them For though by that binding they restore & bring to their natural places againe the broken bone gold Singuit or members out of joynt: yet put they the pacient to great paine and griefe. And therforeme thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed, Furthermore, Lucullus wet a great deale further with his army then euer Cimon did. For he was the first Romane Captaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, and the river of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burnt almost in fight of both the kinges, the royall cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sin Ope, and Nise BIS. Towards the north, he went as farre as the river of Phasis: towards the east, into Madia and fourthward, even to the redde fea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the Roman's Empire. And having overthrowen all the power of these two mighty kinges, her tooke from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid them selues like wild beastes, in infinite deferts and vnpaffable forreftes. Wherin is eafily difference the difference betwix the doinges of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ourthrow at all by Cimon, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRECIANS, & ouerthrew the greatest parte of their army in E G YPT: where Methridates and Tigranes, after Lucullany, ctories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding him felfe altogether pulled downers

his knees, and broken by the former battells: durft neuer once only thew his army vnto Porper, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he dved king of Pon-And Tigranes, he went and humbled him felfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon. vnto Pompey and taking his diadeame of from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him n she realme of for the victories he had won, but for those which Lucullus had triumphed for. By reason wher-Tigrant king of he scaped good cheape, & thought him selfe happy, when Pompey gaue him only the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the moreworthy Captaine, & stowtest champion, that leaueth his enemy in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwardes with him. And furthermore, Cimon found the power of the king of Persia ouerharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the Persians layed grounde, by many great battells they had lost before vnto Themistocles, king Pausanias, & Leetychides, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them, it was an easie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose harts were already vanquished. Where Lucullus to the contrary, affailed Tigranes, that had never bene overcome, but bare a marue-E lous lofty minde with him, for the many great battells and conquestes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betwene those that Cimon ouerthrew, &

those that were raunged in battell against Lucullus. So that all thinges weyed and considered, it were hard to judge which of them two proued the worthiest man : for that it seemeth, that the goddes did favor both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe, and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained



hiftoriographer nad, vv no, noping by the granter, and make Philiftee The putife of and reportes; to darken the glorie of Thuydides, and make Philiftee The putife of the post of historically paraginary Thuydides.

Haue reason (as I thinke) to compare Nicias with Crassia, and the euets that happened to the one in Parthia, with those that befell the other in Sicyle: yet am I to pray them that shall happento read my wytinges, not to thinke me in entermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, Thursdades hath gone beyond him felfe, both for variety & liuelines of narration, as also in choice & excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion, that Timaui the

(in comparison of him selfe)appeare ignoraunt, & without any grace of historical narrations Thuydides.

B bath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by lea and by land, and the reporte of those speches and orations, which are delivered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neere them whome he comtendes to passe, as doth the footeman to the Lydian coche, as sayth Pindarus; and befides the 4 Times total weth him felfe fond and of fmall judgement, or as Diphilie fayth, A lubber laden with Sicylian greafe.

And in divers places, he falleth into Xenarchus follies. As where he fayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that Nicias the Captaine (whose name was derived of this word Nice, fignifying victory) diffwaded their attempts against Sicy Ler and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to fay, the images of Mercury) it was forethewed that they should receive great overthrowes by the General of the STRACVS ANSICATO led Hermocrates, the fonne of Hermon. And further, that it was not villkely that Hereules did fauor the Syrac vs ans, by reason of the goddesse Proserpina, (protector and defendor of the citie of Syrac vs a) to requite her for that the gane him Cerberusthe dogge, porter of hell; and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, bicause they tooke the AGEST HANS partes: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promife and

faith with him, whose city him selfe had ouerthrowen in reuonge of the wrong that Laomedon.

king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit Timeus thewes as much wit and judgement, in delinering vs fuch royes in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of Philistral, or in conde. Timew vening and railing of Plato and Ariftotle. But in my fanfie, this ambition & contention to wryte and Ariftotle.

or to speake more clerkely then others, sheweth alwayes a base enuious minde, like a scholler full of his schoole pointes. But when it striueth with thinges that are past all chalenge & conrecting, then is it extreame follie and madnes. Sence therefore I may not passe ouer noronic certaine thinges, which Thueydides and Philistus have already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open Nicias nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and the tune did couer. I must lightly touch them, and reporte so much as is necessary, & conuening. least men condemne me, for flouth and negligence. And in the rest I have endeuored togs ther and propounde thinges not commonly marked and knowen, which I have collected well out of fundry mens workes & auncient recordes, as out of many olde antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will ferue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of Nicias therefore may be fayd that which Arifforle hath wrytten of him: that there were three famous citizens of ATTHENS, very honest men, & which fauored the comuna with a naturall fatherly loue: Nicias the fonne of Niceratus, Thucydides the fonne of Miles and Theramenes the sonne of Agnon. But of the three, this last was of smallest accompt the he is flowted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of C no s, and chalenged besides for inconstant inresolute in matters of state and gouernment: and inclining somtimes to one faction, some time to an other, he was called Cothurnus, a kinde of buskin indifferently feruing for both legges, and in old time was vied of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, Thurst

des being the elder, did many good actes in fauor of the nobility against Pericles, who alwais

tooke parte with the inferior forte. Nicias that was the younger, had reasonable estimationin

him selse alone without him. After Pericles death, the nobility raised him to great authorite.

to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against Cleons insolency & boldnes: and with all, held

the loue of the people, to aduaunce and preferre him. Now this Clean in troth could do much

with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an olde man, still feeding their human

fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iorneys and exploytes that he tooke in har p

Pericles life time: for he was ioyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes also had chargeby

with gaine: but yet they them selues whome he thus slattered, knowing his extreame cone tousnes, impudency, and boldnes, preferred Nicias before him, bicause his grauity wasnes feuere nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modesty, that he feemed to feare the prefene of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and effeeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull & miltrustfull nature & disposition : in warres he cloked his feare with god

Nicias e.

where he was Captaine. Now being much affrayed of accusers, this timorous manner of h proceeding in the citie, was founde to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good willow the people: and by meanes thereofrose daily more and more, bicause the people commonly feare those that hate them, & aduaunce them that feare them. For the greatest honor nobility can doe to the communalty, is to shewe that they doe not despise them. Nowe Pericles, who

rality & ma-gnificence.

through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great cloquence ruled the whole state&common wealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeate colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauor and good willes: but Nicias lacking that, and having wealthe nough, fought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where Clean would entertaine the ATHENIANS with pleasaunt toyes and deuses, and could seede the peoples humorthat E way : Nicias finding him felfeno firman to worke by fuch encounter, crept into the peoples fauor with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with fuch like fumptuousnes, exceeding in cost and pleasaunt sportes, not only all those that had bene before him, but such al fo as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his confecrating vnto the goddesias the image of Pallas in the castell of ATHENS, the gilt being worne of : and the chappell which is vnder the festivall table of Bacchus: for he many times had the chiefe prise in Bacchus damfes, & neuer went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a report that at certaine playes whereof Nicias defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth apon the players stage before the people, apparelled like Bacchus: & being a goodly tall young man, without any heare on his face, the ATHENIANS tooke fuch pleasure to see him so attired, that F they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithall Nicias floods vp, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leave the body of a man in bondage, that

A openly was effeemed as a god: and thereupon foorthwith made this young flane a free man. Men wryte also of certaine sumptuous and deuout acts he did in the He of D B Los, where the daunsers and singers which the cities of GRECE sent thither to singe similes and verses in the honor of Apollo, were wont before to arrive diforderly; and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to fee them, who made them finge straight without any order, and landing in half out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heades, all at one present time. But Nicias, being commaunded to go thither to present the fingers of ATHENS, landed first in the lle of Renta, hard adjoyning to the He of Dalos, with his fingers, his beaftes for facrifice. and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at ATHENS, vpon measure taken of the channell, between the one and thother Ile set out with nictures and tables, with gilding, with no fegayes and garlandes of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapiftry; which in the night he fet vp vpon the channell, being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe ouer apon it singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen voto the very temple of Apollo. And when the facrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gaue a goodly palmetree of copper, which he offered vp to Apollo, bought landes befides that coft him tenne thowfande Drachmas, which he confecrated also vnto the god Putton of the lie? and ordained, that the profittes of the same should be yearely bestowed by the DELIANS. pon an open facrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of Nicias: and so caused it to be wrytten and grauen apon a piller he left in DE LOSA as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offring, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell apon the great image of the Naxans gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a maruelous pompe, & greatshew of popular ambition: neuerthelesse, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easely perswade him selfe that about all he did it of very pure zeale & denotion. and secondly, to geue pleasure and pastime to the people. For by Thueydiderreporte of him. Nicial form. he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly genen to religion. We finde finished wrytten in one of the dialogues of Paliphoon, that Nicias did facrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a foothfayer continually in his house, geuing out abroade, that it was to counsayle with D him what should happen about the affayers of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquier of his owne busines, and specially of his mynes of silver. For he had many great mynes about LAVRION fide, that were very profitable to him : but withall they digged with great Nicia wines

might doe mischiese, as vnto them that descrued reward, and were worthie of his liberalitie. france game to Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a revenue to the good: and the wicked. hereof the comicall Poets doe deliuer vs auncient testimony. For Teleclides speaking of a cera taine informer fayth thus: Charicles did refuse to gene one Mina for to stay, The bruting of his fecret birth, conveyed close avvay: But Nice, the sonne of Nicerate, did vvillingly bestown,

daunger, and he was driven continually to kepe a maruelous number of flaves at worke there. of flaves.

hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto : for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that Nichas for

The most parte of Nicias riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many crauers and

Abrace of Minaze doble told. And though I well doe known The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewuray: For wwhy? The man is my good frend, and wwife I dare well fay.

And he, whom Eupolis mocketh in his comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine simple man apon the stage, doth aske him: The informer.

Howv long is it a goe since thou didst speake with Nicias? The plaine man.

I favu him standing even right nouv upon the market place.

The informer.

This man affirms he fave him there. And we herefore should be fay He favo him, but of some intent his levednes to beveray? Nove firs ye fee hove Nicias here is taken in the trip, For all his wealking close in clowedes to gene the priny slip.

The Author.

O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he, In any fault or shamefull fact will tardy taken be? And Cleon threatning in the comedie of Aristophanes, intituled the Knightes, fayth the wordes.

> The Orators if by the throte Itake, Then fure I am, that Nicias streit will quake.

Phrynichus selse also telleth vs glaunsingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be fravel when he fayd speaking of an other man:

A good flours man (I known full well) he was. Andnot a couvard like to Niceas.

Nicias Hie-

rons schoole

of Thuries.

Now Nicias being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to gene any little occasion to the Nichat water Orators to accuse him: kept himselfe so warely, that he neither durst eate nor drinke withan man in the city, nor yet put foorth him felfe in companie to talke, or paffe the time amoned them, but altogether anoyded such sportes and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counsayle house, but still butied him selfe in dispatching causes, from more ning till night, and was euer the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hande, then was hevery hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no accesse vnto him, burkept close in his house : and some of his frendes did euer aunswere them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, faying, that he was busie then about affayers of the common wealth. One Hieron, whom Nicias had brought vp in his house, and had him felfe taught him both learning & musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnes and grauety. This Hieron (as it is reported) was the sonne of Dionysius Chalcus, of whom they find certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of menther were sent to dwell in IT ALIE, did build there the citie of THV RIES. Hieron I say did seruchis turne, and holpe him fecretly to inquier what he would viderstande of the Soothsayers, and der of the city gaue out these wordes among the people : that Nicias led too miserable and painefull alife. for the ouergreat care he tooke to serue the common wealth: insomuch, as though he were in his hotte house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne still of some matter about the common wealth, and to serue the state, did neglect his owne private affayers : so that he scant beganne to sleepe & take rest, when others commonly had sleept their first sleepe. and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growen crabbed and vncurteous, euen to such as before had bene his familiar frendes. So that, sayd he, he loseth them together with his goodes, and all for seruice of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win frendes, by the credit they have to be heard of the people, and can make mery among them, E and sporte with the matters of state which they have in their handes. Now in troth, such was Nicias life, that he might truely fay that which Agamemnon spake of him selfe in the tragedie of Euripides, called Iphigenie in AVLIDE.

In outvoard show of stately pompe all others I exceede. And yet the peoples underling I am in very deede. .

And Nicias perceiuing that the people in some thinges did serue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, & wifer then others, although they yet miftrufted their fufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their corage, by taking their and thority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, and the mistrust they had of Antiphon RHAMNVSIAN, and moreover by that they did vnto Paches F (that tooke the Ile of LES BOS) who being brought before the judges in open counfell to gene vp an accompt of his charge, drewe out his fword, and flue him felfe in prefence of them all.

A Nicias I faye, remembring these examples, sought ever to sie from these offices, which were either too great, or too smal, and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke furely. & to yenture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily conie Aure, prospered maruelous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisedom nor vet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the goddes, contented him felfe to leffen his glory, and that onely to anoyde enuver Abbbe enent of thinges falling out even in his time doe fufficiently witnes vnto vs. For the citie of Arbuns having fufteined many great loffes and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, rior had dught to doein any of them. As once for example: the ATHENIANS were ouercome in The RECTARDY the CHALCID ONIANS, howebeirit was under the leading of Callinder 80 Xenophorson howere n their Captaines. An other time, the loffe they had in Arour worder the charge of Demofibemer. Moreouerat DE LIV M. a city of BOE OT IA, where they lotte thousandersen arone con-Aid. Hippocrates then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest numher layed the fault thereof to Pericles, who by reason of warres keptithemen that chine purof the contry, within the walles of the citie of ATHENS: and fo by chaunging of averyand their wanted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and missornines, was Nicias euer burdened : but contrariwise he being Capraine tooke the He of Cy- Wotable aster THE RA, which the LACED E MONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for figuration to mo left and destroy the contrie of LAGONIA. He wanne diners cities againe that had rebelled in THRACIA, and brought them once more vnder the obedienconf. A THENS A Athis first com-Cming, having that in the MEGARIANS within their walles, he tooke the He of Minor and at his departure thence, thortly after wanne the hanen of Nilcaalibi Furthermore; landing in the contry of the Corint Hians, he overcame them that offered him battell and flue 2 great number, and among others Lycophron the Captaine. At this hattell he chaunsed to forget to bury two of his men that were flaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vo of the rest: how beit so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his steere ed stay; and some ab Herauld to the enemies, to pray leave to fetche away those two bodies. Now, though by law of The law of armes they that fent to aske leave to take away their deade to bury them, did thereby lofe the armes. honor of their victory, & were barred to fer up any marke or token of thumphe, bicause it seemed by the fute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petin cioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed our contains made demainde of shame say them: Nicites notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his wickers when he was some to leave the bodies of two of his contrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had deftroyed all the coaft of LACONIA, and had ouercomen certaine LACONIA, and had ouercomen certaine LACONIA against him in battell: he tooke the city of THEREAS which the Athur at as kepton ahat time. whom he brought prisoners ynto ATHENS. And when the PELOPONNESIAN Had prepared great armies both by fea and by land to befrege the force of Pyles the which Demosterar the Captaine had fortified: battell being geuen by feasit chaunfed theret temained toutchundred naturall citizens of Sparta, within the He of Spaceers. Nowthe A the Miles schought it anoble exployte of them. (as in deede it was) to take those foure hundred aliue: how beit the E fiege was very fore, bicause they lacked water even in the middest of former, and were forced to fetch a maruelous compasse to bring wittells to their campe, which who winter should beonce commen would be very daungerous, and almost an impossible thing to doe. Whereupon, they then became fory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambasfadors of the LACEDEMONIANS which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through Cleans procurement) suffred them to departe in that forte without refolucion takens who was against the altogether, only to do Nicias a despite, being his enemy, & did earnestly folicite the matter the LACEDE MONIANS requested. This was the cause why Clean personaded the ATHENIANS, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people faw that this fiege drewe out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantes and necessities then fell they out with Cleon, and he againe burdened Nicias, faying that through his feare he would let the belieged Spartans escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not have holdenout fo long. Thereupon the ATHENIANS fayd a lowde to Cleons and why does not thou

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NICIAS. 584 goe thither yet to take them? Moreouer Nicias felfe also rifing vp, openly gaue him his an. a thority to take this Pyle, and bad him leavy as many fouldiers as he would to goe thither and not to bragge with fuch impudent wordes where was no daunger, but to doe some north feruice to the comon wealth, Clean at the first shronke backe, being amased withall, little thin. king they would have taken him so sodainly at his word. But in the ende, perceiving the per. ple vrged him to it, and that Nicias also was importunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge apon him, but in a brauery fayd, that within twenty dayes after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the fword, or bring them prisoners vinto Athens. The Athenians hearing Clean say so, had more lust to laugha good, then to beleue that he spake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger and folly For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solenly affembled in counsell early in the morning, to heare what Cleon would fay, & having taried long for him: at the lengthle came with a garland on his head, and prayed the affemblie to difmiffe the courte till thener morning: for, quod he, I shall not be at leasure to day, bicause I have sacrificed, and doeses also certaine straungers my frendes that are come to see me. So the people burst out in laughing, and brake up thaffembly. This notwithstanding, fortune favored him at that time

A icast of

cleon vider & he hadled him felfe fo well in this charge with Demosthenes, that he tooke all the Spartans that they befieged, within the time he had appointed, fauing such as were slaine: and having made them yeelde, brought them prisoners to A THENS. This fell out greatly to Nicial shame and reproaches. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shielde, but worse then that a voluntary for laking of his prounce apon a base timerous minde, geuing his enemy occasion of thereby to doe some noble exployt, deprining him selfe of his honorable charge, Wherefore Aristophanes mocketh him againe, in his comedy of birdes, faying: and most It is no time to flepe and linger fill.

av munadrag at As Nicine doth: wwithout good cause or skill. Alforman other place of his comedy of plowmen he fayth: 15 al 10 apond I faine would follow husbandry. Who lets thee? Mary you. aria allef who will A thouvfand Dragmaze I will gene to be discharged novo Of office in the common vveale. Content, fo shall vve have

in a act son ben Tovo thou fand Dragmaze iuft, with those that Nicias lately gave,

The immode. But herein Wicias did great hurt to the comon wealth, fuffering Cleon in that forte to grow]

rate libray of to credit & estimacion. For after that victory, Clean grew to so hautie a minde & pride of him felfeithat he was not to be delt withall:wherupon fel out the occasio of the great miseries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which most grieued Nicias of all other. For Clean amongst other thinges tooke away the modesty and reuerence vsed before in publicke Orations to the

people he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, & floong vp & downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which exaple afterwardes followed all licentiousnes, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators& counsellors fell into, that delt in matters of state & comon wealth, & was in the end the outthrow of all together. In that very time began Alcibiades to grow to credit, by practife in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill: but as they say of the lande of B

E g yet, that for the fatnes and lustines of the foyle. . It bringeth forth both holfome herbes, and also noyfome vveedes.

Alcibiades diners wit.

Cleons lend

and light

ieaftures in

his Orations.

Euen fo Aleibiades wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great chaunge and alteracion: For, it fell out, that after Nicias was ridde of Cleon, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS agains to peace and quietnes. For when the common wealthbegan to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into wants, through Alcibiades extreame fury of ambition. And thus it beganne. The only peacebreakers chon & Bra- and diffurbers of common quiet generally throughout GRECE, were thefe two persons, fidus the two Cleon and Brasidas: for warre cloked the wickednes of the one, and advanced the valianmes of the other, geuing to either occasion to doe great mischiefe, and also oportunity to worke F many noble exploytes. Now Cleon and Brasidas being both slaine together at a battell fought by Amphipolis, Nicias straight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long desired peace, and that the

A ATHENIANS wereno more so hottely genen to the warres, but that both the one & the other had their handes full, & were willing to be quiet: deuised what meanes he might vie to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRECE also from broyle and mifery of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enion a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearkento peace: and talking prinately also with divers others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being defirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPART ANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they fought it: the SPARTANS beleued him, not onely for that they had founde him at other times very foft and curteous, but also bicause he was carefull to see that their prisoners of Sparta, (who had bene taken at the force of Pyle) were R gently intreated, and had made their miferable captivity more tollerable. So, peace was con- Richardeon. client the they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to tafte the sweetenes and pleasures of in minimal neace, and the fafery of free accesse one to see an others frendes that were straungers: began then to wishe that they might still continue in peace and amity together, without effusion of

blood of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them finge fuch

And let my (peare lye overgrowven, with dusty (pyders webbes.

of trompet, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be a fleepe : and on the other

fide they curfed and tooke on with them that fayd it was predestined, the warre should conti-

They did also with great ioy & gladnes remember him which sayd, that in peace no found

fonges:

nuethrife nine yeares. And fo, upon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an univerfall peace throughout all GRECE. Now most men thought that furely all their fornives and miferies were come to an ende, and there was no talke of any man but of Nictae. faving: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his denotion towardes them, had this speciall gift gene him, that the greatest blessing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confesse a troth, euery man was certainly perswaded that this peace was Nicias worke, as the warre was Pericles procurement, who vpon light causes perswaded the GRECIANS to runne headlong into most grieuous calamities : and Nicias on the other side had brought them to become frends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had received D'of the other in former warres. And eue to this present day, that peace is called Nicium, as who Nicius peace. would fay, Nicias peace. The capitulacions of the peace were thus agreed vpon that of either sidethey should alike deliuer up the cities, and landes, which eche had taken from other in time of warres, together with the prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution. whole lot it was to beginne. Nicias (according to Theophrastus reporte) for ready money secrely bought the lot, that the LACED EMONIANS might be the first that should make restin mition. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOBOTIANS that disliked of this peace, sought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe : Nicias then perswaded both the A-THENIANS and LACED & MONIANS, that they should adde for strength vnto their contry the allyance & peace offensiue and desensiue made betwene them, for a more sure knot of frends Eshippe, wherby they might be the better affured the one of the other, and also the more dredfull to their enemies that (hould rebell against them. These thinges went cleane against Alexbisdes minde: who besides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy also unto the Lacan Ball MONIANS, for that they fought to Nicias, and made none accomptof him; but despited him; Herewas thoccasion that caused Alcibiades to proue from the beginning what he could doe whinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet shortly after, Alcibiader perceiuing that the Athenians liked not fowell of the Laced Emonians, as they did before, and that they thought themselves injuried by the bicause they had lately made league with the Bos o-THINS without their prinity, and had not wholly rendred up the cities of PARACTV M& AM-PRIPOLIS according to the condicions articled betwene them: began then to enlarge and ag-F granate the peoples complaintes, and to make them offended with enery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambassadors from the city, of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and so handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offensine & defensine with them.

generally of all Grace.

vnderstand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they defired he finely he

ceiued the poore Ambassadors by this deuise. He promised apon his othe to helpe themin

that they went about, so farre foorth as they would not confesse them selves to have absolute

power from the Ephores: making them to beleue it was the only way to bring their manner

to passe. The Ambassadors geuing credit to his wordes, relied apon him, and so for looke Me ceas. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the people being fet in counfell, and there

demaunded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all mate

ters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a lowde voyce a that they haden

Thereupon Alcibiades, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise

made vnto them: beganne to call the counsell to witnes, whether they did not in open Senate

fay the contrary, and so aduised the people not to trust nor gene credit vnto such men, as week

openly taken with fo manifest a lye, & that in one selfe matter would one while say one think!

an other while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amater

to heare Alcibiades wordes: for Nicias him felfe wishnot what to fay to the matter, the fudden-

nes of the cause did so consuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowether

people they were fo moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to have sent for the

an earthquake apon this matter, that greatly served Nicias turne, and brake vp the assemblie.

The people meeting againe in counfell the next morning, Nicias with all that he could doe,

or fay, could feant withhold them from making league with the ARGIVES: and to get leave in the meane time to go to the LACED EMONIANS, promising he would make all well againg

Thereupon, Nicias going to Sparta, was received and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he preuailed nothing

and being ouercomen by those that fauored the BOE OTIANS, returned agains to ATHENSAS

Ambassadors of A RG os presently to have made league with them or not: but there selloute

Ambassadors While these matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS also Ambassadors from the CEDEMON, with full power and authority to fet all thinges at flay, and to compound all the trouersies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both ry honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being affrayed that they letting the people

Alcibiades

The earthguake holpe

he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed but was also in daunger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request & comfell had redeliuered fuch men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For in deede, the pri- n foners which Cleon had brought to ATHENS from the force of Pyle, were all of the chiefelt houses of Sparta, and their kinsemen and frends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, fauing that they chose Alie. biades their Captaine, and made league with the Elians, and Mantinians (which hadre Holted from the LACED & MONIANS) and with the ARGIVES alfo: & fent pyrates to the force of Pyle, to spoyle the contry of LACONIA. Vpon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell against into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuerfie was greatest between Nicias and Altibiades, the Oftracismon (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for tenne yeares any such of their citizens as they thoughreither of too great author rity, or that was most enuied for his wealth and substaunce. Alcibiades and Nicias were then E not a litle perplexed, confidering their present daunger, being sure that thone of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated Alcibiader like & were afrayed of his valliantnes: as we have more amply declared in the description of his life. And for Nicias, his wealth made him to be enuied, befides they misliked his straunge maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conversant with the people than he was, and compred him too stately: moreouer they hated him also, bicause in many matters he had spokendirectly against the thing the people defired, & had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for them selues. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young men that would have warres, and the olde men that coveted peaces fome desirous to banish Nicias, and some others Alcibiades; but

VV here discorde reignes in realme or towne. The vvicked vvin the chiefe renovvne.

and of And A Add fofellit out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two fuctions, gave authority to centaine of the most impudent & insolent persones that were in all the city and among them was one Hiperbolus of the towne of Perith vs a man of no haulor nor value, why he should Hyperbolus he bold shut yet one that grew to some credit & power, diffionoring his contry, by the honor ther gave him. Now Hyperbolus thinking him felfe free at that time from any davinger of baminuent, (having rather deserved the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were bani-

hed he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly? that he was olad of their discorde and variance, and bufily stirred up the people against them both. Nicias Micias and grand theibiades being acquainted with his wicked practifes, having fecretly talked rogether; invited both their factions in one : whereby they brought it fo to paffe, that neither of them animality. a were Danished, but Hyperbolus felfe for tenne yeres. Which matter for the prefent time made attollers and the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieued them much, feeing their ordinaunce of bauilted for the Office iffinon blemifhed by the vnworthines of the person which punishment was an Hos tome years. norvato him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for Thuryandes Aristide, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for Hyperbolus, it was thought too greatan honor, & too manifest an occasion of glory to be genen to him, that for his wickedneshad the selfe same punishmet, which was to be inflicted upon the chiefest estates for their

greaties. And the comicall Poet Plato him felfe fayth in a place, Although his leved behavior did deserve as much or more, Yet wwas not that the punishment he should have had therefore.

The Ostracie denised was for men of noble fame. And not for variets, vvhose leved life deserued open shame.

After this Hyperbolus, there was neuer man banished with the Ostracismon. For himself was The taking de the laft, as Hipparchus Cho LARGIAN, and nearest kinseman to the tyranne, was the first. Sure way of tenne

fortune is a very vincerten thing, & without coceit of reason. For had Nicias franckely put him ment. felfeto the halard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needes hauehappened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduerfary being banished: or being connict by his banishment to have scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the same he had wonne of a wife Captaine. though he had bene ouercomen. I know notwithstanding that Theophrastus wryteth, how Hy-Derbolus not Nicias, was banished through the diffention that fell betweet Phanx and Alcibiades: albeit most wryters agree with that I have told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being comen to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conquest of Sicilia: Nicias being against it, was ouercome by Alcibiades craft & ambition. For he, before they were called to counfell, had already through falle furmifes filled the peoples heades with a vaine hope & perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, & the old men also in artificers shoppes, and in their compassed chayers, or halfe circles where they fate talking together, were enery one occupied about drawing the platforme of Sicile, telling the nature of the Sicilian fea, & reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that E Sight should be the end of their warres, but rather the storehouse and armorie for all their munition and martiall provision to make warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquerall AFRICKE, and consequently all the AFRICKE seas, even to Hercules pillers. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when Nicias spake against it, he founde very sewe men of quality to stand by him. For the riche, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though in dedenot contented with all yet would not Nicias leave still to counsell the to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in counsell for the enterprise of Sicile, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with Alcibiades and Lamachus, to follow the same: at the Wicias chosen next leffion of the counfell holden in the citie, Nicias role vp againe, to fee if he could turne Captaine for F the people from this iorney with all the protestations he could pushibly make, burdening Al- the wares of

cibiades, that for his owne ambition and private commodity, he brought the common wealth into so farre and daungerous a warre, But all his wordes preuailed nor, Him selfe before all o-

chiefely for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater fafety, when his rous forefight (hould be loyned with Aleibiades valiantnes, and with Lamachus fortnes, which

in deede most confirmed the election . Now after the matter thus debated , Demostrating

not to attempt

of the Orators that most procured the ATHENIANS to vndertake this enterprise Report foorth, and fayd. It were good that Nicias left of, and fet a fide all these excuses and deple and preferred a decree, that the people shoulde thorowely authorise the Captaines that were chosen, to set forward & execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and he perswaded the people to passe and authorise it. Yet it is sayd that the Priestes objected man thinges to hinder the iorney. But Alesbiades also having suborned certaine soothsyers alle ged in like case some auncient Oracles that sayd, the ATHENIANS should have great home from Sicile: & further had intiled certaine pilgrimes, who fayd they were but newly come from the Oracle of Impiter Ammon, and had brought this Oracle thence, That the Athenia should take all the Syracufans. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come they held their peace, least it should seeme they entermeddled to prognosticate enils for affe. ctions fake, feeing that the fignes them felues, which were most plaine and notorious could not remoue them from thenterprise of this iorney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of Mercurge, which in one night were all to be mangled, fauine one image only called the Hermes of Andocides, which was genen & confectated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGBIDES, and was fet up directly ouer against a citizens house called de. docides. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelue goddes: where a man leaping fodainly vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut of his genitories with stone. And in a temple also in the city of DELPHES, where was a litle image of Mineraco gold, fet apon a palme tree of copper, which the citie of ATHENS had genen of the spoyles wonne of the MEDES. Apon that palme tree fate certaine crowes many dayes together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the frute of it which was all of golde, vntill they made the fame to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIANS fayd, that the DELPHIANS (whom the Symevs ans had fubdued) had finely fained this deuise. There was a prophecy also that commaisded them to bring one of Mineruses Nunnes to ATHENS, that was in the city of CLAZOME-NES. So they fent for this Nunne called Hefychia, which is, rest: & it seemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counsell them vnto, that for that time they should be quiet I Meton the Astronomer having charge in the army leavied for the warre of Sicile, being afrayed of this prophecie, or otherwife milliking the celeftiall fignes, and fucceffe of the iorney : fained him felfe mad, and fet his house a fire. Others say he counterfeated not madnes, but did one night in deede fet his house a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitiefull state, to sue to the people, that in cosideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would discharge his sonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gallieat his owne coft, and ready to make fayle. Moreouer, the familiar spirite of wise Socrates that did vie to tell him before what should happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the destruction of ATHENS, Socrates tolditto certaine of his very familiar frendes: and from them the rumor became common. And this E also troubled a number of them, for the valuckie dayes on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very dayes on the which the women celebrated the feast and vereday of Adons death: and there were also in divers partes of the city, images of dead men caried to burial and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that fuch as did put any confidence in those signes, sayd they misliked it much, and that they were asrayed least the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was fet out with fuch pompe & brauery) would come to nothing. Now for Nicias, that he spake against this warre in open counfell, whilest they were deliberating aponit, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of so honorable a charge to make him chaunge his minde therein furely he shewed him selfe an honest man, wise, and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remoue the people from the enterprise of this warre, neither vet by flite nor intreaty get him felfe discharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that

Atterwould in any case make him one of the heades of the army then was it out of the so be retinated to Nicial faid thill gening backe, turning his head to oft like a child to looke apon his gallie be, for plants bindehim and cuer to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of this jorney, For in deede this was enough to discorage his companions, & to marre all at their first setting out: where, to fay truly, he should sodainly have fet apon his enemies, & haud cone to it with aluly corage, to haue affayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary courfe. For when Lamuches thought good at their first comming to goe straight to Synacysa, and to gette them battell as neere the walles as might be, & that Alcibiades on the other fide was of opinion first ofall to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the Syracy sans, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe against the Synagysans them selves. Wisim to the contrary spake in counsell, and thought it better to goe on fayer and softly, deserving the Nicial contrary the contrary space in comment, and thought the parties and preparation, & fo to returne firaight fell for intecoalles of Sicile round about to view their gallies and preparation, & fo to returne firaight fell for interding the Syto ATHENS againe, leaving only a few of their men with the EORSTANS, to helpe to defende racing only them. But this from the beginning marueloully cooled the corage of the fouldiers, and quite discoraged them. Shortly after also, the ATHENIAMS having sent for Alcibiades to aunswere to certaine accusations, Nicias remaining Captaine with Lamachus (the other Captaine in fight, but Nicias selfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) still yfed delayes, running vp and downe, and spending time so long in consultation till the souldiers were left without both hope and corage and the fease the nemy had of them at their first comming to fee fo great an army, was now in manex cleane gone. Yet Alcibiades being in the army, before he was fent for from ATHENS, they were with three fcore gallies to Synacvsa. of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the hauen, and fent the other renne into the hauento discouer: which approaching neere the city, caused an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the LEONT INES to their landes and posses fions, and tooke a shippe of the enemies, in the which among other thinges they founde tables, wherein were wrytten the names of all the inhabitants of Synac vsa, according to their wibes and houses. These tables were kept farre from the citie, in the temple of Jupiter Olympien, but at that time they had fent for them to know the number of men of feruice, and of age wheare weapon. The same tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the generalls of the army, the foothfayers feeing this long rolle of names, at the first milliked it fearing least n the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promifed them, that the ATHENIANS one day should take all the SYRACYSANS. Howebeit it is reported this prophecy came to pale in an other exployte, whe Callippus ATHENIAN having flaine Dion, wan also the city of SYBACVSA. Now when Alesbiades was gone from the campe, Nicias bare all the fivay and commaunded the whole army. For Lamachus, though otherwise he was a stowte man, an honest man, and very Lamachus valliant of his handes, and one that would not spare him selfe in time of neede: neverthelesse vallians, but hewas so poore and miserable, that even when he was in state of a Generall, & gave yp an accompt of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much, for a gowne, and fo much for a payer of pantophles. Where Nician authority & reputacion contrary vife was of an other maner of cut, as well for other respectes, as for his riches, and for the honor of mat E synoble thinges which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and litting in counsell with his companion in the counfell house at A THENS, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake xnto souther land the Post. then present among est them; and bad him speake first and say his opinion; being the oldest man of all the whole company. Saphocles aunifwered him againes in deede I confulle hamithe oldelt man, but thou art the nobleft man, and him whom enery man regardet where Sahan ung at that time Lamachus vnder him, a better Captaine & man of watre then him delle was yet by being fo flow to imploy the army under his charge by deterring of time fill and hours ring about Sicht Bas farre from his enemies as he could : he first gauethe enemies time and said which lealure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to befinge H YBLA, being hipe aich E tinglitle towns, and railing the fiege without taking of it he fell into fo great sont input with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckbring of thim. At late. batetyred unto CATANA with his army, without any other exployer dones druing that the

Lais the comsifan caried ous of Sicile inso Peloponnesus.

tooke Hyccara, a baggadge village of the barbarous people, and where it is layd remain courtifane was borne, and that being then a young gerle, the was fold among other prions and afterwardes caried into PELOPONNES VS. And in fine, the fommer being farre peneral cias was informed that the Syracvsans had taken fuch corage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge apon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if the were come into Sicile to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to reftore the LEONTINES

ble strasa-

their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, Nicias determined to goe to Syracys a and bicause he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hasard: he sent one of Carrier before to Syracusa, to tell them (as if he had bene a spye) that if they would sodainly come and fet apon the campe of the ATHENIANS & take all their carriage, he wished them to come a with all their power to CAT ANA at a day certains which he would appoint them. For the A. THENIANS (favd he) for the most parte are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens which fauoring the Syracus ans, have determined to foone as they heare of their comine to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to fet the ATHENIANS shippes after and how there were also a great number in the citie of this confederacy, that did but lookes uery hower for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageame of warre, that Nicia

shewed all the time he was in Sicile. For by this deuise he made the Syrac v sans comein

to the fielde with all their power for that they left their citie without garde: and he him felfe

ring him battell hard by the walles of Syrkevsa, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew

them. There were not many of the Syrac vers flaine arthis battell, bicaufe their horsemen

did hinder the chase : but Wicias breaking up the bridges apon the river, gave Hermocrates or

casion to mocke him. For comforting & encoraging the SYRACVSANS, he told them Nieli

deserved to be laughed at, bicause he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had

not purposely come from ATHENS to SYRACVSA to fight. This notwithstading, he made the

SYRACVSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out

& authority to commaund and take order for all thinges. The temple of Jupiter Olympian was

hard by the ATHENIAN'S campe, which they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of

rich inells and offeringes of gold and filuer, genen vnto the temple afore time. But Nicias of

purpose still draue of time, and delayed so long, till the Synac v sans at last fent a good gas

rilon thither to keepe it fafe : thinking with him felfe, that if his fouldiers came to take and

fpoyle the temple, his contry should be nothing the richer by it, and him felse besides should

beare all the blame of facrilege. So, having obteined victorie without profit, (which ranne

straight through Sicile) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of Naxos, where

he lay all the winter, confuming a wonderfull maffe of vittells with fo great an army, forthe

CVS ANS in the meane time being in hart againe, and coragious: returned to CATANA, where

they ipogled and onerranne all the contrie, and burnt the campe of the ATHENIANS, Here-

doing of thinges of small moment, ypon certaine SICILFAN'S that yelded to him. The STARE

three only, to whom the people were fworne, that they would fuffer them to have full power D

men of Syra-

departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of STREevsa at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him o in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set apon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The Syracy sans returning straight from CATANA, and offe-

Nicias forfoyle the

fore enery man blamed Nicias much, bicause through his long delay, and progracting of time to make all thinges fure, he let flippe fundey occasions of notable exployres, wherein good feruice might have bene done. Yet when he would do a thing in deede, he did it fo thorowly as no man could take exception to his doinges, for that he brought it to fo good a paffe: and once taking it in hande, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slowe to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he removed his army to returne to Syracvski he brought it fo orderly se also with fuch speede & fafety: that he was come by sea to Takt sivs, had landed & taken the force of Epipolis, before the Syracus and any intelligence F of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choyce men of the SYKACVSANS being fet out against him, hoping to have flopped his passage: he overthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners,

a synade their horfemen flie, which before were thought mulricible. But that which made the traile ve an smoft afrayed, and feemed most wonderfull allo to the other Gitze rans. was mischiat in a very there space he had almost emironned Strace von with a walle, which was Michael at much in compaffe about, as the walls of Athens, and worffe to performe, by reason of the Syraula. widdy contry, and for the lea also than beateth apon the walles, besides than there were divers manufies hard by its and yet (ficke as he was of the flore) he had almost finished in. And fure

poddreason it is that we attribute the fault of the not find hing of it, white his lick thelle. For mine owne parted wonder marticlously both of the care & diligence of the Cabrainet and of the valiantities and desirency of the fouldiers, which appeareth by the notable feares they dish Em Eurinder after their ouerthrowe and viter rinne, made a funerall Epleapheim verte and Lat Syraevs A, that ametroia Charles and gall, and though mount show and complete the same some when did pur the men of Syracufa to flight, it alone of a granul

that Goldon We distributed while belong the sonie the golden with od od the there valles But we finde in wrytten, that the Syrac ws ans were not only eight times but many times milebuerthrowen by them va time at length there was in deede, that but wile gods and for miteloughe against them, cuen when the Arne wand were of greatespower? Now William Mail owne perfort was cuer in the greateft and most weighty affayers, thrusage with his fickes Wholly: Howbelt one day when his dileafe grew lord apon him he was compelled to belodwed in his campe with a few of his men! & Lamachubin the meane time alone having charge of the whole army? Yought with the Synac vs ans, who then had broughe walle from the

O eleg with the wall with the which the All Han I and had purposed to have him to them in to herocthar they lifetilde not compalle it rounde. And bicarde hie ATHEN VALLE commonlywere the ftrofiger in these skirmishes? they many times outer rashely followed the chase of Hereinemies that Hed! Asir chaumfed one day that Eumathus went to farre ! thathe was left The death of alone to excounter a company of horseinen of the city before whom Callier are marched for melt: a valliant man of his handes, who challenged Lamathin hand to hands Lamathin abode him and in the conflict was first him fout he gave called ares also such a wound therewishall that they both fell downe dead prefently in the place! At that time the SYNNEWIAN'S being

the fronger fide, tooke viring Budy, and carred it away with them : but they fourted out for

Herothe ATHENT RN'S campe, where Nicias lay ficke, without any gard of ficeoffar all : ne-

commaunded certaine of his frendes to let the woode a fite which they had brought within

the denches of the cattine, to make retraine deutles for battery, and the engines of thinker all

forthat were already made. That detute onely flaved the Synacy sans, faued Wicias, and the

fliength of their campe, together with all the filter and carriage of the ATHER LANS. For the

P but pecially beleuing the reporter that were told him of 3 PR x cv s a, & the newes that were

brought him thence by Tome of them felties, which came fectedly vnto him perfwading him

felfe that within few dayes he should have Syncon by composition nooke no care to with-

g weitheleffe; Nittas role with speede out of his bed, and percetuinge the dailinger he was in;

Synacts and perceiving a farre of, between them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as role vp mt the aver a apon flatte of it turned raile ftraight, and made towardes their city, Thinges falling our thus, Wieras being left fole Capitaine of the army without any with fall companion; in great hope not withftandling to do fome good divers cities of Sicite velded Captains of untahim, theppes halight with corne came out of cuery quarter to his campe, and many lub. my. milled them lelves Abrille good faccelle he had in all his doings. Furthermore the 9 y ax eve

sans also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to detende their city any lenger against him. Gylippus alle a Captaine of the Lacan E won ans, como Gilippus a ming to aide the SYN ACT SIN SI vide thanding by the way howethe city of SYN ACT SIN Was nien, aide the flutin with a wall round about, and in great diffresse helde on his voyage not withstanding the Syramnot with any hope to defend Sici Lie (hippointe the Atheritans had wonne the whole con-

my but with intent nevertheleffe to helpe the cities of I+x+141fbe could possibly. Por it was a common rumor abroade, that the ATHENTANS had Worling all, and that their Captaine for his wifedome and good fortune was mutincible. Nicial him felfe now contraty to his wonted wiledom and forelight; trusting altogether to the good fuccesse which he saw to follow him,

DDD ii

562 ftand Gylippur comminge hether, neither fent any mento kepe him from landinge in State.

By which negligence, Gylippur landed in a paffenger, without Nicial knowledge: for reckoning they made of him, and fo much did they fondly despise him; Gripper being all landed farre from Saracy say beganne to gather men of warre together before the Sara cysansthemicines knew of his landing, or looked for his comming ; infomuch as themin alreadie appointed the affemblie of a counfell to determine the articles and captulacions peace, which they should conclude apon with Wiring. Moreover, there were some that no twaded they thould doe well to make haft to conclude the peace, before the inclosure of air ciss walle was a spherher finished, which then lacked not much to performe, baninge alles ftuffe for the putonole brought auon ready to the place. But as these thinges were even thus doing arrived one Gongylus at SYRACVSA, that came from CORINTHE with a gally Atwhole landing, the people apon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he tolde then

that Grippus would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aide. The Sxracy sans would hardly beleue him, youll thege came an other messangeraliosent from Gylippus selfe of purpose, that willed them square and come to him into the fielde. Thereupon the Syra Cysan's being maryeloufly remived went all ftraighte Graph aris armed them selves. And Gylippus was no sooner come into Syracus but he presentend his men in battell ray, to fet apon the ATHEN IANA, Nician for his parte had likewife alone the ATHENIANS IN order of battell, and ready to fight. When both tharmies were nowal

proached neere eche to other, Golippus threw downe his weapons, and lent a Heraulde vine Nicias to promife them life and bagage to departe fafely out of Sigura. But Nicias would make the Herauld none auniwere to that meffage. Howbeit there were certaine of his four diers that in mockerie asked the Heraulde, if for the comming of a poore cape and wanded LACED & NON, the SYRACVSANS thought the felues frengthened to much that they though defoile the A THENTANS, which not long before kept three hundred LACED EMONIANS RE foners in irons, farre stronger and more heare on their heades, then Glippus had, and had a fo fent them home to their citizens at Lacad And Timeus wryteth alfo, that the Sa CILIANS them selves, made no reckoning of Gilippus, neither then, nor at any time after. As ter. bicaule they lawe his extreame couetoulnelle and milerie: and then, for that he came in meanely apparrelled, with a threede bare cape; and a long buth of heare, which made them fcorne him. Yet in another place he fayth, that fo foone as Gylippus arrived in Sicia E many came to him out of enery quarter with very good will, like birdes wondering at an owle. This fecond reporte feemeth truer then the first for they swarmed about him, bicause in this care

& wand they faw the tokens of the majesty of the city & seigniory of SPARTA, Thucyddes allo

laith, that it was Gylippus only that did all there, And much like doth Philiftus lelfe a Sun acm

san confesse, who was present then in prison & saw all thinges that were done. Notwithstan

uing driven them even into their campe, he fet the S.x RACN SANS AWORKE to build yma walle

ding, at the first battel the ATHEN LENS had the upper hand, & flue a number of the Synach SANS, among the which Gongylus the CORINTHAN Was one. But the next morning follows ing, Gylippus made them know the skill and experience of a wife Captaine, For, with the falls fame weapons, with the fame men, with the fame horses, and in the fame places, changen only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the ATHESTIANS; and fighting with the million

ouerthwarte, (with the very felfe fame flones and fluffe which the ATHE WIAN'S had brought and laved there for the finithing of their inclosure to sut of the other, and to kepe it from the ing forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before your that present, was viterly to no purpose. Things standing in these rearmes, the Syracysans being coragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fieldes with their horsemen and saues, tooke many prisoners. Gylippus on thother side, went in persone to and fro through the cities of Sicilia, perswading and exhortinge the inhabitantes in such forte, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. Nicias feeing thinges thus falle out, fell to his olde trade againe, and confideringe the chaunge of his flage ! and former good lucke, his bart beginning to fainte s wrote straight to the ATHENTANEM fend an other army into Sicila, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any

A enterogene him leane to returne, and to discharge him of his affice for caple of this sickeness The ATHERIAN'S were indifferent before he wrote, to fend aide thither how beitthbenumthe hability bare vino Nicias good fortune, did enercaufulomedblanthat they fent not writi than and then they determined to fend with spede: So Demosthetes vias named to be for assay lims medially after winter, with a greatnauy. In the middelt of winter, Hurzunt dan wend to Atlaias & cariedhim both money, & newes, that the people had chosenifone of them for his comparlions in the charge, which were already in feroice with him, towit, Euthydening and Me-

panions in the charges in the meane time being sodainly affailed by his edication school by fearand der cholen

lande : shough at the first he trad fewer gallies in numberithan they; varde budged divers of Continues theirs and funcke their. But by lande againe, he could nor hid his mentin time, buquin Silip with recould g om arthe first onset had taken a forte of his called Plemmyrion within the Which lavethe their andrackell for many gallies & a great maffe of ready money which was wholly loth Boffdes in the fathe conflict alfo were many men flaine a land many taken priforiors. Yes full there the greatest matter of weight was, that therby he tooke from Niting the great commodist he had mbringe his vittells fafely by fea to his campe. For while the ATHE BY ANS 1kdpoolis forte abonight at their pleasure bring vittels without dauger to their dampe, being contentd with thefarte: but when they had loft it then it was hard for them fo to do bicause dhey were euck

drivento fight with the enemies, that lay at ancher before the force Futthermole the Sun A-

eysans did northinke that their armie by fea was querthrowen, bicaufe their doenieswere

the stronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHANIANS disorderedly and therfore

were desirous once againe to venter, in better sorte and order than before. But Niditorby no

meanes would be brought to fight again: faying, that it were a madnes looking for fucha great

nam's a new supply as Demost benes was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of thippes than they, and but poorely furnished. But contratily, Menander, and Enthide mus newly promoted to the state of Captaines with Niciai, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (Nicias; and Demosthenes that was then comming) defitedto preuent Demofthener, in performing fome notable feruice before his arrivall & thereby also to excell Nites doinges. How beit, the cloke they had to couer their ambition with all was, the honor & reputacion of the city of ATHERS, the which (flayd they) were framed and difinonored for ener, if they now should thew the felues afraied of the Syn ac visales maho pro-D wokldthem to fight. Thus brought they Nicias against his wilk to battell; in the which the A-THEN IN Swere flaine and our gonie, by the good counsell of a Corinthian Pilot called A riflon: For the left wing of their battell (as Thucydides wryteth) was clearedy ouerthrowen, and they tolk a great number of their men. Whereupon Nicias was wonderfully perplexed? considering on the one side that he had taken maruelous paines, whilest he was fole Cabraine of the whole army: and on thother fide, for that he had committed a fonle fault, when they had

genen him companions, But as Nicias was in this great dispaire, they descried Demosthenes a. Demosthines

pon a perc of the hauen, with his fleete brauely fet out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies: For he had three fcore and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fine thow fande footemen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlets with flinges about three E thowfand, and the gallies trimmed and fet foorth with goodly armors, numbers of enfigness and with a world of trompets, howboyes, and fuch marine mulicke, and all fer out in this mil umphant thew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the Syrkovs xins them felues againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiving they strone against the streame; and consumed them scheer to no purpose, whe by that they saw there was no likely hoode to be delinered fro their noubles. And Nicias also reloyced, that so great aide was come, but his loy helde not longe. For so some as he began to talke with Demosthenes of the state of thinges, he found him bent Demosthenes forthwith to fer apon the Syrke vskns, and to hafard all with spede, that they might quicke- talhits.

lytake Syna cysa, and fo dispatche away home againe. Nicias thought this more half than

good speede, and feared much this foolehardines. Wherupon he prayed him to attempt no- wide com-F thing rathely, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the fell with Direction warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would some be for laken mofflement of their confederates. And befides, if they came once to be pinolled for lacke of vistells shart DDD iii

they would then quickely feeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For the order many within STRACYSA that were Nicias frendes, who wished him to abide time: for the were weary of warre, and waxed angry also with Gylippus. So that if they were but firstiffed a little more with want of virtells, they would yeelde straight. Nicias delivering these periods ons form hat darkely, and keping form what also from vtteraunce, bicause he would not sprude them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlines, and that he returned gaine to his former delayes to keepe all in fecurity, by which manner of proceedinge held from the beginning killed the liartes of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming to apon the enemies, but had protracted time fo long, till the corage of his fouldiers was cold and done and hint felfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other

Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) Eathydennes and Mender, fluckexo Demosthenes opinion: wherunto Nicias was also forced against his will to well So Demofibenes the selfe same night taking the footemen, went to affault the fort of Epipolis where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he flue many of them, and made the rest flee that offered resistannee. But not content with this victory, he went furder, till he fell apon the BOROTIANS. They gathering themselves together were the first that resisted the ATHENIANS, basing their pikes with such furie and lowde cries, that they caused the former to retyre, and made all the rest of thassailantes asrayed and amased. For the formost thyinge backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, refifted them with all their force, & fo miltaking one an other, both were wone ded and flaine, and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vpon their owne fellowes. For this multitude meetinge thus confusedly together, what through their great feare, & what for that they could not difcerne one an other in the night, the which was

neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleere, as they might certainly indee

by fight what they were that meethem: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the small

light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran to & fro) the seare they had of the

enemy, made them mistrust their frendes. All these troubles and disaduantages had the A-

THE NIANS, and befide, the moone on their backes, which caufing the shadow to fall forward

did hide their number, and gliftering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets, glaring

in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that shone vpon them, encreased their feare, and

making them feeme a greater number and better appointed than they were in deede. At last, 1

The flaughter thenemies geuing a lufty charge vppon them on enery fide, after they once beganne to gene

backe and turne taile: some were flaine by their enemies, others by their owne company and others also brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The rest that were dispersed abroade in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the fworde by the horsemen, So, the account made, two thowsand ATHENIANS were flaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore Nicias that alwayes miltrufted it would thus come to passe, was maruelously offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashnes. But he excusing him selfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes, and so to hoyse sayle homewardes. For, sayd he, we must looke for no new aide from ATHENS, neither are we ftrong enough with this armie to ouercome our enemies and B though we were, yet must we of necessary avoide the place we are in, bicause (as it is reported) it is alwayes vnholsome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious by reafon of the automne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly see by experience. For many of their people were already ficke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. Nicias in no case liked the motion of departing thence, bicause he feared not the Syracvsans, but rather the ATHENIANS, for their accusations & condemnation. And therefore in open counfell he told them, that as yet he faw no fuch daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather dye of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne contrymen. Being therin of a contrary minde to Leo BIZANTINE, who after that fayd to his citizens. I had rather suffer death by you, than to be slaine with you. And surthermore, as for remouing their F

campe to some other place, they should have leasure enough to determine of that matter as

they thought good. Now when Nicias had delivered this opinion in counfell, Demosthenes ha-

A wing hartill lucke at his first coming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that Willia Rucke not fo hard against their departure, but that he relied apon the thust and confidence he had of fome within the city: they all agreed to Nieiss. But when newes came that there was a new supply come vnto the Syra ev sans, and that they faw the plague encrealed motearld more in their campe then Nicias felfe thought it belt to departe thence, and gaue notice to the fouldiers to prepare them felues to shippe away. Notwithstanding, when they hid put all thinges in readines for their departure, without any knowledge of thenemy, or fu-

folcion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipse in the night, and foddinly to lose her light, to The eclipse of the great feare of Nicias and divers others, who through ignoraunce and superfficion quaked at fuch fightes. For couching the eclipse and darkening of the funne, which as eder at any common person the moone, every common person then knew the cause to be the markenes of the body of the moone betwirt the funne and our fight. But the eclipse of the moone it selfe, The eclipse of to know what doth darken it in that force, and howe being at the full it doth fodginly lose her the moone not know to have

light, and chaunge into fo many kinde of colours; that was about their knowledge, and ther- sime. forether thought it very straunge, perswading them selves that it was a signe of some great michiefes the goddes did threaten vnto men. For Anaxagoras, the first that ener determined Anaxagoras and delinered any thing, for certaine and affured, concerning the dight and darkenesse of the thefirst than moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, theither had it the credit of anti- eclipse of the quiry, nor was generally knowe, but only to a few, who durft not talke of it but with feare even moone. in the they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of natural Philosophy, & inquired of the causes of things:

for them they called then Mereopontoxuo, as much to fay, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things about the reach of reason, done in heaven and in the aver. Bicause the people thought they afcribed that which was done by the goddes only, vnto certaine naturall and necessarie causes, that worke their effectes not by prohidence nor will, but by force, and necessary conlequences. For these causes was Protagoras banished from ATHENS, and Anaxagoras put in The Atheprilon fro whence Pericles had much a do to procure his deliuery. And Socrates also, though niene do perhedid not medle with that parte of Philosophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the su- Philosophers. facion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of Plato being received and liked, as well for his vertuous Socrates Page life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of naturall causes vnto the controlement & difpolition of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and fupreame cause: tooke away all the ill

opinion which the people had of fuch disputations, and gaue open passage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore Dion, one of Platoes schollers and frendes, an Dyon very eclipse of the moone chaunfing euen at the very fame time that he was weying up his anckers skilfull in nato fayle from ZACYNTHE, to make warre with the tyran Dionyfius: being nothing afrayed not troubled therewithall, made fayle not with standing, and when he came to Syracus a draue out the tyran. But then it fell out vnfortunatly for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful footh-

faver: for the party which he was wont to vie for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called Stilbides, was dead not long before. For this signe of the eclipse of the moone (as Philochorus fayth) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contratily very E good for fayd he, thinges that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an

enemy vnto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to kepe them selves close about three dayes in fuch eclipses of the moone and sunne, as Autoclides selfe prescribeth in a booke he made of fuch matters: where Nicias bare them then in hande, that they should ta- Nicias ignory the whole and full revolution of the course of the moone, as though he had not seene her ram of same

DDD iii

straight cleere againe, after the had once passed the shadow and darkenes of the carth. Burall rall causes other thinges layed a fide and forgotten, Nicias disposed him selfe to sacrifice vnto the gods; until fuch time as the enemies came againe as well to befiege their fortes, and all their campe bylande, as also to occupy the whole hauen by sea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fisher botes and other F light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reviled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called Heraelides whose bore being forwarder than his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallie of the

The Syracuthe Athenias by fea.

The footh-

ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. Pollichus his vncle being afrayed of it, lanched formail with tenne gallies of Syracus x for his rescue, of the which him selfe was Captaine with other gallies douting also least Pollichas should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne : fresh there fell out a great battell by fea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and flue Eurymedonial Captaine, and many other, This made the fouldiers of the ATHENIANS fo afrayed, sharther beganne to crie out, it was no lenger tarying there, and that there was none other way button departe thence by land. For after the Syrac vsans had wonnethat battell, they had flound thut yo the hauen mouth. Nicias could not confent to fuch a retyre. For, fayd he it would be too great a thanne for them to leave their gallies and other thippes to the enemy confidering the number not to be much leffe then two hundred : but he thought good rather to arrive hundred andrenne gallies with the best & valllangest of their footemen, and darters, than were

in the army, bicaufe the other gallies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army we cias for faking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of Herrale) did fer the in battell ray apon the peere of the hauen. Infomuch, that the Synar vs ans which vntill that day could not performe their wonted facrifices vnto Hertules: did then fendether Priestes and Captaines thither to do them. The fouldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Prieftes and Soothfavers came and told the Synkicus ans, that vindoutedly the figures of the mife victory facrifices did promife the a noble victory, so that they gave no charge, but only stoode your to the Syra. their defence: for fo did Hercules cuer ouercome, defending, when he was affailed. With this good hope the Syracvs ans rowed forward, and there was fuch a hot and cruell battelling fea as had not bene in all this warre before : the which was as dreadfull to them that floode of on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict

and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hunter

them selves by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranckes of their shippes, as they

were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with

the heavy, against thenemies that were light and swift, which came on on every side of them

whurling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how ever they lighted: whereas

The Athenians agains auercome on she fea by she Syracufans.

the Athenians onely casting their dartes, and vsing their bowes and slinges, by meanesof their rowing up and downe could not lightly ame to hit with the head. That maner of fight Aristo a Corinthian (an excellent shippe maister) had taught the Syracysans, who was him selfe slaine valliantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The ATHENIANS therupon being driven to fight, having fusteined a marvelous slaughter & overthrow, (their way to fie by fea being also cleerely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardw faue them selves by lande: were then so discoraged as they made no lenger resistaunce when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leave to take up their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forfake their difeafed and fore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already flains. When they confidered all these thinges, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their lines with much more cruelty, than was their milery prefent.

So they being determined to departe thence in the night, Gylippus perceiuing the Syancie. SANS through all the citie disposed them selves to facrifice to the goddes, and to be merly, as & well for the joy of their victorie, as also for Hercules feast: thought it bootelesse to perswade them, and much leffe to compell them, to take armes vppon a fodaine, to fet apon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit Hermocrates denifing with him felfe how to deceive Nieias, sent some of his frendes vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to fend him fecret intelligence of all thinges during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to departe that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the Syracy-SANS had layed for him, having fent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. Nicias being ouerreached by Hermocrates craft and subtilty, stayed there that night, as though he had bene afrayed to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambush. There upon, the Syracvs ans the next morning by peepe of day, hoyfed fayle, got the straights of F Nicias passage, stopped the rivers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a fquadron in the next plaine fieldes adioyning, fo that the ATHENIANS had no way

A leftoschape, and passe by them, without fighting. Atlast notwithstanding, having stared all that day and the next night following, they put them solves in iorney, and departed with great The miserable the 93% and the interiors, as if they had gone from their naturall contry, and non out of their enes the interior do mies lande: as well for the great diffreste and necessity wherein they were (lacking all things necessall to fusteine life) as also for thextreame for owe they felt to leave the inforte wounded Dranja companions and difeated kinfementand frends behinde them, that could not for their weakepessellowe the asaipe, but specially for that they looked for some woorse matter to fall to

them felues, than that which they lawe prefent before their eyes to be happened to their felllower, But of all the most piriefull lightes to beholde nother campe, there was none more las with exmentable nor milecable, than the perion of Niciai felic: who being tormented with his diff

cale and waxen very leane; and pale, was also unworthely brought to extreame want of hamimail fultenance, even when he had most neede of comfort, being very sekely. Yer nowith funding his weakenes and infirmity, he tobke great paines, and fuffered many thinges, which theifoundest bodies doo labor much to quercome and fuffer; making it appeare cuidently to esety ma, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, of delive that he had mane his ownelife, flomuch as for their fakes in that he yeelded not vnto prefent dispayres Bunmbere the fouldiers for very feare & forrow burftour into teares & birter wayling: Nitoin felfashewed, thad if by chaunce he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather voor remembraunge of the hame and difficulte that came into his minde, to fee the vafortunate secoffe of this wayage; insteade of the honor and victory they hoped to have brought home; blanfor any other respect. But if to les Nais in this mifery, did moue the lookers on to blive wedicthis much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred Niciae wordes in

his grations continually to the people; to breake this iorney, & to diffwade them from them? serprife of this waire. For then they plainly judged him not to have deferued these troubles. Yetfurthermore this caused the souldiers viterly to dispayre of helpe from the goddes when they confidered with them selves, that so denour and godly aman as Niojas (who left nothing vadone that might send so the honor and feruice of the goddes) had no better successe than themost vile and wicked persones in all the whole army. All this notwithstandinge, Niclar fraincohim felfe in all that might be, both by his good countenaunce, his cheerefull words

abis kinde vfing of cuery man: to let them know that he fainted not vader his burden nor web Diddyceld to this his misfortune and extreame calamity. And thus trauelling eight dayes fornewontright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually let apon, weather. and hart: yet he euer mainteined his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that Den mulhenes, with all his bandes of fouldiers was taken prifoner, in a certaine village called Ros Demoffbenes intellios: where remaininge behinde, he was enuirronned by his enemies in fight; and taken of the feeing him felfe fo compassed in, drewe out his sword, and with his owne handes thrust him Syraman

felicthorow, but dyed not of it, bicaufe his enemies came fraught about him, and tooke held ofbim. The Syrake VSAN's thereupon went with speede to Nicias, and told him of Demolthemusale. He gaing no credit to them, fent prefently certaine of his horsemen thither to vaderland the troth; who brought him worde that Demosthenes and all his men were taken pri-Elloners. Then be belought Gylippus to treate of peace, to luffer the paper remaine of the Aa Nician THENIANS to departe out of Stolls with fafery, and to take such hostages for the fure payor seeds mean of ment of all fugh furnines of money the Syracv sais had disburfed by meanes of this warred Eshould like him felfe: which he promised he would cause the ATHERIANS to performe sto

fatisfie vnto them. Howbeit the Syracus ans would in no wife hearken to peace, but chuellythreaming & reuiling them that made motion hereof, in rage gaut a new onfer vpon hims thore fiercely, then ever before they had done. Nicias being then veterly withour any kinds of wirells, did norwithstading hold our that night, & marched all the next day following (though) theenemies danges still flew about their cares) vntill he came to the river of Afinarus, into the with any which the SYRAGENSANS did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirding mercome a Formed the river of them felues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most chieft the there

laughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntil fuch time as Niciae falling Wiciae words downe flat at Gylopus feere, fayd thus vuto him. Sence the goddes have getten shee (Gylopus)

victory, thewe mercy, not to me that by these miseries have won immortall honor and said but vato these poore vanquished ATHANIANS : calling to thy remembraunce, that the tunes of warre are common, and howe that the ATHEN IANS hauevied you Laces

Grippus fis. NIANS curreoutly, as often as fortune fauored them against you. Gylippus beholding Nicite 10 perswaded by his wordes, rooke compassion of him, (for he knew he was a frend vnto the CED & MONIANS at the last peace concluded between them, and furthermore shoughting honor to him, if he would cary away the two Captaines or generalls of his enemies prilopen

shewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comforte, and moreouer commaunded belides the they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: infomuch as there were many moe flaine than taken, although fome private foulding faued divers notwithstanding by steakth. Now the Synacus ans having brought all the per a foners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first unarmed them, then taking the weapons from them hong them up apon the goodliest younge trees that stoode apon them. uers fide in token of triumphe. And so putting on triumphing garlandes apon their heales.

the river where the overthrow was genen. This victory was had the fix and twenty day of the

moneth of July. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederats of the ATHENIAN'S and

The Syracu-

& hauing trimmed their owne horfes in triuphant maner, & alfo fhorne all the horfes of their enemies: in this triumphing forte they made their entry into the citie of, Swency sa, haung gloriously ended the most notable warre that ever was amongest the GREEKES ONE again another, and attained also the noblest victory that could be atchieued, and that only by loss of armes and valliancy. So at their returne, a counfell and affembly was holden at Syraco was by the citizens and their confederates : in the which, Einseles one of the grators (2 practifera publicke causes) first made peticion, that the day on the which they had taken Wicias, might of for ever thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke or labor, but only to doe facrifice to the goddes: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of

their flaues should be openly solde by the dromme; and that the naturall AT HENTANS which were free men, and their confederates of the contry of Sicils, should be clapped in irons. & layed in prison, the Captaines only excepted, whom they should put to death, The Synta GNEANS confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine Hermocrates went about to perswade of the Athethem that to be merciful in victory, would be more honor vnto them, than the victory it felfe ned so dye. they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made sute that the the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might cary them aliue with him to SPARTA: hewas not onely (hamefully denyed, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growen apon this victory, befide also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could note: dure his straight seuere LACONIAN gouernment. Times fayth moreover, that they accused

him of couetoulnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For Cleandrides his faty talentes out of a thowfande which Lyfander fent to Sparta by him, and having hid them condemned

Niciss and Demoffbenes fine them

for extension. vader the enfinges of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his comtry as we have more amply declared in the life of Lylander. So Timeus wryteth, that Niciti's Demosthenes were not stoned to death by the Syracvsans, as Thucydides and Philiftman. E porte, but that they killed them felues, apon word fent them by Hermocrates (before the affenble of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the kepers of the prison leten vnto them: howebeit their bodies were cast out at the iaile dore, for every man to beholde. I have heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at Syracvs a, which is sayd to be Nitras target, couered all ouer with golde and purple filke, passinge finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them dyed of fickenes, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to line withall but two dishefulls of barley for their breade, and one of water for eche man a day. In deede many of them were conueyed away, and fold for flaues: and many also that scaped vnknowen as slaues, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the printe of a horse, who F notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble pacience and modelly did greatly profit them. For either shortly after they were made free men,

ther was conuict for extorcion, and banished ATHENS. And Gylippus selfe having stolen this

A orifthey ftill continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their mafters. Some of them were faued allo for Euripides fake. For the Sicilians liked the verses of this Poetbetter, than they did any other Ga he inns verses of the middest of Ga mes. For it they heard any times or fonges like vnto his; they would have them by hart, & one would prefent the to an other with greatioy. And therfore it is reported, that divers escaping this bondage. andreturning againe to ATHENS, went very louringly to falute Euripides, & to thanke him for their lives: and told him how they were delivered from flavery, only by teaching them those Europides their lives: and told milit now they were democret from hancey, only by teaching them that after the battel, werfer which they remembred of his workes. Others tolde him also, how that after the battel, many of the they scaping by flight, & wandering vp and downe the fieldes, met with some that gaue them Atheniani

meate & drinke to fing his verses. And this is not to be maruelled at, weying the reporte made lines. of a (hippe of the city of CAVNV s, that on a time being chaled in thether by pyrates, thinking

throw, was not beleued at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS, For a straunger that landed in the haven of PIREA, went and fathim downe (as the maner is) in a barbers shoppe. & thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, beganne to talke of it. The barber hearing the fraunger tell of fuch matter, before any other had heard of it ranne into the city as fast as he could, and going to the gotternors tolde the newes openly before them all. The magistrates thereupon did presently call an assembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard these newes, could make no certaine reporte. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble: he was presently bound, and layed on a wheele, whereon they vie to put offenders to death. The Athenia and so was there tormented a great time, vntill at last there arrived certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told enery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found Nicias wordes true, which now they be-

to fauethe felues within their portes, could not at the first be received, but had repulse : howheir being demaunded whether they could fing any of Euripides longes, and auniwering that

they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouer-

long before had prognosticated vnto them.

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The end of Nicias life.

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the bringer of she newes of sheir ouershrew. Bewed the mi/cries of the Athenia

THE LIFE Marcus Crassus.



Areus Crassus was the sonne of a Cenfor, who had also received the honor of triumphe: but him felfe was brought up in a litle house with two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers mothers life time, and kept house together. Whereuppon it camen passe, that he was a man of such sober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethre being deceased, he maried his wife by whom he had chi dren. For women, he lived as continent a life, as any Romans of his time: notwithstanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accused by Plotinus to have deflowred one of the Vestall Nunnes called

Licinia. But in troth the cause of that suspicion grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasaunt garden hard by the suburbes of the city, wherewith Crassus was maruelously in love, and would faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this only occasion was often seene in speeche with her, which made the people suspect him. But for a smuch as it seemed to the judges that his couetouines was the cause that made him follow her, he was clered of thincest suspected, but he neuer lest followinge of the Nunne, till he had gotthe garden of her. The ROMANES for there was but that only vice of couetouines in Craffus, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, since it grew so great, as the note of that only did hide and couer all his other vices. Nowe to fet out his extreame couetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifest reasons. The first, his maner and meanes he yied to get: and these craffurither. conde, the greatnes of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worther then three hundred talentes. And during the time that he delt in the affayers of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goodes wholly vnto Hercules, kept open house for all the people of Rome, and gaue also to enery citizen of the same as much corne as would kepe him three monethes: & yet when he went from Rome to make warre with the PARTHIANS, him felfe being defirous to know what all he had was worth, founde that it amounted to the fumme of feuen thowsande one hundred talentes. But if I may with license vse euill speeche, wryting a troth: I say he got the most parte of his wealth by fire and blood, raising his greatest reuenue of publicke calamities. For when Sylla had take the citie of Rome, he made portefale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gaue most, tearming them his

A booty, onely for that he would the nobility, and greatest men of power in the cities should be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open fale Crassus never left taking of giftes, nor bying of thinges of Sylla for profit. Furthermore, Craffus perceiuinge that the greatest decay commonly of the buildinges in Rome came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of stories built one apon an other: bought bondmethat were masons, carpinters, and these deuisours and builders, & of those he had to the number of five hundred, Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was a hurning, and the next houses adioyning to it, which the owners folde for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning : fo that by proces of time, the most plante of the houses

ni but would have more, made them this aunswer. The gods forbid any Roman & fhould thinke

that land litle, which in deede is enough to suffise for his maintenance. This nor with standing, Craffus was curteous to straungers, for his house was open to them all, and he lear his frendes

money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roud-

ly demaunde his money of them. So, his curtefie to lende many times without interest; did

more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vsery. In deede when he bad any man to

than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and diffnes. As for his learning and fludy, he chiefly

dustry and diligent indeuor excelled all them that even by nature were most apt vnto it. For

fome fay, he had neuer fo fmall nor little a cause in hande, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing studied his case before for pleading: and oftentimes also when Pompey, Cefar, and Cicero

refused to rise, and speake to matters, Crassus would defend every cause if he were requested.

And therfore was he generally beloued & well thought of, bicaufe he shewed him selfe pain-

full, & willing to helpe every man. Likewife was his gentlenes maruelously esteemed, bicause hetaluted every body curteoully, and made much of all men: for, whom so ever he meet in the

streetes that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he never so meane, he woulde

in Rome came to be his. But not with standing that he had so many slaues to his workemen. he neuer built any house from the ground, sauing his owne house wherein he dwelt : saving that fuch as delighted to builde, vadid them selves without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of filuer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and plowmen to followe the same: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in respect of the profit his slatter and bonde-

men brought him dayly in. A sreaders, scriueners, goldsmythes, bankers, receiuers. stewards of householde, caruers, and other such officers at the table, taking paines him selfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should does and to be shorte. Craffue care hethought the greatest care a good householder ought to haue, was to fee his states by fer-

nauntes well taught, being the most lively cattell and best instruments of a mans house! And furely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake : that all thinges What bemust be done by servauntes, and his servauntes must be ruled by him. For we see that the aree langut to and skill to be a good husbande, when it confifteth in gouernment of thinges without life or ay, and in fence, is but a base thing, only tending to gaine; but when it dependeth apon good order and whom it congovernment of men, me thinkes then it is to knowe how to governe well a common wealth: 69th.

But as his judgement was good in the other, so was it very bad in this that he thought no man craffic indgeriche, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole army with his owne proper goods. For many who was the warre (as king Archidamus was wont to fay) is not made with any certainty of expences Archidamus and therefore there must no sufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. Same of But herein Marius and he differed farre in opinion : who havinge allowed every Romans foureteene akers lande (called with them, Iugera) understanding that some were hot pleased.

come to his table, his fare was but even ordinary, without all excesse: but his fine and cleanly craffu fores feruice, & the good entertainment he gaue every man that came to him, pleafed them better, at he bomde.

studied eloquence, and that forte specially that best would ferue his turne to speake in open crassia ele-

E presence: fo that he became the best spoken man in Rome of all his time, and by his great in-

Hor Craffis

speake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is fayd also he was very well studied in sto-Fries, and indifferently seene in Philosophy, specially in Aristotels workes, which one Alexander did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and pacient of nature, by vling of Craffu company: for it were hard to fay, whether Alexander was poorer when he came to Craffin or made poorer while he was withhim. Of all his frendes he would euer haue Alexandra broade with him, and while they were abroade, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the

way : but fo foone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull pacing of a man? to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man beingin great pouerty, did not place pouerty in thinges indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. Cinna and Marius being now of greater power, and comming on directly towards Rome, euery man suspected straight their coming was for no good to the common wealth but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of Rome. For its fell out in deede, that they flue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom Craffe father & his brother were of the number, and him felfe being at that time but young, escaped traffur fints the prefent daunger only by flight. Furthermore, Craffus hearing that they layed waite to the him, & that the tyrannes fought him in every place, tooke three of his frends in his company,

and tenne feruauntes only, and fled into Spayne with all possible speede, where he had been with his father before, and had got fome frendes when he was Prætor, and ruled that conne Neuerthelesse, seeing euery body afrayed, and mistrusting Marine cruelty as if he had beneat

their dores, he durst not bewray him selfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him fie sum Craf- ry glad of it: and understanding how many persones he had with him, and into what placehe

in a great caue being within the lande of one Vibius Piciacus by the fea fide, from whencehe fent a man of his to this Piciacus, to feele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his vittells beganne to faile him. Vibius hearing that Crassus was fafe, and had scaped, becamevewas gotten, went not him felfe to fee him, but called one of his flaues (who was his receiped and occupied that ground for him) & bringing him neere the place where Crassus was, commaunded him enery night to prouide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rock whereunder was the cane, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquifitiue for whom it was for if he did, he should dye for it: & otherwise, for keping the thing secret as he commaunded he promifed to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the fea fide, & is closed in round about with two rockes that mete together, which receive a foft coole winde into them, Whe ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownes thereof are many other caues of great receite one within an other, and befides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of paffing good water running hard by the rocke, and the name rall riftes of the rockes also receiving the light without, where they mete together, do fendin inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruelous light, and hath no dampe aye, but very pure and drye, by reason of the thickenes of the rocke, which sendeth all the moisnesse and vapour into that springinge well, Crassus keeping close in this caue, Vibius recents brought vittells thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but faw not them he brought itto, nor could understand what they were:and yet they saw him plainly, observing the hour & time of his comming when he brought the same. He provided them no more then would euen necessarily serue their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall : for

Vibius was bent to entertaine Crassus as honorably as he could possible, infomuch as he con-

sidered he was a younge man, and therefore reason woulde he shoulde offer him some occa-

he thought that rather a parte of feare, than any shew of loue towards him. One day he took

two faver young damsells, and brought them with him to the sea fide: and when he camem

the caue, shewed them where they should get up, and bad them not be asrayed. Crassim at the

first, when he saw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed : yet he asked them

what they were, and whome they fought. They being instructed by Vibias what they should

fay, aunswered, that they fought their master that was hidden there. Then Crass knew this

was Vibius mirth to shew him curtesie : so he received them into his caue, and kept them as

long as he lay there, letting Vibins vnderstand by them what he lacked. Fenessella wryteth, that

he faw one of them when the was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale

many a time with great delight. In fine, Crassus (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight F

monethes) vnderstanding that Cinna was dead, came out: and so soone as he made him selse

to be knowen, there repayred a great number of fouldiers vnto him, of whom he only choic

fion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required . For to relieue his necessity only, i

CRASSVS.

A two thowsand fine hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called M A-LACA, as divers doe wryte, but he flatly denied it, and flowtly contraried them that affirmed ir. And afterwardes having gotten shippes together, went into A FRICKE, to Metellin Pins a Crassia vine man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not mo spinke.

long with Metellus, but iarring with him, went vnto Sylla, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. Sylla afterwardes arriving in I TALIE, intending to insploy all the young nobility he had in his copany, gaue enery one of them charge under him. and fent Crassius into the contry of the MARSIANS, to leavy men of warre there. Crassius desi- crastius sens ring certaine bandes of Sylla to aide him, being driven to passe by his enemies: Sylla aunswe- by Sylla mio red him angrely againe. I gene thee thy father, thy brother, thy frendes and kinsemen to aide the contry of red him angrely again. thee, whom they most wickedly haue slaine and murdered, and whose deathes I pursue with hotreuenge of maine army, apon those bloody murtherers that have flaine them. Crassus being netled with these wordes, departed thence presently, and stowtly passing through his ene-

mies, leavied a good number of fouldiers: & was ever after ready at Syllaes commaundement in all his warres. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention between him and Pom: The emilaper, For Pompey being younger than Craffus, and borne of a wicked father in Rome, whom the tion beine site people more hated tha euer they did manicame yet to great honor by his valliancy, & by the Pomper notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that Sylla did Pompey that honor many times, Sylla called which he feldom did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto those that were his equalls: as to rife vp when he came towardes him, to put of his eappe, to call him Imperator, as much C as Lieutenant generall. And this galled Crassus to the hart, although he had no wrong in that Pompey was taken before him, bicaute he had no experience in matters of warto at that time. and also bicause these two vices that were bred in him, misery and couetousnes, drowned all

his vertue and well doing. For at the facke of the city of TVDER, which he tooke, he prive- craffice tooke ly got the most parte of the spoyle to him selfe, wherof he was accused before Sylla. Yet in the Tuder. last battell of all this civill warre (which was the greatest and most daungerous of all other) euen before Rome it selfe, the wing that Sylla led, was repulsed and ouerthrowen: but Craffee The valliantthat led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sont Syl- nes of Craffies. laword of his victory, and demaunded vittells for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confilcate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be

D flaine, for litle or nothing. And it is fayd also, that he made one an outlaw in the contry of the BRYTIANS, without Syllaes privitie or commaundement, only to have his goodes. But Sylla being told of it, would neuer after vse him in any open service. Surely this is a straunge thing. that Crassus felfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fanor: was ver himselfe case to be won through flattery of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is fayd of him that he had this property: that shough him felfe was as extremely conerous as might be, yer he bitterly reprotted and vtterly mifliked them that had his owne hus mor of auarice. Pompeyes Honor that he attained vinto dayly, by bearing great charge and title craffue enui. in the warres, did greatly trouble Craffus both bicaufe he obtained the honor of triumphe be est Pompey. forche came to be Senatour, and also for that the Romanes commonly called him, Pompetus The Romanes E Magnus, to fay, Pompey the great: Craffus beinge in place on a time when one fayd that lawe called Pom-Pompey comming fee, Pompey the great is come. And how great I pray ye, fayd he fcornefully pey, the great. howbeit dispayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue him felic vino the affayers of the city and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens: craffic intereasies, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that fued for any firy and cause office, or demanded any thing els of the people, he attament in the end to the like estimacion the common and anthoritie that Pompey was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one wealth. notable thing in either of them. For Pompeyes fame & power was greater in Rome, when him felfewas absent: and contrary wife when he was there presently Graffus oftentimes was better esteemed than he. Primper carried a great maiefly and granty in his maner of life, would not be F feencoften of the people, but kept from repayring to open places; and would speake but in fewe mens caules, and that vnwillingly : all to keepe his fauor and credit whole for him felfe.

whenhe stoode in neede to employ the same. Where Crassus diligence was profitable to ma-

ny, bicause he kept continually in the market place, and was easie to be repayred vnto by any A man that required his helpe, dayly following those exercises, indenoring him selfe toples fure euery man : fo that by this easie accesse and familiaritie, for fauor and good will be grew to exceede the granety and maiefly of Pompey. But as for the worthines of their perform their eloquence of speeche, & their good grace & countenaunce : in all those (it is sayd)? per and Crassis were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried Crassis away with any open malice and ill will. For though he was fory to fee Pompey and Cafar honored about him : yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though Cafar when he was taken by pyrates in As IA(as he was once) and being kept prisoner cryed out alowde: O Cret (us, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou shalt heare I am in prison. This notwithstanding. they were afterwardes good frendes, as it appeareth. For Cafar being ready on a time to be DART OUT Of ROME for Prætorinto SPAYNE, and not being able to fatisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to flay & arrest his carriage: Crassius in that time of needs forfooke him not, but became his furery for the fumme of eight hundred and thirty talents Three fastier In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of Pompey, Cafar, and Craffue foras for Cato, theestimacion they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority : and his verue

more wondered at then practifed) infomuch as the grauest and wifest men tooke parte with Pompey. The liueliest vouthes, and likeliest to runne into desperate attemptes, they followed Craffus incon- Cafars hope, Craffus keeping the middeft of the streame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpose. For in matters of government in the common weale, he neither thewed him selfe a constant frend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gains of was easily made frend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reproue, defende and condemne, the fame lawes, and the fame men. His estimacion grewe more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the auniwere that one Sicinius (avery buffe headed man, and one that troubled enery governor of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not bufie with Craffing Sicinius pro mongest the rest : and howe it happened that he so scaped his handes ? O, sayd he, he caries haye on his horne. The maner was then at ROME, if any man had a curft bullocke that would

master that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other atthe

sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracybe-

strike with his horne, to winde have about his heade, that the people might beware of him

The ware of when they met him. The commocion of fenfers, which some call Spartacus warre, their wathe bindmen, sting and destroying of ITALIB came apon this occasion. In the citie of CAPVA, there was D

one Lentulus Batiatus, that kept a great number of fenfers at vnrebated foyles, whom the Ro-MANES call Gladiatores, whereof the most partewere GAVLES and THRACIANS. These men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had comitted, but only for the wickednes of their

The wit and behavior of Spartacue, the chiefe Captains of the

ing bewrayed, three score and eighteene of them entred into a cookes house, and with the fpittes and kitching kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fenfers weapons, that were brought from Carra going to some other city: those they also tooke by force, and arming them selves therewith got them then to a strong place of scituacion. Where amongest them selues they chose three a Captaines, and one Spartaces a THRACIAN borne (and of those contrymen that go wanding vp and downe with their heards of beaftes neuer staying long in a place) they made their Ge nerall. This Spartaces was not onely valliant, but strong made withall, and endued with more wisedom and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his state and condicion: and force uility and good viderstanding, a man more like to the GRECIANS, than any of his comile men comonly be. It is reported, that when Spartaces came first to Rountobe fold for assause there was founde as he flept, a fnake wound about his face. His wife feeing it being his come contry woman, & a wife woman befides, poffest with Bacchus spirite of dinimation: faid plains ly that it did fignifie, that one day he shoulde be of great power, much dread, and haue very good fuccesse. This same woman prophetesse was then with him, and followed him likewise it when he fled. Now first they ouerthrewe certaine souldiers that came out of CAPVA against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their armor & weapons, made them glid

a make the fenfers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnfeemely. After that, the Ro-WANES fent Clodius Prætor against them, with three thowsand men. Who besieged them in Clodius a Rotheir forte, scituate apon a hill that had a verie steepe and narowe ascent vitto it, and kept the naffage vp to them: all the reft of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes sometime hanging ouer, & apon the greatstore of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest with 3000 flippes, and made thereof ladders, like to these shippe ladders of ropes, of such a length and follrong, that they reached from the toppe of the hill even to the very bottome: apon those shey all came fafely downe, fauing one that taried aboue to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the fame ladder faued him felfe last of all. The Romanes mistrusting cliditie the

no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behinde, & put them Pratot outre in such a feare with the fodaine onset, as they fled apon it euery man, and so was their campe

taken. Thereupon divers heardmen and sheapherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, joyned with the ROMANES that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which somethey armed, and others they yied as scowtes and spialls to discotter. Apon this ouer throwe was tent an other Captaine from Rome, called Publius Varinus, against these bondmen: who first ouercame Fu- Publim Va-

rim the Lieutenant of Various in battell, & two thow fand of his men: & after that against they fent against the one Cossinius, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being joyned with P. Varinus, as his fel- Spandius. low & counfeller, Spartacus having intelligence that Cosinius was buthing him felfe at a place called the salte pittes, had almost taken him tardy; having much a do by flight to same himselfe: notwithstanding, Spartacus wanne all his cariage at that time, and having him hard in chase. C tooke his whole cape with great flaughter of his men, among whom Cossinius felfe was flaine.

Spartacus hauing thus now in fundry battells and encounters offercome the Prætor him felfe, spartain with P. Varinus, and at the length taken his sergeauntes from him that carried the axes before him. fory of P. and his owne horse whereon he rode him selse: was growen then to such a power, as he was dreaded of enery man. Yet all this notwithstandinge, Spartacus wisely considering his owner

force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the ROMANES! marched with his armie towardes the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them ouer, euerie man to repayre home to his owne contrie, some into GAVLE, the rest into THRACIA. But his fouldiers trustinge to their multitude, and perswading them selues to doe great thinges: would not obey him therein, but went againe to fpoile and ouerrunne all IT A-D LIB. The Senate of ROME being in a great perplexity, not onely for the shame and dishonor that their men should be ouercome in that forte by slaues and rebells, but also for the feare & daunger all ITALIE stoode in besides: sent both the Consults together, Gellius and Lentulus, Gellius and

daunger all ITALIB ITOOLE III Defides their both the Contains together, Grand and Lemmin, but as you as difficult and daungerous a warre, as any that could have happened when them. This Confide Grand Contains a superior of the contains to the could have happened when the contains the could have happened when the contains the could have happened when the could have happened have happened whe Gellius one of the Confuls, fetting fodainly apon a band of the GERMAINES, which in a braue- against somry and contempt as it were, dispersed them selues from their campe, put them to the sworde euery man, Lentulus, his colleague and fellow Confull on thother fide, compaffed in Spartacus round with a great army; but Spartaeus charged his Lieutenaunts that led tharmy, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their carriage. Hereupon, marching on still with his army towardes the Alpes, Cassius the Przetor, and Governor of GAV LE about the Pot came a - Cassius oner-E gainst him with an army of tenne thowsand men. Sparfacus joyned battell with him, and ouer-

came him. Casius having lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty faued him felfe by flying. The Senate hearing of Cassius ouerthrow, were maruelously offeded with the Confulls, and fent commaundement vinto them, to leave of the warre: and thereuppon gave the whole charge thereof vnto Marcus Crassus, who was accompanied in this iorney with many Crassus series noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was maruelously effected, & sacinft states. also for the good will they bare him. Now went Crassus from Rome, and camped in Roma-NIA, tarying Spartacus comming, who was marchine thitherwarde. He lent Mummius one of Mummius his Lieutenauntes with two legyons, to fetche a compasse about to intrappe the enemie behinde, straightly commaunding him to follow Sparracus rereward, But in no ease to offer him

F skirmishe nor battell. But Mummius notwithstanding this straight commaundement, seeing Manning. some hope geuen him to doe good, set apon Spartacus, who gane him the ouerthrowe, sue werbrowen numbers of his men, and moe had flaine, fauing that certaine of them faued them felues by by specialism EEE iii

wardly foul-

flight, hauing only lost their armor and weapons. Hereupon Crassius was grieuously offended a with Mummiu, and receiuing his fouldiers that fled, gaue them other armor and weapons but yet vpon fureties, that they should keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before The Romans done. Now Craffes of the fine hundred that were in the first ranckes, and that first fled, thembe deuided into fifty times ten, and out of euery one of those he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renuing againe the auncient discipline of the Romanes to punish cowardly foul. diers, which of long time before had not bene put in vie. For it is a kinde of death that bring. eth open shame withall, and bicause it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the resdue afrayed to see the terror of this punishment. Crassius having done execution in this some apon his men, led his armie against Spartacus: who still drue backe, vntill he came to these fide through the contry of the Lycanians, where he found in the straight of the Far of Mai-l \$1NA, certaine pyrates shippes of CILICIA, and there determined to goe into SICILIA, And having put two thowfande men into Sicils, he then revived the warre there of the flanes which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked small prouocation to beginne it againe. But these pyrates having promised Spartacus to passe him over thither, & also taken giftes of him.

deceived him, & brake their promise. Whereupon Spartaeus returning backe againe from the

fea fide.went & camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. Craffus comming thither to feele him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he should doe: determined with a walle to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this litle Ilande, both to keepelis men occupied from idlenes, & his enemies also from virtell. This was a maruelous hardand long peece of worke, notwithstanding, Crassus finished it beyonde all mens expectationing very shorte time, and brought a trenche from one side of the sea to the other ouerthwartthis barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteenefoote broade, and so manyin height: and apon the toppe of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruelous strength, wherof Spartaces at the first made light accompt, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganne to faile him, & traueling all about the lle for vittells, perceiuing him felfe to be thut in with this wall. and that there was no kinde of vittells to be had within all the compaffe of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boysterous night, the winde being very great, when it snewed exceedingly, set his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being of a small bredth) with earth, stones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he passed ouer the third parte of his army. Crassus at the first then became asrayed, least Spartacus would have taken his way directly D toward Rome: but he was soone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out to gether, and that a great number of them rebelling against Spartaens, went & camped by them A runderfull felues by the lake of Lucania, which water by reporte hath this variable property, that at

certaine times it chaungeth and becommeth very sweete, and at some other times againeso take of time. falte and brackith, as no man can drinke it. Crassus going to set apon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great nuber of them, nor follow them very farre: bicause Spartage came presently to the rescue with his army, who stayed the chase. Crassus had wrytten letters before to the Senate, to call Lucullus home out of THRACIA, & Pompey out of SPAYNE, wheref

he then repented him, & made all the possible speede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither : knowing, that which of them fo euer came to his helpe, to him E would the people gene the honor of ending this warre, and not to him felfe. Wherefore he first determined to affaile them that had revolted from Spartacus, and camped by them selues Ambush laied who were led by Cains Canicius, and an other called Castus. So Crassus sent six thowsand sootemen before to take a hil, commaunding them to lye as close as they could, that their enemies might not discouer them: and so they did, and couered their morians & headpecces as well.

as might be, from being seene. Neuerthelesse they were discouered by two women doing secrifice for the lafety of their army: and therupon were all in great halard of casting away, had The validamen not Crassius bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruellest battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were flaine of the flaues at that battel, twelue Joudiers, Specialcut re. thow fand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backes, and all the F rest slaine in the place of their ranckes, valliantly fighting where they were set in battell ray. mountaines of Spartacus after this ouerthrowe, drew towardes the mountaines of Petelie, whither Quintus,

a one of Crassus Lieutenauntes, and Serofa his treasorer followed him, still skirmishing with his receivard all the way: yet in fine, Spartacus turned fodainly apon them, made the Romanes flic that still harried his men in that forte, and hurt Scrofa Crassus treasorer, so fore that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the Romanes by this ouerthrow, fell out in the ende to the vtter destruction of Spartacus. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to fuch a stowtenes and pride of them selues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any lenger obey their leaders and Captaines ; but by the way as they went, they compafied them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they hould go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through L v-GANIA against the ROMANES. All this made for Crassus as he wished, for he had received newes that Pompey was comming, and that divers were futers for him at Rome to be fent in this jorney, faying, that the last victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would difoatche it at a battell, as foone as he came thither. Craffus therefore feeking occasion to fight. lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trenche, which the

bondmen feeking to preuent, came with great fury, and fet apon them that wrought. Wherupon fell out a hotte skirmishe, and still supplies came on of either side : so that Spartacus in the ende perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had fet them in order, & that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on he drew out The fighte con his fword, and before them all flue the horse dead in the place, saying: if it be my fortune to rage of Sparwinne the field. I know I shall have horse enow to serve my turne; and if I chaunse to be overcomen, then shal I nede no moe horses. After that, he flew in among the ROMANES, thinking to attaine to figir t with Craffus, but he could not come neere him : yet he flue with his owne

handes two ROMANE Centurions that refifted him. In the end, all his men he had about him. for fooke him and fled, fo as Spartacus was left alone among his enemies: who valliantly figh- spartacus ting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though Crassus fortune was very good in this warre, saine. and that he had shewed him selfe a noble and valliant Captaine, venturing his persone in any daunger, yet he could not keepe Pompey from the honor of ending this warre: for the flaues that scaped from this last battell where Spartacus was slaine, fell into Pompeyes handes; who made an end of all those rebellious rascalls. Pompey hereupon wrote to the Senate, that Crassias had ouercomen the slaues in battell, but that he him selfe had pulled vp that warre euen by D the very rootes. After this Pompey made his entrie into Rome, and triumphed for his victorie Pompeyes of Sertorius, and the conquest of SPAYNE. Crassus also sued not for the great triumphe, neither winmphe for thought he the small Ouation triumphe a foote, which they graunted him, any honor vnto spane.

him, for ouercomming a few fugitive bondmen. But for this small triumphe, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it different from the great triumphe: fee Marcellus life, where we Onsile fee haue at large discoursed thereof. Now Pompey being called to be Consult: Crassus, though he Marcellin floode in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his frendthippe and furtherance. Pompey was very willing to helpe him, and was euer defirous to make Craffus beholding to him; whereupon he delt frendly for him, and spake openly in thatsembly

of the city, that he would no leffe thanke the people to appoint Craffus his companion & fel-E low Confull with him, then for making him felfe Confull. But notwithstandinge they were crassing made both Confulls together in office, their frendship held not, but were euer at iarre, & the one a- confull with gainst the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Con- Pompey. full hippe, without any memorable act done: fauing that Craffus made a great facrifice to Hersules, and kept an open feaft for the people of Rome of a thowfande tables, and gaue to every craffing great

citizen corne to finde him three monethes. But in the ende of their Confulthip, at a common feeling of the counsell holden, there was a knight of Rome called Onatius Aurelius (a man not greatly kno-Rome wen, for that he had no dealinges in the state, and kept most in the contry) who gettinge vp to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame, supiter, said The dreame

he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put Graffus & of Onation Pompey out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no fooner spoken the Aurelius.

wordes, but the people commaunded them to be frendes. Pompey fate still, and fayd neuer a

word to it. But Craffus role, and tooke Pompey by the hand, & turning him to the people, told

Ĉra∏us and

Craffue Cenfor with Ca-

them alowde:my Lordes of ROME, I do nothing vnworthy of my selfe, to seeke Pompeis frend, A thip and fauor first, fince you your felues have called him the great, before he had any here vpon his face, & that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this

is all that Crassis did of any accomptin his Consulthip. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the menof warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goodes: although Luctatius Catulus wa his colleague and fellowe Cenfor, as gentle a persone as any of that time that lived in Rone Now Crassas at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent ad m bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMANES, Catulus did ftowthy withftand him: wherby dif

fention falling out between them, they both did willingly refigne their office. In that green conspiracie of Catiline, which in manner ouerthrewe the whole state and common wealth of

craffue supe- Rome, Crassias was had in some iealousie and mistrust: bicause there was one of the confede. rats that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet Citero in an lines confpiraoration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassus & Casar, as confederats with Catiline: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made alfo, when his Crassus and Cafar confederates with Catiline. Craffiu Cice-

office and authority of Conful cealed, he fayd: that Crassus came one night to him, & shewel him a letter touching Catiline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassus ever after hated him: and that he did not openly revenge it, the let was by meane of his tonne. For Publius Crassus much favoring eloquence, and beinge genen to his booke, bare great good will vnto Cicero : in such forte, that apon his banishment he puton chaunged garmentes as Cicero did, and procured many other youthes to do the like allo, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his frend. Casar now returning to Rome from the pro-

uince he had in gouernment, intended to fue for the Confulshippe: and perceiuing that Pomper & Crassus were againe at a jarre, thought thus with him selfe, that to make the one of them his frend to further his fuce, he should but procure thother his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his defire with the fauor of them both, fought first the meanes to make the frendes. & perswaded with them, that by their controuersie thone seeking thothers vindoing, they did thereby but make Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, of the greater authority, who of them selues were of no power, if they two loyned in frendshippe together: for making both their frendes and

factions one they might rule the state and common wealth even as they would. Cafar having by his perswasion reconciled Crassus and Pompey, ioyning their three powers in one, madel them selues vnuincible, which afterwardes turned to the destruction of the people and Se Cafar, al three nate of Rome. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by theothers meanes: but him selfe also of great power through them. For when they beganne to fauor Cafar, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaued him selse in the Consulfhip, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him togouerne the GAVLES: which was, as a man may fay, even them felues to put him into the castell that should kepe all the citie in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoyle and

good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a government. Now for Pomper, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing els, but his extreame ambition, But as for Crassus, besides his old vice of couetousnes rooted in him, he added to that a new eaus.

Calm zecon.

ciled Craffus

Cafar at Lu-

rice and desire of triumphes and victories, which Cafars fame for prowes and noble actes in warres did throughly kindell in him, that he being otherwise his better in all thinges, might not yet in that be his inferior : which furie tooke fuch holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great mifery. Thus Cafar being come out of his prouince of GAVLE vnto LVCA, divers ROMANES went thither to fee him, and among other, Pompey and Crassus. They having talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to have the whole power of Roms in their handes : so that Cesar should kepe his armie together, and Crassas and Pompey should take other provinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one : that Pompey and Crassian thould againe sue these cond time to be Confulls, and that Cafars frendes at Rome should stand with them for it, fen-F ding also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consults. Thereupon Pompey and Crassias returned to Roma to that ende, but not without suspicion of

A their practife : for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of Cafar in Lvc a, was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey in open Senate, if he ment to make fute to be Confull. Pompey aunswered them : peraduenture he did, peraduen. Pompey it nure he did not. They asking him agains the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for from aunswirt. the good men, not for the euill. Pompeyes answers were thought very prowde & hawty. Howheit Craffus auniwered more modeftly, that if he faw it necessary for the common wealth. he craffus mo-

would fue to be Confull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were destantiques. fo bold to make fute for the Confulthippe, as Domitius among other. But afterwardes Pom-

per and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest left of their sute for feare of them. Domitim only excepted: whom Cate to prayed and intreated, as his kinfeman and frend, that he made him to feeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the detense of their libertie. and how that it was not the Confulshippe Crassius and Pompey looked after, but that they went ahout to bring in a tyranny: & that they fued not for the office, but to get fuch provinces and armies into their handes as they defired, vnder colour and countenaunce of the Confulship. Cato ringing these words into their eares, & beleuing it certainly to be true as he sayd, brought Domitius as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men joyned with their bicause they wondred what the matter ment that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Confulls, and why they made fute to be joyned together, and not to have any other with them, confidering there were fo many other worthy men, meete to be companion

with either of them both in that office. Pompey fearing he should be preuented of his purpose, Pompey made fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongest other, when the day came to choose Crassia Conthe Confulls, Domitius going earely in the morning before day, accopanied with his frends fall by force. so the place where the electio should be: his man that caried the torch before him was flaine. by some whom Pompey had layed in waite, & many of his companie hurt, and among others, Cato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whether they fled for Succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consults together. Shortly Pomper and after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue Cato out of the market place, fraffin con-& flue some of them that relisted & would not flye. They also then prolonged Cefars gouern- cond time. ment of the GAVLES for five yeres more, and procured for them selves by decree of the peo-

ple, the contries of Syria and Spayne. Againe, when they drew lottes together, Syria fell

D to Craffus, and SPAYNE to Pompey. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the craffus had

one fide were loth Pompey thould goe farre from Rom E: & him felfe also louing his wife well, the general was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoyced most at his happe, that he should goe into Syria: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iorney, were he in neuer fo great or straunge company. Furthermore, being among his frendes and familiars; he would geue out such fonde boastes of it. as no young man could have made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeres and nature, having lived all his life time as modeftly, and with as finall oftentacion as any man liuing. But then forgetting him selfe too much had such fond conceites in his heade, as he not E only hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the PARTHIANS, but flattered him felfe that the world (hould fee all that Lucullus had done against king Tigranes, and Pompey against king Mithridates, were but trifles (as a man would fay) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Occean fea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people there was no mention made of any warres against the PARTHI-ANS. Nowe every man fawe Crassus ambition and greedy define of honor: infomuch as Casar felle wrote vnto Crassus out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardnes, and withed him to goe thorow therewith. But Atteins one of the Tribunes being bent against Craf- Ancies the for to withstand his departure: (having divers other confederats with him to further his purpole, who much misliked that any man of a brauery and lustines should make warre with any F nation or people that had no way offended the Romane sibutwere their frends and confede-

ty, bicaule he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

rates Craffus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to assist and accompany himourof the ci-

For though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let Crassus of his dis parture, and to crie out apon him; yet when they faw Pompey goe before him, with a pleasant fmvling countenaunce, they quieted them felues, and made a lane for them, fuffering themen passe on, and sayd nothing. This notwithstanding, Asteins the Tribune stepped before them and commaunded Crassiss he should not departe the city, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing Crassus still held on his way notwithstanding, he commaunded the one of the officers to lay hold of him, & to arrest him:howbeit the other Tribunes wouldness fuffer the officer to doe it. So the fergeaunt difmiffed Craffus. Then Atteins running towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdish with coles, & set it in the middest of the streete. When Crassus came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprinckelinges ouer it, pronouncing horrible curses, and calling apon terrible and straunge names of goddes. The Re-MANES fay that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great

force: as he that is once curfed with that curfe can neuer escape it, nor he that vieth it dothe.

uer prosper after it. And therefore sewe men doe vie it, and neuer but apon vigent occasion.

But then they much reproued Atteins, for ving of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreame

and vpward, and yet his face made him feeme elder then he was. But to our ftory againe. Craf-

be thought of a base minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great thinges, making

fuch reconing of fo small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seuen thowsand of his soots

men in garrison, in those cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thowsand horsmershe

curies, which were much hurtefull to the common wealth, although he for his contries fale had thus curfed Crassus. Crassus settinge forward notwithstandinge, sayled on, and arrived inso Syria. BRUNDU SIVM, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his shippes howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the contry of GALATIA. There he found

Deiotarue. king Deiotarus, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunte him pretily, fayd vato him. What, O king, beginne you to builde now in the afternone? To whom the king of o the GALATIANS againe fmiling made aunswere. And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not year earely (me thinkes) to make warre with the PART HIANS. For in deede Craffus was three score

fus being comen into the contry, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge apon the river of Euphrates, and paffed his armie over it without any let or trouble. Some feth mer the tring into MES OPOTAMIA, received many cities, that of good will yeelded them felues your riner of Euhim. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, whereof Appolonius was tyran, where Craffus loft a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooken by

force, facked their goodes, and fold the prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this Zenadolla 14- citie Zenodotia, and for winning of the fame Craffus fuffered his men to call him Impera-I tor, to fay, foueraigne Captaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to

Publim Craf- returned backe to winter in Syria. Thither came his fonne Publius Craffus to him out of GAY LE from Iulius Cafar, who had geuen him such honors, as Generalles of Rome didyle he father in to gene to valliant fouldiers for reward of their good feruice : and brought vnto his fathers

thowfand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault Crasses committed in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently have gone on still and entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANA) ! he tracted time, & gaue them leafure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when helauin SYRIA feeming rather to leade a marchauntes life, than a chieferaines. For he neuer faw his army, nor trained them out to any marshall exercise, but fell to counting the reuenue of the cities, and was many dayes bufily occupied weying of the gold and filuer in the temple of the goddesse Hierapolis. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him: to furnishe him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them for a summe of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, & despised of every body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse Hierapoli whom some suppose to be Venus, other say Juno, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe F cause that giveth beginning of moisture to every thing that commeth forth and hath a being, and taught men the original cause also of every good thing. For as Crassus the father, & some

both, were comming out of the temple: Craffin the younger fell first on his face, and the fa- The first ther afterwardes apon his sonne. Likewise as he was gatheringe his garrisons together, cal-sure if craflinge them out of the cities into the fielde, there came Ambassadors vnto him from Arlater, kinge of the PARTHIANS : who deliuered him their message in fewe wordes, and tolde This name of

him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMANES to make warre with their mafter, Arfaide. then that he would have no peace nor frendship with them, but would make mortall warres was common against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that Crassian against the peoples mindes to all the kings of ROME, for his owne couetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a iolity to make warre of the Pathiwith the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their contry: then in that respect Arfaces would deale ambassadors more fauorably, in confideration of Crassus yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to of the Parthideparte with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in prison, than in garrison within his crassia.

gires. Thereto Crassias coragiously aunswered, that he would make them aunswere in the city of Selev CIA. Therewith Vagifes, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and thewing Vagifes words, Craffus the palme of his hand, told him thus heare will fooner grow in the palme of my hand, for the palme Craffus, than you will come to Selevels. In this forte the Ambaffadors tooke their leave of of his hande. Craffin, and returned to their kinge Hyrodes, tellinge him he was to prepare for warre. In the Hyrodes, king meane space, certaine of Crassius souldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of ME-ofthe Partis-SOPOTAMIA, having scaped maruelous daungerously and with great difficulty; brought him newes of importance, having them selves seene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy &

force of any thing could pearce them thorow. The ROMANES hearing these newes fell from

their former stowtnes and corage, being borne in hande before, that the PARTHIANS diffe-

red nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPABOCIANS, whom Lucullus had ouercome

greatest paynes in this warre, was but the tediousnes of the iorney they had to make, and the

trouble they (hould have to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrarie

to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustely fought withall, Hereupon.

divers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom Callius the tre- captus mea-

D and spoyled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made accompt, that their

their maner of fight in the affaultes they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And as Citfalleth out commonly among men escaped from any daunger making thinges more fearefull and daungerous than they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpoffible by flyinge to faue them selves, if they did followe in chase: neither to overtake them also, if they fled. And further, that they had fuch kinde of arrowes as would flie fwifter, than a mans eve could discerne them, and would perce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the horsemens weapons they yied, that they were such, as no armor could possibly hold out: and their armors on thother side made of such a temper and metall, as no

forer was one) adusted Craffus to stay, and to deliberate in counsell to knowe whether he were forest under best to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The soothsayers them selues did partely let Crass Grassus fore. fus understand, that the goddes shewed no good tokens in all their facrifices, and were hardly warned by the to be pacified. But Crassing gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him birill secure. as much, but only listned to them that counfelled him to make hast. Yet Crassias chiefest comforte and incoragement, was of Artabazes, king of Armenia, who came to his campe with Artabazes, fixethowfand horse, which were but only the kinges cornet and garde. Againe he promised king of Armenia, canse him other tenne thowfand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thowsande footemen to Crassite which he kept continually in pay, and counfelled Craffus to enter the PARTHIANS CONTIE y- campe. pon Armeniaes fide: bicause his campe shoulde not onely have plenty of vittells, which he would fend him out of his contry, but for that he should also march in more fafety, having

a contrie full of mountaines and woddes before him very ill for horsemen, which was the only strength and force of the PARTHIANS. Crassius coldly thanked Artabazes for his good will. & all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA. where he had left many good fouldiers of the ROMANES. And thus departed the king of AR-

MENIA from him. But now as Crassus was passing his army apon the bridge he had made ouer pronderfull the river of Euphrates, there fel out fodaine straunge & terrible crackes of thuder, with feare- figner and tofull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke clowde full

his ancesters, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roial crowne or dia-

deame apon the kinges head. Moreouer, he had restored king Hyrades that then reigned to his

growneswho had bene before driven out of his realme : and had wonne him also the great ci-

then brought Crassis to believe all that he sayd, and drawen him by perswasion from the river

of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine contrie, meeting at the first with very good way, but after

612 came a wonderfull storme and tempest of winde apon the bridge, that the maruelous form thereof ouerthrewe a great parte of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Besides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twife striken with two great thunder clappes. Ones his great horse in like case, being brauely furnished and set out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and

lept into the river with his ryder on his backe, who were both drowned; and neuer feenest ter. They say also, that the first Eagle & ensigne that was to be taken up when they marched turned backe of it felfe, without any handes layed vppon it. Further it fortuned that as the were distributing the vittells vnto the souldiers, after they had all passed ouer the bridge, the first thing that was genen them, was salte, and water lintels, which the ROMANES take for a token of death and mourning, bicause they vie it at the funeralles of the deade. After all this when Crassas was exhorting his fouldiers, a worde scaped his mouth that troubled the amie marueloufly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer then uer of Euphrates, of purpose, bicause there should not a man of them returne backe against Where in deede when he had seene that they tooke this word in ill parte, he should have called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, feeing his men fo amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was so wilfull. In the ende he made ordinarie sacrifice for the purging of hisar-

my: and when the Soothfayer gaue him the intrells of the beaft that was facrificed, they fell out of his handes. Crassus perceiving that the standers by were troubled withall, tell a laughing, and told them, you see what age is: yet shall you not see my sword fall out of my hande So having ended his facrifice, he beganne to marche forwarde into the contrie by therium craffus armie fide, with seuen legions of sootemen, and little lacke of soure thowsand horse, and in maneras many shot and slinges lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his skoutes that had viewed the contry, and told him there was not an enemy to be seene in the field: howbeit that they had founde the tracke of a maruelous number of horse, which seemed as they were returned backe. Then Crassias first of all beganne to hope well: and his souldiers also, they fellm despise the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet Cassius his treasorer ever perswaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to re-

fresh his army a little in one of the cities where he had his garrison, vntil such time as he heard

more certaine newes of the enemies:or else that he would march directly towards SELEVEN

by the rivers fide, which lay fit for him to vittell him felfe eafily by botes that would always follow his campe, & should be fure befides that the enemies could not enuiron him behinde,] fo that having no way to fet apon the but before, they should have none advantage of them. Crassus going about then to consult of the matter, there came one Ariannes vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine subtill fellow, which was the greatest mischiefe and euill, that fortune could fend to Craffus at that present time, to bring him to vtter ruine and destruction. For there were some of Crassius souldiers that had served Pompey before in that contrie, who knew him very well, and remembred that Pompey had done him great pleafures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMANES. But Ariannes had benelabored at that time by the king of PARTHIABS Captaines, & was wonne by them te deceiue Craffus, and to intife him all he could, to drawe him from the river and the wordy contry, & to bring him into the plaine fielde, where they might compaffe him in with their horfemen: for they

ment nothing leffe than to fight with the ROMANES at the swordes poynte. This barbarous Ariannes de. Captaine Ariannes comming to Crassus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled Crassus army, reprouing him that he came fo flowly forward, tracting time in that force as he did, preparing him

Sillaces Ar fa es Lieute-

to fliewith their best moueables, towardes the desertes of SCYTHIA & HYRCANIA. Therfore if you determine (fayd he) to fight, it were good you made haft to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For nowe you haue but Surena and Sillaces, two of his Lieutenauntes against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you that you followe him not F and for the king him selfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all, Forking Hyrodes had deuided his army in two partes at the first, whereof him selfe tooke the one, and

felfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and handes fwift & rea-

die against thenemies: who (for the chiefest of them) had of long time occupied them selues

went to spoyle the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king Artibaces: and with the other he fent Surena against the Romanes, not for any contempt he hat of Crassia (for it was Surena fent not likely he would disdaine to come to battel with himsbeing one of the chiefest noble men against crafof Rome, and to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king Artabaces in ARMENIA) hut I thinke rather he did it of purpose to anoyde the greater daunger, and to keepe farre of, that he might with fafetie see what would happen, and therefore sent Sarena before to halard hattell; and to turne the Romanes backe againe. For Surena was no meane man, but the fe- Surena what

cond person of Parthea next unto the king : in riches, reputacion, valure; and experience be was.

inwarres, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution no man like him Swena, when he did but remoue into the contry only with his household, had a thowsand swenaes

camels to cary his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curusans, a thowsand men of armes course and armed at all peeces; aridas many moe besides lightly armed : so that his whole traine & court mains. made aboue ten thowfand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from

Wof SELEVCIA, him felfe being the first man that scaled the walls, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that relifted him. And though he was vnder thirtie yeares of age, yet they Surena a counted him a wife man, as well for his counfell, as his experience, which were the meanes young many whereby he ouercame Crassus. Who through his rathnes and folly at the first, and afterwards but very C for very feare and timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine Ariannes hauing

with very ill, bicaufe they entred into fandes where their feete soncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could deceme by eye, fo that not only extreame thirst, and miserable way maruelously amazed the Romanes, but the discomforte of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that, abone all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For neither farre nor nere any fight of tree; nuer, brooke, mountaine, graffe, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an n endlesse sea of desert sandes on euerie side, rounde about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betraied. Againe, when newes came that Artabazes king of ARMENIA. Artabazes was kept in his contrie with a great warre king Hyrodes made apon him, which kept him that fem an Emhe could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towardes ARMENIA, that both their armies being joyned together they might the better fight with king Hyrodes, if not, that he would alwayes keepe the woddy contrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: Crassus was fo wilfull, as he would wryte no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, shathe had no crass was

leafure then to harken to the Armenians, but that afterwardes he would be renenged well france. enough of Artabazes treason. Cassius his treasorer was much offended with Crassus for this an-F fwere: howbeit perceiuing he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke enery thing in euillparte, he fayd vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking Ariannes

prayed him to have pacience, and going and comming by the bandes, feeming to helpe the fouldiers, he tolde them merily : O my fellowes, I beleue you thinke to marche through the contry of Naples, and looke to meete with your pleafaunt fpringes, goodly groues of wodde, F your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreshe you, and doe nor remember that you passe through the desertes of ARABIA and Assyria. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMANES a while: but afterwardes he dislodged betimes, before he

this Captaine of the ARABIANS a fide, he rebuked him roundly, and fayd: O thou wretche.

what curfed deuilt hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched & char-

med Crass: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this

way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, than for a Generall and Confull of the Ro-

MANES? Ariannes being crafty & fubtill, speaking gently vnto Casius, did comforte him, and

was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without Crassus printity, whom he bare in hande that he would goe fet fome broyle and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that Carl fus the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the maner was of the ROMANE Generalls) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him felfe, he firming chaunged it againe. It is fayd moreouer, that the enfigne bearers when they should marcha way, had much a doe to plucke their enfignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But out. fur scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to marche forward, compelling the foots men to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a fewe of their skowtes came in, whom they had fer to discouer: who brought newes howe the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what adde they had them selues to scape with life, and that they were a maruelous great army, & welan pointed to geue them battell. This newes made all the campe afrayed, but Crassus selfemore

Ста∏из атту

than the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in maner besides him felfe. At the first following Cassius minde, he set his ranckes wide, casting his souldiers into square battell, a good way a sonder one from an other, bicause he would take in as muchos the plaine as he coulde, to keepe the enemies from compassinge them in, and so deuided the horsemen into the winges. Yer afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and straued the battell of his footemen, facioning it like a bricke, more long than broade, making a frontand shewing their faces every way. For there were twelve cohorts or enfignes imbattelled one ther side. & by euery cohorte a company of horse, bicause there should be no place lest with out aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gaue Castin the leading of one wing, his sonne Publius Crassus the other, and him selfe led the battel in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Balissas. where there was no great store of water, but yet happely lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most parte of Crassus Captaines thought best to campeal night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to knowe their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But Craffus yeelding to his fonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to marchen with his army, and to fet apon the enemy prefently: commaunded, that fuch as would ease. should eate standing, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not faver and I foftly as when they go to geue battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the Romanes at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauelie armed as they

Surenass fire- thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, Surena had of purpose hid them, sageanse, for with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hyde their bright armors, he had cast clokes and beastes skinnes apon them. But when both the armies approached neere thone to thother, & his great atthat the figne to geue charge was lift vp in the ayer: first they filled the fielde with a dreadfull my. Crassu basnoyse to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encorage their men to fight with the soundeof sell with the a horne, neither with trompets nor howboyes, but with great kettle drommes hollow within, Parthians, The Pathias & about them they hang litle bells & copper rings, and with them they all make a noise energy where together, and it is like a dead founde, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing E of a wild beaft, & a fearefull noyfe as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the fenles

clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele and nerall of the Parthians described.

The perform of copper. And Surena also, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valliant, as any other in all his host, though his beawtie somewhat effeminate, in judgement shewed small likelyhoode of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his heare after the facion of the MEDES, contrary to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their heare grow after the facion of the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more ter-F rible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to have set aponthe ROMANIS with their pykes, to fee if they could breake their first ranckes. But when they drew neere, and

that soonest moueth the harte & spirite of any man, & maketh him soonest besides him selse.

The ROMANES being put in feare with this dead founde, the PARTHIANS straight threw the

Gwelredepiliof the Romanes battell ftanding close together, firmely keping their sanckess Harthey gane bucker, making as though they fled, & difperfed them feluca Burthe Romans harneled when they found it contrary, & that it was but a deuise to entironne them on suery Succeptive reapon traffice commaunded his flot and light armed mento affaile them which theydid : but they went not farte they were to beaten in with arrowes and dritten to they re to registore of the armed men. And this was the full beginning that both feared and moubled the Rownbest when they faw the whemency and great force of the enemies thousen which wake the parmore, and ranne thorowe any thing they hit, were it never to hard on fait. The

Rainer and thus fill drawing backe, thorre albrogether on enery finde mora fore hander but The Parthias atighentures for the barrell of the Bos and s stoods to necretogether, as if they would the forther rey rould not mille the killing of foure. These bowinendrew a great trengthese hadblege frond house whickle withe arrower from them with a beanderful force. The Romanis by meanes blinge to bowes were in hard frace. For if they kept their rancks, they were grieudufly woulded: availe if they left them, and freight to run apon the Parthians to fight at hande with them ing faw they would do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme

them felues, Forquefaft as the ROMANES came aponithem, fo faft did the Pantierial si flic The maner of

from them, and yer in flying continued ftill their shooting: which no nation but the Source field. has could better doethan they, being a matter in deede most greatly to their aduabing a For bytheir fight they best doe faue them selves, and fighting still, they therby shunne else shame orthartheir flying. The ROMENES full defended them delucs, and held it out, fo long as they had any hope that the PARTHIAN swould leave fighting, when they had spent she icarrovees arwould toyne battell with them But after they understooderhanthere were a great oil in ber of gamels loden with quiners full of arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes ferched about to take new quivers then Craffix feeing no end of their fliotte began to faint and fent to Publicatis fonne, willing him in any cale to charge upon the enemies, and to gene an onfer, before they were compaffed in on enery fide. For it was on Biblian fide, that one of the winges of the enemies battell was neerest vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compaffe them behinde. Whereuppon Craffus some taking thireeene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thow fands were of the men of armes whom duling Cafar fent) and flue hundred thor, with eight enfignes of footemen having targets, most neere to the place where him felfe then was the pur them out in bredth, that wheling about they might going charge spon them that rode vp & downer Butchey feeing him comming, turned fleaight their horse and fled, either bicause they metin a marrisse, or else of purpose to beguite this young Crasses. intifing him thereby as farre from his father as they could. Publius Craffus feeing them flye, tried out, these men will not abide vs, and so spurred on for life after them: so did Genforinus The visite of and Megabacchus with him f the one a Senatour of Rome a very eloquent many the othera conferious of flowte coragious valliant man of watre) both of them Crassia well approved frendes, and in Megabasmaner of his owne yeares. Now the horfemen of the ROMANES being trained out thus to the

E was no more to do, but to follow the chase : till they were gone farre from the army, and then

they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, sodainly turned againe, and a

number of others besides came and set you them. Whereuppon they stayed, thinking that

the enemies perceiving they were fo few, would come and fight with them hande to hande.

Howbeit they fet out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, & inade their

light horsemen whele rounde about them, keeping non order at all a who galloping wo and

downe the plaine, whirled up the fand hilles from the bottome with their horse feete, which

chale, their footemen also would not abide behinde, nor shew them selues to have lesse stope, ioy, and corage, then their horfemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there

raifed fuch a wonderfull dust, that the Romanes could scarce see or speake one to another. For they being thur vp into a litle roome, and standing close one to an other, were fore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguith fight of the

F and paine they felt : and turning and tormenting them selues apon the sande, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striuing by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, Parthians. that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vaines & finewes: thereby they opened

their woundes wider, and so cast them selves away. Many of them dyed thus miserably men tyred and fuch as dyed not, were not able to defend them felues. Then when Publim Conf. praved and befought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horse, they shows him their handes fast nailed to their targets with arrowes, & their feete likewish shot thous and nailed to the ground fo as they could neither flie, nor yet defende them foliuss. There pon him felfeincoraging his horfemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valliantly for upon thenemies. but it was with too great disaduantage, both for offence, and also for defence Rehim felfe and his men with weake & light states, brake apon them that were armed within races of fleeles or fiffe leather tackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrary manner with michie ftrong pykes gaue charge apon these Gavens, which were either marined, or else but light ly armed. Yet those were they in whom Craffus most trusted, having done wonderfull fears a of warte with them. For they received the Pakt HIANS pykes in their handes, & tooke them about the middells, and threw them of their horfe, where they lay on the ground, and could not flurre for the weight of their harnesse : and there were diners of them also that lighting from their horse lav vader their enemies horse bellies, & thrust their swordes into them. The horse flinging & bounding in the aver for very paine threw their maisters under seets, & their enemies one apon an other, & in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extreame bear and thirst did maruelously comber the GAV LES, who were yied to abide neither of both; and the most parte of their horse were slaine, charging with al their power apon the men at ame of the Pan war and fo rannethem felues in apon the pointes of their pikes. At the length they were driven to reture towardes their footemen, & Publius Craffus among them, who was o very ill by reason of the woundes he had received. And seeing a fand hill by chaunce not fane from them, they went thither, & fetting their horse in the middest of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defende them selves the better from the barbarous people: howbeitthey founde it contrary. For the contry being plaine, they in the formest ranckes did somewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, standing hier than they that stoode formest (by reason of the nature of the hill that was hiest in sie middest) could by no meanes faue them selues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miserie and misfortune, that must needes dye without reuence or declaration of their valliancy. At that prefent time there were two GRECIANS about the blim Craffus, Hieronymus, and Nicomachus, who dwelt in those quarters, in the city of CARRED of Mesopola- they both counselled P. Crassa to steale away with them, and to flie to a city called I schnis that was not farre from thence; and tooke the Romanes parte. But P. aunswered them, that there was no death so cruell as could make him for fake them, that dyed for his fake, When is had so fayd, withing them to faue them selues, he embraced them, & tooke his leave of them and being very fore hure with the shot of an arrow through one of his handes, commanded one of his gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, & so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported Censorinus did the like. But Megabacchus flue him selfe with his owne handes, and so did the most parte of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got up the fand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their speares and pykes, and tooke but fine hundred prisoners. After that, they strake of Publius Crassus head, & therupon returned straight to set apon his father Crassus, who was then in this state. Crassus the father, after he had willed his sonne to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, & purfued the chafe: & perceiuing also that they that remained in their great battell, did not prease apon him so neere as they did be fore, bicause that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue; he then began to be lively againe, and keeping his men close, retyred with them the best he could by a hills fide, looking euer that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chale. But Publius feeing him felfe in daunger, had fent divers messengers to his father, to advertise him of his diftreffe, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and flue by the way: and the last mesfengers he fent, fcaping very hardly, brought Craffus newes, that his fonne was but cast away, F if he did not presently aide him, and that with a great power. These newes were grienous to Craffus in two respectes: first for the searche had, seeing him selfe in daunger to lose all: and

A secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to goe with all his power, to the reskue of his fonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his fonnes ouerthrow; with a more dredfull noyle and crie of victorie, than ever before: and thereupon their deadly founding drommes filled the ayer with their wonderful noile. The ROMANES then looked straight for a hot allarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought Publim Craffin head apon the point of a launce, comming neere to the ROMANES, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision. if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parentes: for it is not likely (layd they) that fonoble and valliant a young man, should be the some of so cowardly a father, as Crassine. The fight of Publius Craffus head killed the ROMANES hartes more, than any other daunger s they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not fet their hartes a fire as it should have done, with anger, and defire of revenge: but farre otherwife, made them quake for feare. & ftrooke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet Crassius selfe shewed greater corage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by every band he cried out Crassia oraalowde. The griefe and forrow of this loffe (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only; but sim to his the noble successe and honor of Rome remaineth stil vnuincible, so long as you are yet living his hare was Nowe, if you pitie my losse of so noble and valliant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me in- full of sorous. treate you to turne your forrow into fury : make them deerely buy the ioy, they have gotten: " hereuenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why hafpiring mindes " fomerime must needes susteine losse. Lucultus ouercame not Tigranes, nor Seinio Antiochus, Churtheir blood did pay for it. Our auncesters in olde time lost a thowsande shippes, yea in I-TALLE divers armies and chieftaines for the conquest of Siciliayer for althe loss of them. .. athe length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanguished. For the Empire of Rome came not to that greatnes it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by pacience and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeeldinge or gening place to any " daunger, Crassus vsing these perswasions to encorage his souldiers for resolution, sounde that " all his wordes wrought none effect : but contrarily, after he had commanded them to gene the showte of battell, he plainely sawe their hartes were done, for that their showter ofe but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other fide, their showtewas great, and lufter lythey range it out. Now when they came to joyne, the PARTHIANS archers horsebacke D compassing in the Romanes apon the winges, shot an infinite nuber of arrowes at their sides. But their men at armes geuing charge apon the front of the Romanus battel with their great launces, compelled them to draw into a narrow rome, a few excepted, that valliantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring so to dye, than to be slaine with their arrowes, where they could do the PARTHIAMS almost no hurt at all. So were they sone diffraction, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wodde and all, with fuch a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retyre, faying they would geue Craffus that nightes refpic to lament and bewaile his fonnes death: onleffe that otherwise he wifely looking about him. thought it better for his fafety to come and offer him felfe to king Arfaces mercy, then to tary E to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMANES, were in very good hope to overthrow him the next morning. The Romane's on the other fide had amaruelous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dreffe their wounded men, that dyed in miserables there but every man bewayled his hard fortune, when they saw notone of them could estate fif they taried till the morning. On the other side, to departe in the night through that deart, their wounded men did grieue them much. Bicause, to carie them to away, they knew it would let their flight; and yet to leave them to behinde, their pitiefull cries would geue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Nowe; though they all thought Crassus the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But Crassus went a side without light, and layed him downe with his head crassus area-F covered, bicaufe he would fee no man, thewing thereby the common forte an example of the man in the state of the state o stable fortune: and the wife men, a good learning to know the frutes of ill counfell, and vaine flavis.

ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaunde so many

thowfandes of men, but thought (as a man would fay) him felfe the meanest of all others ! one that wolleft nothing, bicause he was accompared inferior vinco two persones only, and Cafer. Notwithstanding, Ottomins, one of his chieftaines, and Cafers the treasorer, man

him rife, and fought to comforte him the best they could. But in the end feeing him to come with forrow, and out of hart, that he had no life nor spirit in him : they them scluesed led the Gaptaines and Centurions together, and fate in counfell for their departure, and fa Graffur flying, agreed that there was no lenger tarying for the. Thus of their owne authoritie at the first the

made the army marche away, without any found of trompet or other noyle, But immediate after, they that were left hurr and ficke, and could not follow, feeing the campe remove. à crying out and tofménting them selves in such sorte, that they filled the whole campe with fortrow, and put them out of all order, with the great mone and lowde lamentation : to asses formest ranke that first dislodged, fell into a maruelous feare, thinking they had bene the ene miles that had come and fet apon them. Then turning oft, and fetting them felues in bathl fave, one while loding their beaftes with the wounded men, an other while valoding thems gaine, they were left behinde, fauing three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the city of CARRES. Ignation their Captaine called to the watche on the walles committee Go- and spake in the Latine tongue. Who aunswering, he willed them to tell Copenius, Gouerna of the towne, that Craffer had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and fayd no more neither rold what he was : but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which Crass had made

the plaine. Among them there was Barguntinus, one of Graffus Lieutenauntes, who straved a the night out of the army with four whole enlignes, and having loft his way, gotte to abil where the Part Hears befreged him, flue him & all his company, though he valliantly their The valliant- defended him selfe : yet twenty of them only escaped, who with their swordes drawen in their nes of countie handes, running forward with their heades, thrust in among the thickest of the PARTHIAME They wondering at their desperation, opened of them selves, & suffered the to march onto wards the city of CARRES. In the meane time falle newes was brought to Surena, how Craffe

with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, & that the great number that were received into the city of CARRES were men of all forces gathered together, and not a man of any quality of Afraiageame Estimacion. Sureme thereupon thinking he had lost the honor of his victorie, yet standings some doubt of it, bicause he would know the troth, that he might either besiege the citiest CARRES, or purfue after Craffus: fent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, the ging him to call for Craffin, or Casino, & to tell them that Surena would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to Graffus, and he accepted an ! lance. Shortly after also, thither came certaine fouldiers of the ARABIANS from the campi of the PARTHIANS, who knew Graffus and Caffins very well by fight, having divers times fense them in their campe before the battell. Thefe A RABIAN'S feeing Caffew apon the walles, sold him, that Sween was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe fafely, askin matters good frendes, fo that they would furrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of Pair THIMES handes, and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather thanth be enforced vinto it by extremitie. Cuffins thought this a good offer, and told them, that they

must appoint the day & place, where Craffin and Surenz should mere to talke together of this

matter. The Arabians made auniwere they would doe it and fo departed. Surena hearing

this, was glad he had them at fuch advantage, where he might beliege them. The next dayle

brought all his armie before the city of CARRES. There the PARTHYARE maruelously resided

A facet of they would have any grace or peace with them. The Roman's s were manifolded of Gold that they were thus deceived, and told Craffin, that it was no boote any lenger to looke formide of the ARM en tans, but prefently to fire : howbeit to keepe it feeret in any wife from anof the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet Graffin felfe had told it to defense hos, the verieft traitor and villen in all the city, whom he had chofen to be his guide.

This trainer Andromachus aduertifed the enemies in enery pointe, of their purpose and depar- Andromachi mre. But bicause the PARTHIANS do neuer vie to fight in the night, & that is was a hard matme to bring them to it, and againe that Craffin departed in the night time 1 Andromachin was The Parthia efraved least the Romanes would winne such ground before the Pant mians as they sould do neurofigur bot possibly ouertake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one

A way, other while an other way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marifle. full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the armie began ministrust, that Andromachus ment no good to turne and toffe them vo and downe in that forte, and therefore would follow him no more: infomuch as Casim among others, returned sowardes the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides who were A RABIANS) counfelled him to tary there, till the moone were out of the fame of Scoreso be marky ored them: I feare the figure of Sapittarie more. So as foone as he could be cooke his. Caffin gentle waysowardes Assana with five hundred horsemen. And other of the armie also having the fireightet.

ouer Euchrates: Yet this word Ignatine gaue to the watch to tell Coponius, ferued Graffur tune friehfall guides, recourred a contry of the mountaines, called Simmara, and retyred inco a fafe very well. For comme thought by this great haft of his, and the shorte confused speecheles colore the breake of day : and they were about five hundred men, whom Office a nomade, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight an heman had in charge. But the day fiele apon Cra/his hunting vp & downe vet in the marrifle. med his fouldiers, and white flanding that Craffin was returning backe, went to mete him, and in those ill favored places, into the which Andromachus that traiter had of purpose brought brought him & his army into the city of Carres. The Parthians knew well enough of the him, happing with him four emignes of footemen all with targets, & very few horfemen, and remouning of the Rounness campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the name feelergen untes that carried the axes and roddes before him : with whome, with spinch a doc morning entring mito their sampe where they lay, flue all that were left behinde, which was Agreed labor, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost apon him, and that he about foure thowfande men and riding after them that were gone, tooke many fragelesis was michinewelue featlong of ioyming with Ottanius. There in haft he had gomen a hill which was morto freeze for hortemen, neither of fuch frength as the other hilles were, called Sinna. as you vader them, and joya ingre obem by a long will that rumoth slonger the elsine for as Of some plainly faw the daunger Craffes was in. Thereupon he furt can downe she hilles with n afew of his men what followed him : but after also come all the roft, faving they were concasts

> inter thould are be binde. At their comming they gave fuch a hot order abounde Partie was that they made doesn gene backe from that hill; and compassing Craffin in the middest afthem, concerne him rounde with their targets, they foake nobly, that never arrow of the The worth. PARTHIAN'S thould touche the bodie of their General, before they were flame one after an ner of the Roother, and charactery had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hercupon sure a perceit dier to their map the PART HEARS Were not for crazious as they were wont to be, and char if nimbricaine chiefeaine. you them, and that the Rom a wes did once reconcribe his monutaines; they still dustion sufficie be and within against the thought cumularly to beguile Confice once more by this itsthe the les contains professors properly purpose, before whome he made his men significant this An other than fourthe. This the bing of Pantina would have no mortal water with this Romans of his tageane imeacherwife, terrather defined their frendshippe, by thewing them for the metabled and as

to vie Craffig very correctally. And so gone coloures this brane, lancabled his materials shelper

and going him felicin person rowandes Craffin, with the chiefest distinguishing of his his in. some names, his how visiters; he held openis riche hand, and called the live taller wish him of peace, and find some him. Though the Roses we shad sole the source depondent shirt long. Swenger twis against his will, for he could do no leffe but defend two lefte have been because he was to Craffie. very willing and alchrous to make them taft of his more is the charactery, and was managed as make peace with them, and to lot them goe fafely wherethey would. Adda Brownings dehites Orn/fin were glad of Suremes wordes. But Cris/fin that had bent deterioral before the state of the stat only forches and denifes, confidering also no caute apparance o make about offering a life in the confidering also no caute apparance o make about offering a life in the caute apparance of make a life in the caute and a life in the caute apparance of t damly, would nor harden to it, but first consulted with his fiends, Hawkinish Considerathor tried out on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, faging: minicheosand-nomboughthey

FFF iii

were all flaine, and that him felfe had noushe hart onely to come downe and talke with thesi A nemies that were vnarmed. Crassiss prouedfirst to pacific them by fayer meanes, persua them to beare a little pacience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might fee departe at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines and straight passages, where their conmies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed themnes to be faint harted, nor to dispaire of their fafety, seeing they were so neere it. But in the enth Craffus perceiuing they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he ween not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and commine Craffin wordt backe a litle, fayd onely these wordes: O Ottomine, and you Petronius, with all you Roman

manes going

gentlemen that have charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driven with shame and form; a "Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report wheresoeuer was " come, that Crassus was slaine, not deliuered up by his one souldiers into the handes of the best " barous people, as I am: but deceived by the frawde & futtilitie of his enemies. Off anims would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with Crassus: but Crassus sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS VINTO Crassius were two mongrel Gran

CIANS who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to sende some of his men before, and Surena would shewe them, that both him selfe and his trayne came vnamed towardes him. Craffin thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any accomptof his life, he would not have put him felfe into their handes. Notwithstanding he sent two brethen before, called the Roscians, to know what number of men, and to what ende they method many together. These two brethren came no sooner to Savena, but they were stayed : and him felfe in the meane time kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his arms. Now when Surena came neere to Crassus: why, how now (quod he) what meaneth this? a Con-

full and Lieutenaunte generall of Rome a foote, and we a horse backe? Therewithall be ftraight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horfe. Craffus auniwered Surena againg In that, they neither of both offended, following the vie and maner of their contry, when any meeting is made for treatic of peace. Swens replied: As for the treatic of peace, that wass ready agreed apon between the king Hyrodes, and the ROMANES: howbeit that they werem goe to the river, and there to fet downe the articles in wryting. For you ROMANES, faydle, doe not greatly remember the capitulacions you have agreed apon. With those wordeshell gaue him his right hand. As Craffus was fending for a horse: you shall not neede, sayd Surene for looke, the kinge doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steel faddle richly gilt, apon the which his gentlemen mounted Crassius immediatly, and following him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. Offanise seeing that, first layer hand on the bridle, then Petronius Colonell of a thowfand footemen: and after them, all the

Octavius

The number of the Romanes shat were flaine and taken.

any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were flaine in the field fighting for Crassia, and other saued them selues by slying to the hill. The PARTHIAN Sfollowed them, and tolde them than Craffau had payed the paine he had deferued : and for the rest, that Sween bad them come downe with fafetie. Then fome of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed them felues when night came, and of them very few scaped with life. Other being followed and purfued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the fword. So as it is thought there were flaine in this operthrow, about twentie thow and men, and tenne thow lande taken pri-F foners. Surena had now fent Craffin head and his hand vnto Hyrodes, the king his mafter, into ARMENTA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought Craffinas

rest of the Romans salio gathered about Crassius to stay the horse, and to take him from them

by force, that pressed him on of eitherside. So they thrust one at an other at the first very an-

grily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then Offanius drew out his fword, and slue one of the han

barous noble mens horsekeepers: and an other came behinde him, and slue Octamino, Petrania

and on the other fide came Pomaxathres, one of the PARTHIANS, and flue Craffus. Sometay

notwithstanding; that Pomarathres slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut of his heade

& his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reportes are rather coniectures, then

had no target, and receiving a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horfe, and had no hune B

line Action lie back prepared a lighten laugh animalialahe called historium pha Amona the Ross survee ne man prioners there was one called Cour Paciantes, who was very the first with the star community had in womans appared of the Plant HIAN'S, and backtaught hims to another many calls leshim Graffus, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horfebacke, and had many tromps to before him and forgenuous apon castells backes before absen , and buildella of rolder; and many puries executo the bundelle of roddes, and Rom much eadre new breut of red to the axes : and after him followed all the ftrumpets & women minus elle of San and silve Hyrodes Grangled by

who went finging of fonges of mockery and derifion, of Craffus womanish cowardlines. Now for these open strowes, every one might see them; but besides that sight, Sweens having called the Senate of SELEVCIA together, layed before them Ariffides bookes of ribaldrie, intituled Ariffides p the Milesians, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romane s fardell or trusse, called led the Mile-Ruffins. This gaue Surena great cause to scorne and despise the behaviour of the Romanes, suren which was fo farre out of order, that even in the warres they could por refraine from doing

euill, and from the reading of fuch vile bookes. Then the Seizarours of Sa Lake i a found that Espe was a wife man, who sayd that every man carried a sacke on his necke, and that they put AEspe wife other mens faultes at the fackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the facke. faying When they confidered that Surema trad put the booke of the lafetmoulnes of the MILBSIANS arthe fackes mouth, and a long table of the PARTHIAN'S vainepleatures and delightes in the honome of the facke, carying fuelt a number of cartes loden with naughtie packes in his army as he did, which feemed an army of ermites and fielde myle. For in the voward and fore- The deferip-

my as ne did, which rectified an army of critically being onely latinces, pykes, bowes, and horse: tion of sure-mest ranckes, all appeared terrible and critically being onely latinces, pykes, bowes, and horse: tion of sure-mest ranckes. but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of marlots, infirmments of mulicke. daunling, finging, bancketing, and ryoting all night with Curtifans. Parill for deny but Ruhim deserved blame: but yet withall, I say, that the PARTHIANS were hamelesse to reprove these bookes of the vanities of the MILESIAN S. confidering that many of their kinges, and of theroval blood of the Arfacides, were borne of the LONIAN and MILES IAN curtifans. Things miling thus in this force, king Hyrodes had made peace & league with Artabases king of A a-MINIA, who gave his fifter in mariage vinto Paterte, king Hyrades fonne, & made great feaftes one to an other; in the which were many Greeke veries long, Hyrodes lelfe vinderstanding wellthe Greeks tongue, and Artabuses was fo perfit in it, that he him lelfe made certaine tra-

Dedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day, The same night Crassus crassus bead

head was brought, the tables being all taken up, lason a common player of enterludes (borne Hyrodes. in the city of TRALLES) came before the kinges, & recited a place of the tragedy of the Bac-CHANTES of Euripides, telling of the misfortune of Agane, who strake of his formes heade. And as every man tooke great pleasure to heare him, Sillaces comming into the hall, after his humble dury first done to the king, deliuered him Crassus head before them all The Dant'nisusfeeing that, tell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcrie of ioy. The contlemen hulhers by the kinges commaundement, did fet Sillaces at the table, Jafen calling of his appatell representing Pentheus person, gaue it to an other player to put on him, & counterfeating the BACCHANTES possess with furie, beganne to rehearse these verses, with a leastfure, tune. E and voyce, of a man madde, and befide him felfe. Behold, we from the forest bring a stag now nevely staines. A wvorth booty and reward befeeming well our paine.

This maruelously pleased the companie: and specially singinge these verses afterwardes,

where the Chorus both asked, and aunswered him selfe.

VVho strake this stag?

None elfe but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being setat the table with others rose fraight, and went and rooke the head him felfe, to whome of right it belonged to fay those wordes, and not vnto the player that spake them. King Hyrodes liked this sporte manualously. F and rewarded Pomaxathres according to the maner of the contrie in fuch a cales and no Falon healfo gaue a talent. Such was the fuccesse of Crassius enterprise and voyage; muchlike vinto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, Hyrodes cruelty, and Swences fowleperiury and craft. See the reward of craft and peritary. ble ende of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes Grangled by his fonne.

Nicias and

Crassus ri-chesse.

were in the end infly retienged apon their both, according to their deferres. For king rates enuving Surenaes glorie dut Surena to death . And Hyrodes fell into a difease that been dropfy, after he had loft his forme Pacorie, who was flaine in a battel by the Rouanes, Plan his fecond fonne, thinking to fer his father forwardes, gaue him drinke of the inice of Antirum. The dropfie received the poilon, and one draue the other out of Hyrodes bodie, and him a foote againe. Phrases perceiving his father to amende apon it , to make thorse woll meto me axes : and see thin followed above throupes, mid balgarafted bind bind with his

believe growth Hein COMPARTSON OF the Milestone and the contract of the with Nicias low a strike and interest of the contract of

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thef Vinowe to proceede to the comparison : first, Nicias goodes with more instely gotten, and with leffe reproach, than Craffus wealth for otherwise a man can not geue any great praise to minerall workes the which are wrought by lewde and ill disposed barbarous fellowes here in irons, and toyled to death in vnholfome and peftilent places. he

handes, and vngentle manly bargaines of houses a fire, or in daunge thereof: furely Nicias trade will appeare the better way of gettings. For as openly did Crassia anow vsery, as tillage. And againe for other faultes, wherewith Crassian many times was burdened, and which he stowtly denied : as, that he tooke money of men having matters before the Senate at Rome, to winne favor for their l

being compared vnto Craffus buying of confiscate goodes at Selling

fide : and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the ROMANES, OF ly for his private profit: and therefore curried favor with Ladies, & generally fought to close all fowle offenders: of all these faultes, was Nicias neuer so much as once suspected. For her the contrarie, was mocked of every bodie, bicause for feare he maintained wicked does by giftes: which perhappes would not have becommed Pericles, nor Ariftides, and yet was met for Nicias, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had corage in him. Whereof

Lycurgus the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractours with money: I am glad, fayd he, that having delt thus long in affayers of the state, it is found I have rather geven than taken. And now touching expences: Nicias was thought the better and more civill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly i- & mage to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small parte of that Crassus bestowed in an open seast he made at Rome: feastings many thowsandes at one time, and did finde and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I can not but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of maners, repugnant in it felfe, feeing men may honeftly spend that which is naughtily got

nn, Thus much for their goodes. For Nicias doinges in the common weale, he did nothing Nicias and maliciously, cruelly, nor vniustly, neither any thing of selfe will or stomake, but rather delt crassing affecting the commit plainly and simply. For he was deceived by trusting of Alcibiades, and never came to speake realth. before the people, but with great feare. Craffus, on thother fide was reproued for his viconfrancie and lightnes, for that he would easily chaunge frendes or enemies : and he him selfe

craffus in this respect shewed himselfe affuredly of a noble minde, not cotending with men of

mall accompt, as with Cleon, or Hyperbolus, but would geue no place to Cafars fame and glo-

ny, nor yet to Pompeyes three triumphes, but fought to goe even with them in power and au-

minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did appeasing all

ware: wherein Crassus certainely was not to be compared to him; though he had joyned all

the propinces to the Empire of Rome, that reach vnto the Caspian sea, and to the great Oc-

can of the Indians. But on the other fide also, when one hath to deale with people that

and difference when a man ruleth according to equity and justice, and that he feeth he is in the

nime of his credit and authoritie: he must not then for lacke of corage suffer wicked men to

leppe in his roome, nor geue occasion to preferre such to authoritie in the common weale,

warevnworthie for that place and countenaunce : neither should allowe such any credit; as

arealtogether of no credit nor trust, as Nicias did; who was the only occasion that Clean, be-

deniednot, that he came to be Confull the seconde time by plaine force and cruelty, having hiered two murderers to kill Cato and Domitius, And in the affembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurte, and foure were flaine in the market place : and more then that, Craffus him felfe (which we have forgotten to wryte in his life) gave one Lutus Annalius fo fore a blow on the face with his fift, for speaking against him, that he sent him oning with blood about his eares. But as Craffin in those thinges was very fierce and cruell: fo Nicid womanish behauior on thother side, and faint hart in matters of the common wealth. humbling him selfe to the meanest and most vile persones, descrueth great reproache. Where

thority: and had immediatly before exceeded Pompeyes power, in the dignity of Cenfor. For Magistrates, and Gouernors of the common weale, should make them selues to be honored. The dueste of

hutnot enuied, killing enuy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were so that Niesas preferred quietnes, and the fafety of his persone aboue all things else, and that he feared Aleibiades in the pulpit for orations, the LACED EMONIANS in the force of Pyle, and Perdice as in THRACIA: he had liberty & scope enough to repose him selse in the city of ATHENS. & might have forborne the dealing in matters, & (as Rhethoricians fay) have put a hoode of quietnes anon his heade very well. For doutleffe, concerninge his defire to make peace, it was a godly

ing before but a practing Orator, was chosen Generall. Neither doe I also commend Crassia, for that in the warre against Spartacus, he made hast to gene him battell, more rashely then fally or confiderately. For his ambition spurred him forwarde, bicause he was afrayed least Pomperes comming should take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that warre: as Mummius tooke from Metellus thonor of the winning of CORINTHE. But befides all this, Ni- Nicion fragetinfact therein was without the compasse of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did falner. mutelione his honor & office of Generall to Clean his enemy, when there was hope of good

fucesses, or little perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to saue one,

and tooke no care besides for the common wealth. Which Themistocles shewed not, in the

or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS: if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against

the LACED & MONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the shippes, the ar-

mie, and munition to the charge and gouernment of Cleons rashnes and small experience of

warre, when the necessitie of the service required the wisest and most expert Captaine. The

which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing

time of the warre against the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe Epicydes an Orator Caman of no Themistocles

reckoning befide his eloquence, and extreamely couctous) from being chosen Generall of A- and Cases THEMS, leaft he should have overthrowen the common weale: secretly bribed him with moneyto leave of his fute. And Cato also, when he saw the state of Rome in greatest daunger, feed to be Tribune of the people for the common wealthes fake. And Nicias in contrary maneareferring him felfe to make warre with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CYTHERA,

Lycurgus saying.

SERTORIVS.

backe, at time of neede, to defend his contrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled a gainst his will to be Generall, to make warres in Sicilia with the Syrac vsans: bicardite people thought he was not fo earnest to disswade the iorney, for that he thought it normal for the common wealth, but bicause through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make contrie lose sogood an oportunity to conquer Sicile. Yet was this a great testimony of his wicias hone- honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, & did flie from the office of honor and charge in the common wealth, his contriemen notwithstanding did always choose him, as the most experienced persone, and meetest man of the citie. Now Crasties contrarie maner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but inte warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of an other: (for Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwife of great estimation ! and authoritie. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frendes that loued him best, thought him (as the comicall Poet fayth)

A good man any vvay elfe, but in wvarres.

His ambition notwithstanding & couetous defire of rule, did nothing benefit the Romanes. For the ATHENIANS fent Nicias to the warre against his will : but Crassus led the Romanes thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miferie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise Nicias, than to blame Crassus. For Nicias like a wife man, & a Captaine of gree experience, could neuer fo much as be brought to thinke they should conquer Sight and therfore disswaded his contrymen from the iorney, & would geue no place to the vainchope of the people of ATHENS. But Craffus taking apon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS as though it had bene an easie matter to ouercome them, found him selse deceived, yet didbe aspire to great thinges. For as Iulius Casar had conquered & subdued to the Imperiall crowne of Rome, all the contries of the West partes, to say, the Gavles, the Germaines, and ENGLANDE: euen so did Crassiu desire to goe towardes the East partes, to conquer all to the great west sea of the Indians, and to subdue all the regions of Asia, whereunto Pompeyand Lucullus aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as euer curteously behaued then felues to all men: notwithstanding, prouoked thereunto with the like defire that Crassiand For whe the charge of the warres in the East partes was affigned to Pompey, by decree & order of the people: the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it all they could, When news were brought to Rome that Iulius Cafar in battell had ouerthrowen and slaine three hundred thowfand GERMAINES: Cato perswading with the Senate, was yet still of this minde, that Cele should be deliuered into the handes of his enemies whom he had ouercomen, for to be punifined: thereby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrathe of the goddes from Rome, apon him only, that was the vniust breaker of the peace. This notwithstading, the people making none account of Catoes perswasions, made common feastes & processions sisteene dayes together, and open facrifices to the goddes with great joy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victory. How glad may we thinke would they have bene, and howe many dayes would they have feasted and sacrificed, if Crassus had wrytten from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of Syse, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and provinces to the Empire of Rome?

If a man will needes doe worong and iniustice,

As Euripides fayth to them, that can not line in peace, and be contented with their owner he must not then sticke at trifles, (as rasing of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of Manda, or chasing of the ÆGINETES being out of their owne naturall contrie, and hiding themselves like birdes without neaftes, in an other birdes hole) but must dearely fell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne inflice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of Alexander the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and doe dispraise Crassus voyage: doe not well to judge of the beginning, by the cuentes and successed of the end. For executing of their offices, Nicias did many noble exploytes. For he ouerthrew his enemies in divers battells, and had almost taken the citie of Syrac vsa: and sure they can

six justely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the water of Sicritia. but sattely the plague was a cause of it, and partely also the enuie of those towardes him that remained at ATHENS. Where as Craffus ranne into fo many errors, and committed fuch foule craffus to his nance in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leafure to do him good for that I wonder not felly, bleam! formuch that his folly was our come by the power of the PARTHTANA, 23 that it evidlo other pines of the home the good fortune of the Romanes. Sithers it fo falleth out the that they both came to Romanes land not unace end, Nicias prognosticating before what thinges should happen by arte and alle of dimination, and Craffus contrarily diddining to observe any thing ! fure it falleth out hald in judgement, which of them two proceeded with most fafety. Yet according to the best approved opinions; a fault committed of feare is more exculable, then of fallines and folly to breake any auncient law or cultome. For their deathes, Craffin the deferred feather proache! Craffin death

For the against his will did yeelde him felse, and was neither bound nor mocked, Bir only get 1 morecument for me against me wind the years min sene, and was notified both not mocked, but only deces while the for and the sene was notified and treation most traiter outly deces while and and where Michael cowardly, and dishonorably hoping to faue his life, trusting to the mercy This enemies; made his death more infamous. 11 of 1000 and on min anin cromon ale qu Gual with Fleteling, in the Standard Standard Communication of the man standard Standard Standard Communication of the standard S



Eraduenture it is not to be margelled at, if in long proces of time (fortime altering her effectes dayly) these worldly eventes fall often out Sone like an other. For whether it be that the variety of thinges are in-Inite, fortune hath ftore of matter apt enough to worke tolikenes: or be it that worldly matters be compreheded within determinate number : of necessitie one thing must fall out like an other, fince they proceede from one caufe, tyed to the fame meanes it before did vie. But carof nearly bicaufe men doe delight to compare fuch chaunces together as they the same the same to be same to the same they be same to the s haue seene or heard to have happened so like, as if they had bene

I done of purpose, thone by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named with both of them commen of noble houses, thone in Synia, and the other in Arcadia, both the one and the other were flaine with a wild bore. That of two called Altaon, the one

was torne a peeces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous Services CARTHAGINIANS were first ouercomen by the one, and afterwards viterly destroyed by other. That the citie of TROYE was first taken by Hercules, for the horses that Laomedon had promised him: the seconde time by Agamemnon, by meanes of the great woodden horse; and the third time by Charidemus, by meanes of a horse that fell within the gate, & kept the Tage Ans that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes, los, and

where Homer was borne and Foscre famous Captaines, one eye a peece. The praise of

SMYRNA, two cities were named, the one fignifying the Violet, and the other Mytre: it is fine The sounes posed that the Poet Homer was borne in the one, and that he dyed in the other) we may all adde to this example, that amongest the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriers, and the have done the noblest exploytes by wit and warlike stratageames, had but one eye: as Philip Antigoniu, Hanniball, and Sertorius also, whom we wryte of at this present. Whom we may truely reporte to have bene more chaft, than Philip : more faithfull to his frend than Antique nu: more curreous to his enemies than Hanniball; and for wildom and indgement to gene place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though the thewed her fpight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men : yet in experience he was en quall with Metellus, in prowes and valliancie with Pompey, and in fortune with Sylla. So that being banished his contrie, a straunger in an other realme, & hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained warres for a time, against the power of the ROMANES. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the GRECIAN Captaines I can liken none fo well vnto him.

as Eumenes the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to commaund, both were very valli-

the fury and rage of the river with meere strength, so able and lustic a bodie he had to brooke

all paines and hardnes. The second time that these barbarous CIM BRES returned with anim-

ant & politicke in warres, both were banished men out of their contry, both were Captaines

ouer straungers, and both of them were traiterously and villanously slaine by them, through The paringe whom they had before ouercomen their enemies. Now for Sertorius, he came of worthinghis of Sersorius. parentes, and was borne in the citie of N v RSIA in the contrie of the SABINES. His father left

him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he fingularly loued and renerenced. Her name as they fay was Rhea. His first riling and beginning grew by Rhea she mopleading matters in law, which he could handle very well a informach as being a young man he came to Rome, and wanne fome name by his cloquence. Howbeit, the honor and ellipse Serrorius elotion he achieued afterwardes by his valliant actes, made him imploy all his studie and ambiquens.

Severing fift tious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the CIMBRES&

funding fare. Tev ton sinuaded Gavle with a mighty army where, when the Romanes had bene out-

come vnder the leading of Capio, his horse being flaine vnder him, and him selfe hurt, he notwithstanding swame ouer the riner of Rone, with his corfelet, & target apon him, breaking

Serrerise Couldierfare

show fande footen:en.

finite number of fighting men, and with prowde and dreadfull threates, the ROMANES were the so afraved, that they thought him a slowte man that had but the corage to kepe his rancke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was Marius Generall of the ROMANN arinie, and then did Sertorius vndertake to goe and discouer thenemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled him felfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language, to falute one an other when they met, and in this forte went among them: and having part-B ly by fight and reporte learned that he fought for, he returned to Marius, who then gaue him fuch honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did such valliant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon, the warres being ended with the Taxe Seriorius, Co. Tons and CIMBRES, Sertorius was fent into SPAYNE, under Didius the Prætor, with charge of a thowfand footemen, with whom he wintered in the citie of CASTVIO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the fouldiers finding plentie of vittells, fell to gluttonic and Josepha, a city dronckennes, and committed great infolencie, being ouercome with wine. Infomuch asalte of the Celube- barbarous people of the citie grew to fuch a milliking and disdaine of them, that they sentone night to their nexteneighbours the Gyris Enians for aide, and as they came by the Roof MANES lodgings, flue a great number of them. Sertorius hearing the noyfe, went immediately out of the citie with a few of his men, & gathering them together also that fled one after an ot dereo face them felues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate spen where the GYRIS ENIANS camein, there entred he also: who being more careful than sher hadfhewed them felues, left the gates, & all the partes of the citie well garded, & them punall webe word within that were of age to carie weapon. Nowe when he had execused this new finge, he commaunded all his fouldiers to leaue of their owne apparell and weapons, and any serious first tale effete of the barbarous people whom they had flaine, and to follow him to the city of the tageans. GYRIELNYANS, from whence they came that had on fuch a fodaine affailed the inthe meht. The GYAISENIANS feeing the garmentes and weapons of their supposed menifacte of thinlangertainly they had benethey : opened their gates, and a number of people went punas no meete their frendes and citizens, whome they thought had happely speed of their phispose. Thus were a maruelous number of them flaine by the Romanes, euen hardatahegatestof.

their citie : and the rest putting them sclues to Sertorius money, he soldin for shares After this exploye, Sertorius wanne great fame through all Spating, and returning to Roses was made serving Questor or Treasorer generall of Gave s, on this side of the mountaines, by the ruce of Point needs of Gave s, and the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Point needs of the mountaines by the ruce of Ahappy chaunce for Rome: for even arthur very present time fell out the warres of the con: Gaule, about federates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARS DANS warre, in the which the had committeen the Par mproft fouldiers, and to make armor: And therein he shewed such diligence and expedicions forquicke dispatche of that service, in respect of the longe delay and exteless end other

young men had of the same before : that he wan the name to be a carefull anathful disichange. and one that afterwardes would atchieue great enterprises. Eurthermore webtashe ramento bea Captaine him felfe, he would not let to venter his persone as valliantly, as any other pris mite souldier what soeuer, but did maruelous actes with his owne handes attende greatest neills and conflictes; infomuch as at the length he loft one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he Sentrine loft was nothing afhamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, fayd he; doe not alwaytes saist one of his themarkes about them of their valliant leruice, but leave them other whiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauclinges, and crownes, geuen them by their Captaines for testimontof their valliancy: howbest that he alwayes caried the markes about him (wherefoether he went) of his feruice, fo that fuch as faw the blemift of his eye, did therewithall witnes his valliants

hes and corage. The people also did honor him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their handes, and great praises, which the Ros MANNES did Canthe vie vnto their oldest Captaines , and which were nost honored for their prestand noble ferrice. Neuertheleffe, when he fued to be Tribune, he was roiected by and las practife who hindered him: whereupon grew as it feemeth, that grudge & malice which The occasion he ever after bare vnto Sylla. For after that Marius was fled being duercomen by Sylla, & that of Sensitu Milawas gone out of IT ALIE to make warre with Mithridates, and that of the two Coribils! Syllawas Offician rooke parte with Sylla, and Cinna thother Confull (which fought chaunge and alteras tion) was gathering men together to fet up Marine faction, that was in manner vnder footes Sertorius tooke his parte, bicause he saw that Offauin was but a flow and lither man, atididid Senorius not besides trust any of Marius frendes. So was there a crnell conflict between them, euen in with cuma themarket place within the city felfe, where Octavius had the vpper hand: And Ginna & Ser-

E torius (caped by flying, having loft few leffe then ten thowfand men in this only onenthrows. Neuertheleffe, afterwardes through practife and policy, they got those fouldiers resethense gamethat were difperfed here and there through I v ALIE, fo as in shorte time they made their power equall with Octavius force. Marius also being advertised of the same nooke the sea in-

untefouldier, woder his Captaine and Confull. Now they all liked well that Marine Thould be received Jauring Sertorius, who was against him all he could stearing that either his credit and Sertorius difreceived sauring Servor 1000, 110 1100 and for a worthier Captaine then him felfe to ferue him, and to receive ellishat Amins cruelty and feuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre all togethery Mains.

having no stay in his anger, but bent veterly to all kinde of cruelty to his enemies, if Cinns for I uniodto haue the victorie. And thereunto he added this further: that nowe they had the vis Cory in maner in their hands, if they once received Maries vnto them, he would robbe them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being also in authority, he was neither to be trutted,

commendy, and returned into I TALIE out of AFRICKE, and came to Glimeted letiests capri-

he might refuse Marin, or fend him backe, fithens he had purposely fent for him, to commis parte of the charge of these warres vnto him. Sertorius againe replied. Sure I thought Main had come of his owne good will vnfentfor, & therfore(as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduise not to receiue him : but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and the

Sertoria went into

he is now comen vpon your comaundement, you were much to blame to aske counfell when ther you should now receive him or not. And therefore you must needes accept his sequice that is comen apon your worde: for, the bonde of your promes past you, doth now curofall counsell or other resolution. Thereupon Marins was called for : and when he came, thereuided their whole army into three partes, and then beganne to charge apon their enemies of a all handes, for as they obteined victorie. Howebeit Cinna and Marine committed as horrible cruelty in this victory; as could possibly be shewed: infomuch as the ROMANES thoughtal the miseries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, into spect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Nowe Sectorius on thother side neuer caused man to be flaine for any private malice or quarrell he had with any person, neither did he hutte any man when he had ouercomen, but was much offended with Marine infolency & cruell murders : and when he had good oportunity to speake with Cinna a parte, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perswasion. In fine, Servorius feeing Marios garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other fouldiers in this warre, whom he vied as executioners of his flaughter and butchery, alwayers. tending about his person as a garde, and suffering them also to make them selves riche, parly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to spoyle, and partely also with that there violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne mafters, killing them when the had done, rauifning their miftreffes, & defiling their children : he could no lenger abidefuch wickednes and villany, but made them all to be flaine in their campe where they lay together. being no lesse then foure thowsand persones. Afterwardes, when he saw that the elder Merim was deade, and that soone after Cinna was slaine, the younger Marius his sonne (against his counsell, and contrary to the lawes of Rome) had by force made him selfe Consult : and that Carbo, Scrpio, and Norbanus (which had bene ouercomen by Sylla) were comen out of GRECE to Rome wards, partely through the cowardlines of their Captaines, and partely also bicausen they were betrayed and solde of their owne men : and further, considering therewithall, that his person could doe no good in those affayers, which waxed worse and worse, by meanesof thauthoritie of fuch as had leaft wit and vinderstanding, and specially also seeing Sylla campe hard by Scipio, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whileft was derhand he wanne his fouldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: Sertorius then vtterly dispairing of Romes prosperity and wellfare, departed from Rome, to go towardes Spayne, thinking that if he could get the first possession and gonernment of that realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receit for all those of their tribe, that should chaunce to be banished out of their contrie. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and paffing through a contry of mountaines, the bar E barous people inhabiting the fame, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to paffe through their territories. Thereat the fouldiers of his company were maruelously offended, laying that it were too much shame and dishonor for a Proconsull of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barba rous people. Notwithstading, Sertorius passed not for the shame they sayd it would to be him, but aunswered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should most recken of, that foireth to haughtie enterprises, and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And thus he made such speede, as he quickely recovered SPAYNE, which he found greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armor. But now Sertorius perceiuing that they had bene hardly delt withall before, through the infolency, pride, and couctoufned of the ROMANE Gouernors, whom they ordinarily fent from ROME, and that therefore they hated all manner of gouernment: first of all sought to winne the good willes of all the whole

contrymen one and other. Of the noble men, by being familiar and conversaunt with them:

A and of the common people, by eafing them of their taxe and fubfidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of soul- sensite cite diers, and receiuing of any garrifon within their cities, compelling his fouldiers to fet up their taffe to the rentes, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, & caufing also his owne pauillion to be first set up, and lay in it him selfe in persone. This norwithflanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the ROMANE citizens of age to cary weapon, that dwelt in SPAYNE, and made them make all fortes of engines for battery, and a number of gallies befides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very curteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition. very dreadfull to his enemies. After Sertorius vnderstoode that Sylla kept Rome, and that the a most parte of the tribe of Marius & Carbo was veterly ouerthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they fent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent Iulius Salinstor betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with fixe thow lande men well armed. Immediatly after Caius Annius also came thether, sent by Sylla: who seeing no possibilitie to difresse Salinator in a place of such aduantage, was drive to stay at the soote of the mountaine. notknowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one Calphurnius furnamed Lanarius, traiteroully flue Salinator: whereupon his fouldiers foorthwith for fooke the toppe of the mounraines, and by this meanes Annius had easie passage with his army which was very great, and ouerthrewe them that refifted his further comming on into the contry. Sertorius finding him selfenot strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thowsand men unto the sentiment Citie of new CARTHAGE, and there tooke lea: from thence he coasted ouer into AFRICKE, firth our of and fell with the coast of the MAVRV SIANS, where his souldiers landed immediatly for freshe Africke. water, dispersing them selues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge apon them, & flue numbers of them: infomuch as Sertorius was driven to imbarke againe, and to take his course towardes Spayne, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driven to take certaine pirates botes of the CILICIANS, and to fayle towardes the Ile of Pir yvsa, where he landed in despite of Annius garrison, and put them to distresse. But The He of fhortly after came Annius thither him felfe with a good number of thippes, and fine rhowfand Pinnia fighting men in them. Him Sertorius determined to abide, and to fight withall by lea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sayling, & of no strength for fight. But now D the West winderising very bigge, did swell the sea in such forte, that it cast the most parte of Sertorius shippes (being weake and very light) apon rockes in the sea, and him selfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the fea by storme was driven to ride ten daves together at anker, working still for life against the daunger of the surging waves & boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time:yet in the ende when it calmed agains he waied anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hosting faile from thence, he passed the straighte of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed aponthe coaft of SPAYNE, lying towardes the great Westerne sea, a little about the mouth of theriuer of Bætis, the which falling into the lea Atlanticum, gaue name in olde time to that parte of Spayne, which was called HISPANIA B ETICA. There certaine faylers met with him E that were newly arrived from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called the fortunate Hands. These two Handes are not farre one from an other, being but a little arme The formation of the fea between them, and are from the coast of A FRICEBOONLY tenne thow fand furlongs, Ilander. They have raine therevery feldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a hile filuer dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustic, not onely to bring forth all that is fer or fowen apon it, but of it felfe without mans hand it beareth so good fine, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, living idlely, and taking no pairies. The weather is fayre and pleafaunt continually, & neuer hurteth the body the climate and leafons of the yeare are fo temperate, and the ayer neuer extreame; bigaufa the winder that blow apon that land fro the other fide of the coast opposite to it, as the North & Easter-I hwinde comming from the maine, what with their longe comming, and then by dispersing them selues into a wonderfull large ayer & great sea, their strength is in maner spent and gone

before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the fea (as the South and

GGG iii

630 SERTORIVS. Westerly) they sometime bring little showers with them which commonly doe but moist the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all thinges very trimmely: infomuch as there. rv barbarous people them selues doe faithfully beleue, that there are the Elysian fieldes, tha bode of bleffed creatures, which Homer hath so much spoken of. Sertorius hearing reported these Ilandes (vpon a certaine desire now to line quietly out of tyranny & warres) had straigha maruelous minde to go dwel there. But when the pyrates of CILICIA (who were no meno peace, but generaltogether to spoyle & pillage) heard that: they by & by forsooke Sertorine & went into A FRICKE, to restore Assalius the sonne of Iphtha to his realine of MAVRITANIA againe. Sertorius quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against Ascalius, and all to thend that his fouldiers seeing matter of new hone and meanes to be imployed, should not so leave him, being faced afterwardes to be dischard ged of very necessity. The MAVRVSTANS being very glad of his arrivall, he presently wenten with his enterprise, ouercame Ascalius in battell, and besieged the citie whereinto aponthe

ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. Sylla being aduertifed thereof, fent Paccianus thither with an army to aide Afcalius, Sertorius gave him battell, flue him in the field, and wan the rest of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the city of Tingis, whereinto Ascalius was fled with his brethren. The LIBYANS Wryte that Anteus is buried there. Bur Ser. Tingis. torius geuing no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that contrie, by reason of the

greatnes of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding therethe Anieusembe body of a man (as they fay) of three score cubits long, he marueled at it, and so finishing his and greamer. facrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed up againe. By this act hee did greatly increase the honor of Anteus memory, which the city did vnto him, and thereby confirmed the contry mens reporte of Antaus. For the Ting ians doe reporte, that after Antens death, his wife Tinga lav with Hercules; and had a goodly sonne by him called Sephax, who was king of that contrie, and there built this city, geuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is fayd also that this Sophax had a sonne called Diodorus, who conquered the most parte of Africke with an army of the GRECIAN OLDIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which Hercules brought thether, to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered vs to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of Iuba, the noblest historiographer that euer came of royall blood: for it is thought his auncesters were lineally discended from Sophax and this Diodorus. Sertorius as conquerour now, having the whole contry in fub. It

iection, did in no wife hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored them their goodes, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting him felfe with that they offered him of their good willes. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine: the L v sit anians fent Ambassadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they stoode in great neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the suries the ROMANES: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behaifiour by ans to be their them that were conversaunt with him. Whose qualities as we finde wrytten, were these. He Captaine. tues and qua

bountie and

was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without fearein most daunger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valliantnes inserior to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent daunger. For where E any present exployt was to be done, any strong place of advantage to lodge or fight in tobe taken, or that he was to passe ouer any river, or scape any instant daunger, where it stoode a pon speedy execution, and to shew some stratageame or policie in time and place to suppliant the enemie: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good feruice, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the fowle murder he did in his latter dayes apon certaine younge children that were pledges with him (which doutleffe was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgene) doth manifestlie proue, that he was neither mercifull nor curteous of nature: but that he manie times did finely counterfeat it, when both the time and the warres did so require it. Butter mine opinion, fure I am perswaded that no missortune can have power to make persite !! vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sorte contrarie to it selfe: neither doe! thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being injured without

a caule, may peraduenture chaunge their naturall dispositions. Which then proued true in Settorius, who finding fortune contrary vnto him, & his good happe chaunged into ill grewe fo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villa noully betraied him. But now to our matter where we left, Sertorius departed our of A FRICKE apon the Lusitanians offer, who chose him for their General, geuing him absolute power and authoritie: and so soone as he arrived, he straight leavied men of warre, and with them fuldued the people of SPAYNE fronting apon their marches, of which the more parte did willingly submit them selues, apon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and curteous. anda valliant man besides in present daunger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuises & sut

relies to winne their good willes : as amonge others, the policie and denife he had of the Savorim faiteines to white their good white was a poore man of the contrie called Spanier, who meeting whole, which was this. There was a poore man of the contrie called Spanier, who meeting whole. by chaunce one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: helet the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a straunge heare, for she was all milke white. It chaunced so, that Sertorius was at that time in those partes, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him fuch maner of presentes: as frutes, fowle, or venison, & would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poore man prefented Sertorius with his younge hynde, which he gladly received, and which with time he made so tame, that the would come to him when he called her, and followe him where ever hewent, being nothing the wilder, for the dayly fight of fuch a number of armed fouldiers to-C gether as they were, nor yet afrayed of the noyle and tumult of the campe. Infomuch as Serbrins by litle & litle made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous people below that it was agift that Diana had fent him, by the which the made him understande of many and fundrie things to come: knowing wel enough of him felfe, that the barbarous people were men eafily deceived, and quickely caught by any subtill superstition, besides that by arte also he brought them to beleue it as a thinge very true. For when he had any fecret intelligence genen him, that the enemies would inuade some parte of the contries and prouinces subject vitto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or fodaine attempt: he fraight told them that his hynde spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme hismen, and put him felfe in strength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his n Lieutenauntes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the meffenger, and bring his hynde abroade with a garland and coller of no fegaves: and then say it was a token of some good newes comming towardes him, perswading them with all to be of good cheare, and so did facrifice to the goodes, to gene them thankes for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstituto into their heades, hemade them the more tractable and obedient to his will, infomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a straunger wifer than them selues, but were stedsastiv perwaded that they were rather led by some certaine god : and so much the more; bleaule that his deedes confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so dayly to increase beyonde the hopeand expectation of man. For with two thowsand fine hundred fouldiers, which he cal Sturing

and many goodly cities, but tooke some of the Captaines prisoners also, whome the Ro-

MANES fent against him. Of which company Cotta was one, whome he our threwe in battell

byfea, not farre from the citie of MELLARIA. He also ouereame Fidits in Bartella being

gouernor of Spayne B & TICA, by the river of Bætis, where he flue two the will and Rosa where

F By his treasorer likewise he ouercame Lucius Domitius, Proconsult of the other province of

SPAYNE. And an other time he discomfitted Toranim an other Capeaine, one of preselve Lieu

tenaunts, whom he flue in fight with all his army. And Mesellin lelfe, being taken as that time

GGG iii

EkdROMANES(although the most of them in deede were A PRIMANS, which cume ouer with

him out of A FRICKE Into SPAYNE) & foure thow fand LVSITANIANS, with feven hundred horsemen also, he made warre against source great Captaines of Rome, which had the leading The may of offixe score thowsand sootemen, two thowsand archers and flingmen, with a work of cities ! and contries befides. Where Sertorius at the first had not about twenty at the most and yet to and yet with this small power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquer great contries Somewhat

This place may well be saken swo according to the other it kitchin and fire, and likewife to lye on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as Sorts. might be fair so leade Rorius fouldiers did. Furthermore Metellus being growen an old man, (hauing spent all his youth mane citizens to the to quiet and pleasure) was matched with Sertorius, being then euen at his best age, and lusted warres , figh sing like val of body, besides that nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall. For he liant men. Servorius warlike verlong iorneys, watch many dayes and nightes without fleepe, eare litle, and content him feller

of water.

finely decei-

at the fiege of

mi (200)

for one of the most expert men of warre, and chiefest Captaines among the ROMANES thin 1 he put alfo so of to diffresse that Lucius Lollius was faine to come out of GAVLE NARBOWN. 515 (now Languedocke) to aide. And they were furthermore driven to sende Pompey the great with all speede from Rome, with a new army. Bicause Metellus knew not what course to be hauing to fight with a most valliant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to any to battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde, (so easily could he cast him selse into all kinden formes) by reason of the dexterity and swiftnes of his spanishe souldiers being lightly armed Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to lead an army heavy armed, which could kepe their ranckes, and fighting steadely coulde. taken we was the control of the cont mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with these menamed as light as the winde, and to pursue them in chase that fled still, and neuer kept place; it was vnpoffible for them to doe it, and much leffe to abide hunger and thirst, to line without

in seruice of the warres, and taken & suffred great paynes and troubles, geuing him selsenow

was neuer geuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and our of

warres, he was likewise acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with

with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer so litle leasure, he would continually be

on horsebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready and

expert to know how to winde him selfe out of daunger when he was distressed, and contrain

lyalso to compasse in his enemy apon any aduantage: and besides, to see where he mighten

ter, and where not. For this cause was Metellus driven (who was still desirous to fight) to abide

the losses and discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and Sertorius on thother fide refuting battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they have, which chase their enemies whome they have ouercomen. For he cutte of his vittells on every fide. tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to marche further forwarde, Sertorius stayed him. And when he lay still in his campe, Sertorius came and gaugh him alaroms, & draue him to dislodge. Yf Metellus layed fiege to any place, Sertorius straight befieged him for want of vittells. So that his fouldiers were euen weary of altogether. Where uppon, when Sertorius challenged the combat of Metellus: oh, well fayd, cryed all the fouldiers, let Captaine fight against Captaine, and ROMANE against a ROMANE. Howbeit Metellus refused him, and the souldiers laughed him to scorne. Neuerthelesse he did but smyless them, and therin shewed him selfe a wife man: for as Theophrastus sayth, a Captaine must dye Menellus pra- as a Captaine, not like a private fouldier. Furthermore, Metellus confidering that the Lan-Hifth to be- GOBRITES (who gaue great aide vnto Sertorius in all feruices) were easie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one onely well in all their city) and that who foeuer did befrege the fame. should straight be master of all the spring heades of the suburbes about it, hoping thereby & E to take their city, for lacke make the citie veelde vnto him within two dayes at thutmost : he commaunded his fouldiers to vittell them selues for fine dayes only. But Sertorius having intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and speedy order to preuent him. For he caused two thowsand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and promifed rounde fummes of money for every skinne brought thether, Many Spanyards and May By Stans straight tooke apon them thenterprise. Thereuppon Sertorius choolinge the lustiest menamonge them, sent them away through the mountains commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water you the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last them the lenger which defended the city. Metellus receiving advertisement hereof, was much agricued withall, bicause his souldiers vittells were wel nere spent, which they had I brought according to his commandement : and therefore he fent Aquinus one of his Leite tenauntes, with fix thow fand men to get vittells. Sertorius having intelligence of his purpole,

a prefently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of woodde, and bestowed there three howlande men to fet uppon the rereward, whileft he him felfe gaue charge on the voward This made he Aquinus flie, flue the most parte of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners, How- sensite . beit Aquinus felfe the Captaine having loft his weapons and horfe, by flying to enered when wenters Awho thereuppon was driven with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANYARD S. For these valliant deedes, was Sertorius wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially bicause he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude & beaftly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the Ro-

MANE facion, to kepe their ranckes when they fought, to follow their enfigne, and to take the figuall and word of the battell; infomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well a raught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeues and tobbers. Furthermore. he desided great store of gold and silver among them, shewing them how they should gilde Semerita he defined great force of gold and mater among them, the mag trees with fine workemanshippe, and also some distributions of the state o brauely apparell them selves with riche clokes and sleuelesse cassockes apon their armor, maner of the reaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he maruelously wanne Romania. the heartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he further binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he fent generally for all the noble mens young fonnes, through all the contries and prouinces subject vnto him : and brought them to the goodly citie of O seat The citie of

where he provided them of schoolemasters to teache them the Greeke and Latine tongue: ofca. hearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other ende, but to make them (when they Came to be men) meete to be imployed in the service of the common weale, albeit in deede itwas but a fine deuise of him, to have them as Oftages for their faith and loyaltic towardes striction faith him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonne's apparelled like Ro- 111 por WANDS, in fayer long gownes garded with purple, to goe civilly to the schooles: that Serter rise payed for their learninge : and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited : and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the best schollers, hanging juells about their neckes, which the Romanes call Bulla. Infomuch, that they having a cultome at that time in Spaine, that such as were about the Prince or their chieftaine should die with him when he dyed, that custome of voluntarie vowe to dye with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, denotion: there were very fewe of their followers and family The Span Il liarsahat would vowe to dye with other Captaines, but on thother fide, thow landes commonly followed Sertorius, having vowed to loofe their lines with him. And for proofe hereof

bled sertorius much, feeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. Buewhen he sawe

they fell to mutinic, and would needes have their wills, and both without reason and all good

is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPATHE, The Spanthe enemies egerly pursuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne lives to faue his, serioring. tooke him vp on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man apon them, till they put him into the city, who being fafe & out of daunger, they then looked by running to fane them selves the best they could. Thus was Sertorius not only beloued of the SPANY AND S, but of or

therfouldiers alfo that came out of ITALIE. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the fame fa- Persenna dion, arrived in Spayne full of money, &with a good number of fouldiers, intending to make inned with

watte in his behalfe against Metellus: his fouldiers fell out with him, and had none other ralke E inhiscampe but of Sertorius. The which spited Perpenna to the hart, being prowde & stately

by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that Pompywas past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the fouldiers armed them selues, and plucked up their enlignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out apon Perpenna to lead them to Sertoriss, threatning him that if he would not, they would leave him alone, and seeke them a Cap-

taine, that could both faue him felfe and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to followe their mindes; and to leade the three and fiftie enfignes he had with him; to joyne with Sertorius force. Thus became Sertorius army very great, and specially after all the cities on this

fide the river of Ebrus had yeelded vitto him. For then came fouldiers to him out of all partes: Ebrus fi.

howebeit they were a rashe confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no rea-

F formor pacience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to fer apon their enemies. This trou-

rection, as they should not veterly be walt away, hoping after that to have them the more bedientvnto him. And in deede they had their payment as he contectured: notwithflanding

he went to rescue them, & so brought the safe into his campe. Now to take away the fearest

perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhappes had striken into them: immediate after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to vie some speeche vnto themse which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middes among them, thorses oldeand feeble iade, and thother a goodly luftie horfe, which befides other things, had a man uelous fayer thicke taile. Behinde the old leane iade, he fet a lufty tall fellow : and behindere goodly horse also, he placed a little wearish man, & seeming to fight to have but small strength Now apon a figne genen them which he had made them priny to, the strong man tookethe leane horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would have pluckt it of by the stumpe; and the other wearish man fell to plucking of heare by heare from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and swet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinkings have pulled it of, and in thende did nothing elfe but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on thother fide in a shorte space, (& at ease) had left the great horse taile with neuer a heare on it: Sertorius then riling vp, spake in this forte to his souldiers. Doe ye not fee (my frendes and companions) fayd he, how time and perfeuerance exceedeth force? and the thinges valikely at the first to be ouercome by force, are yet in time, by litle and litle obtained For continuance ouercommethall thinges, and there is no force nor power, but proceffed of

The Characipeople they

wordes to hie

fouldiers, de -

time confumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them, that can take oportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwise hast and rashnes is as daungerous an enemy may be, to them that doe thinges of a head without regard. By these common deuises where with Sertorius daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportuni tie of time. But of all the stratageames he vied in warre, that only exceeded al other, which he shewed vnto a people called the Characit anians. The people doe dwell on the other fide of the riner of Tagus, and have neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towardes the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great flimie ground and fo rotten, thatis is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, & turneth todal !! under his feete. And therefore, by meanes of the same, when those people were afrayed of any enemies, or that they had conueyed the goodes they had robbed & stollen from their neighbors into those caues, they thought them selues safe, if they were once gotten into them; for it was vnpoffible to compell them to come out. Nowe it chaunced that Sertorius flying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had ouerthrowen him. But Sertorius beingin a rage with them, and bicause he would show that he fled not : tooke his horse backe the new morning, and rode as necre to the hill as he coulde, to viewe the nature and scituacion of the place: and when he faw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked vpane downe, vainely threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and comming to and fro, hopes if ceiued the winderaifed a great dust, of that britle earth we have spoken of, and caried it full into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we fayd before, lay full aponthe North. This Northen winde, which some call Cacias, is the only winde of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and rifeth from the moores and mountaines thereaboutes, which be continually contered with fnow, and then in the hart of fommer is nourished and inforced by the melting of the ice and inow, and so bloweth a joly coole winde, which refresher the batbarous people and beaftes all the day long. Sertorius marking this with him felfe, and understanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: com athie against maunded his fouldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light britle earth together, & toraile people, called a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockery of itatible ! first, thinking Sertorius would have made a mount to have fought with them apon it howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his fouldiers backe againe into

SERTORIVS A his campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a prery little windo flarrings that one whilewof the toppe of his forced mount, & the highest parte of that masse of earth, as chasse sheathey winnowe corne : and as the diane beganne to have any power, the North winds alo noic, which soorthwith filled all the hill with dust. And withall, came Sertment foilstiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before and brake all those drie clots of clay in peeces. The horsemen persporter fide, they fill manded ged their horfestpand downe in it, to raife up the greater dult; which the winde carried as foone as it meandblew into the caues of these barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes additions of the tockes. So they having no other ventes not ayer any way, but there where thowarde blew in apon them : it did to blindefolde their eyes, and filled their caues with fuch ahotte stuffing ayer, that they were almost choked with all, not able to take breath. For when they should drawe their breathes, this stuffing ayer and dust came in at their mouthes so fast, dathey had much a docto hold out two dayes, and on the thirde yeelded them felues who Separation mercy: the which thing did not formuch increase his power, as it wanne him honor, bepolicie to haue wonne fuch an villikely conquest, which by force could neuer haue bene and where to fight was matter impossible. So longe therefore as ho made warre with Entrellus alone, tie commonly had the advantage of him, bicaufe Metellus was an olde man and heavy, & could not relift sectories lufty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a compunyof thecues and robbers; than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when Pomper Security was some ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped eche hefore gainst other, and that Pompey had shewed him all the stratageaines and policies of warre possible soo 1800d Captaine to deuile, & he the like ento Pompey: and found that Sertorius had the better ohimboth in laying his ambuthes, & allo in forefeeing to intrappe him then grew the fame of Senterius to be fo great, that even in Rous it felfe he was thought to be the noblest Cand mine Scot best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey at that time of great fame andreputacion, which afterwardes also waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder Sylla; who game him the furname of Pompey the great, for that he had deferued honor of triumphe. before his beard was growen. So, when he was comen thus into SPAYNE, divers townes and cuies subject vnto Sertorius, were halfe in minde to yeelde vnto Pompey: but afterwardes they therebagaine, apon the channee that happened vnto the citie of Lav non, beyond all expedanon. For Sertoreus being gone to lay fiege to it, Pompey in halt went thither with his armie Sertorius gomillethe fiege. Neere vnto the city there was a little hill very commodious to lodge a campe tho las fiege in and allo to diffice them of the citie; whereupon thone made haft to get it, and thother to kepehim from it. Notwithstanding, Servorius was the first man, and got the hill: and Pompey. came cuen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made Sentitus fure at that time, being kept in on the one fide with the citie of LAVRON, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he sent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing. more then to stand apon their walles at their pleasure, to see Sertorius straightly besieged, who thought to have befreged them. This meffage being brought to Sertorius, he imyled at it, and fayd, that he would teache Syllaes younge scholler (for so in mockerie he called Pompey) that awifeCaptaine should rather see behinde then before him: and therewithall he shewed the serior has we-LAVRONITANS fixe thow lande footemen well armed, which he had left in his campe when thy faying of hecame to take the hill where he was, to thend that if Pompey came by chauncesto affaile him. they should geue a charge apon his rereward. Pompey havinge founde this too lare, durit not offer Sertorius battell, fearing to be compaffed in behinder and on thother side he was ashamed toforfake the LAVRONITANS, whome he was driven in thende to fee viterly faryled and de-

froyed before his eyes, and durit not once sturre to helpe them. The barbarous pleof the contrarie parte feeinge no hope of aide by him, yeelded straight vnto Seriorini, who did not onely pardon them, but also suffered them to goe whether they would. Howbeit he burntshe citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer flewed crueltie in anger) butto Serioliu hame Pompey withall, and to stoppe their mouthes that made such accomps of him and that: burns the city this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that Pompey him felle being prefern; and Pompey might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates, figure

neither durft nor could helpe them. In deede Sertorius in continuance of this water from much loffe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieuxenaum as touching him selfe, he was neuer ouerthroven, nor those he led . And yet he custiment

more honor in recourring of those battels which his Captaines lost, than his enemics and had our them to the worfe. As in the battell he wanne against Pompey, by the city of Swing and in an other he wanne against Pampey and Metellus both, by the citie of Tv. Triangles for the ouerthrow of Svcnon, it is thought it came through Fompeyer ambition, making more half for feare Metellus should be partaker of the honor of his victorie: and that wash thing Sertorius looked for, to fight before Metellus came to ioyne with him, and therefore fought the battell with Pampey towardes night, supposing the darkenesse of the night work trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to faue them felues if they were ouercome, and alfou

Battell betwext Sertoriss & Pom

chase the enemies if so it happened they had the upper hande, bicause they were strauten and knew not the contrie. When both battells came to geue charge, Sertorius at the firm not directly against Pompey, but against Afranius, who led the left wing of Pompeyer band and him felfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howebeit Sertorine being adjumited

that the left wing of his owne army against the which Pompey fought, was in such diffrestern they gaue backe, and could abide no lenger, if they were not prefently aided: ftraightlefte leading of the right wing, which he affigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and rannersh all speede possible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as slying. And firsthere thered them together agains which had turned their backes, and after put those also ingo order that were yet a fighting: and so having encoraged them both with his wordes, and the presence of his person, he gauca new charge againe apon Pompey, more coragiously thanks. fore, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chafing (uch as fled) and care fo fiercely apon him, that he put all the whole army of the ROMANES to flight: infomptha Pompey him selfe escaped killing in the field very hardly being fore hurt, & faued by a strange

meane. For the AFRIXANS of Sertorius having taken Pompets horse (which was richly trapped

with harnesse of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among them selues, and selues

Afranius againe on thother fide, whilest Sertorius was gone to helpe the other wing of hisher

ting for deution of the fame: in the meane time let Pompey goe, and neuer followed afterling tel, made them flie all that stoode before him, & followed killing of the euen into the treaches

of their campe, entring in amongest them that fled, and spoiled the campe being darke night knowing nothing of Pompeis ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from Spoyle Setorius also comming thither apon the instant, finding Pompeis men in disorder, flue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them outino the field, to fight once more with Pompey. But receiving intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he founded the retreate, and diflodged from the place he encamped, faving : had not that old woman comen, I would have whipped that young boy to Rome with roddes. Now was Setorius very heavy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: for there by all his futtelrie and finesse to kepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then specially, when they stoode in neede of most comforte. But by good happe, certained his fouldiers that had loft them felues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, and knot wing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. Sertorius hearing of her promifed the a good reward, so that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her

againe, and thereupon made her to be fecretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleafaunt countenaunce tolde the noble men and chiefe Captaines of these barbarous people, how the goddes had reuealed it to him in his dreams, that he should shortly have a maruelous good thing happen to him: and with these words fate downe in his chayer to gene audience. Whereuppon they that kept the hynde not fare from thence, did fecretly let her goe. The hynde being lofe, when the had fpied Sertorius, ran straight to his chayer with great joy, and put her head betwext his legges, & layed her mouth in his right hande, as the before was wont to doe. Sertorius also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared maruelous glad, shewinge such tender affection to the hynde, as it see med the water stoode in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that stoode there by & beheld

A thefame, at the first were much amazed therewith : but afterwardes when they had better bethought them felues, for joy they clapped their handes together, and waited voon Section mhis lodging with great and loyfull showtes, saying, and stedfastly beleuing, that he was a heavenly creature, and beloued of the goddes: whereupon they were maruelously pleased in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affayres should prosper dayly better and better. Another time having straighted his enemies with scarcety of vittells, in the territorie of the SEGVETINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they fent great mounes of men to forrage the contrie, to get vittells. Apon thencounter it was valliantly Service flue

fought of either fide, where Memmius was flaine, (the valliantest Captaine Pompey had)coragiously fighting in the middelt of the battell. Sertorius finding him felfe the stronger followed Linearing his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstoode him, vntill he came vnto Med tellus felfe, who taried his comming, defending him felfe more valliantly than was either how ped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: infomuch as he was at the laft hurt with a partifan. Which was fuch a dishonor to the ROMANES, not vnto them only that faw it, but vnto fuch allo as heard of it, that being all ashamed to for sake their Captaine, and turning their shame shame more

into anger against their enemies: they covered Metellus rounde about with their shieldes and targets, & getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gaue such a fierce onset, as they draue the Spanyard s to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, Sertorias to gene his feat-

tered men time to faue them selves, and leasure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leaused) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of Chrong scituation, and there setting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing leffe then to abide there to be befreged, but only to lay a baite seriorius bifor his enemies, comming to befrege the citie, hoping they should eafily winne it, and in the fieged of meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people which had therby good leafure given them to faue them felues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppresse the new supplie that was comming to Sertorius, who had fent out his Captaines to the next cities & thieres adioyning,

to leauie men, with expresse commaundement, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should sende them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderstoode of their comming, he eafily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainweame backe againe, and harried his enemies worfe then before: fomtime cutting their vit-I) tells from them by land, through his ambushes and continuall suttle policies, being quickely in energie place whether they thought to go, with his light army; and on the fea also with cermine pirats pinnefes, with the which he scoored all the coast apon the sea side. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to feuer the felues farre one from the other. informuch as Merellus went to winter in GAVLE. Pompey remained in Spayne. fin great scarcetie of all thinges for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCETANS. and wrote to the Senate at Rome, that he would return e with his armie into I T AL 18, if they fene

him not money out of hande, for that he had spent all his owne dayly fighting for the defense

of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME, that Sectorius would be in ITALIE before

Pompey: bicause he had through his valliancy and great skill brought two of the most famous E Captaines of their time, to great extreamitie and diffresse. Then did Metellus showe howe Metellus feemuch he feared Sertorius, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he pro- red Sertorius, claimed by founde of trompet, that if any Romane could kill him, he would gene him an hundred filture talentes, and twentie thow fand I ugera of land; and if he were a banished many he promifed he should be restored to his contry and goodes againe, buying his death by trea-

winne a battell of Sertorius, he was fo ioconde and prowde for this victorie, that he would Mentlem needes therefore be called Imperator, to fay, Prince, or foueraine Captaine: and was contented the people should sette vp aulters and doe sacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he is called he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, Mittlie ve

Fand would be bidden to diffolute bankets, fitting at the table in a triumphing robe a and they mile madeimages of victory goe vp and downe the hall-moued by certaine fecret engines carying mumphes of golde, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and dauniers of goodly young

mocke so Pompey.

Serterine

lon, whome he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to

boyes and faver girles following of them, with fonges of triumphe in his praife. When doubtlesse he deserved to be laughed at, shewing himselfe so much caried away with joyant vaine glory, for one ouerthrowe geuen vnto him, whom him felfe was wont to call syllering gitine, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On thother fide, Sertorius noble corae was eafily discerned, first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped fro Rous and comen to him, Senators : and having them about him, called them the Senate, making

some of them Treasorers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all thinges according to the manner of his contrie. And in this also, that making warres with the souldiers of the cities of SPAYNE, and defraying the same at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, so much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with Romans officers and Captaines: faving full, that he fought for the liberty of the people of Rome, and notto increase the gloriean

Sertorius homorable re. power of the SPANYARDS, to the hurt and dishonor of the ROMANES. For to say truly of him feet unto his he euer loued his contrie well, and longed much to be sent for home againe: and yet in his contrie. greatest troubles, when thinges thwarted him most, then was his minde greatest, yeelding Serverius minde greatest maner of shewe or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or discoragement in him. A. in aduerfity. gaine, when he was in best prosperitie, and had most aduantage of his enemies, he sent you Metellus and Pompey both, letting them vnderstand that for his parte he was contented to be

armes aside, and to live at home like a private man, so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest citizen in Rome, then fellion to his being a banished man out of his contry, to be called Emperor of the world. And it is faid the one of the chiefest causes which made him desire so much to be called home againe, was the

tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his father

death) upon whom he cast all his loue and delite: insomuch as after that his frends in Spane had fent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them.receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it fo strake him to the hart, that he had almost dyed for forrowe. For he lay seuen dayes together continually on the grounde weeping, & neuer gaue his fouldiers the watch word, nor would be seene of any of his frends vntil that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne estate, came to him to his tent and were so importunate of him by intreaty and perswasson, that they gotte him out of his tento shew him selfe to his souldiers, to speake to them, & to take order for his affayres which prospered very well. By these signes many haue judged, that he was of a curteous and pityfullna-D ture, and that naturally he was genen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of warre, bicause he coulde not otherwise line quietly not fafely, being pursued by his enemies, which would neuer let him rest, and thereuppon ented into warre, for his owne gard and lafety. The treaty selfe he made with king Mithridate, asgued his noble minde. For when Mithridates whome Sylla had ouercomen, was recouerdagaine (like a wrestler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to trye an other fall with his enemy) and tooke apon him to inuade As IA: Sertorius fame was then fo great, that he was spoken of through the world, by marchauntes comming from the West, who blew abroade the reporte therof al the East partes ouer, even into the realme of Pont, like to marchandises which they went to feeke for in straunge contries. Whereupon Mithridates being perswaded E by the vaine vauntes of his fauored courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hanniball, and him felfe vnto king Pyrrus, faying that the Romanes being fet apon by them both could not with stand two such excellent natures, & great powers together, when the noblest Captaine of the

Mithridates fent Ambel-Sadors vnse Spayne.

world should be joyned with the greatest and most pursant Prince that euerwas: sent thereupon his Ambassadors into Spayne vnto Sertorius, with full power and commission to promife him money and shippes towards the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he defired that Sertorius would redeliuer him the possession of Asia again, the which he had furrendred up unto the Romanes apon the peace made between him and Salla. Sertorius hereupon called his counsell together (which he termed the Senate) to consult apon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mithridates offers, F and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a title in the aver, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therfore things

a prefent, whereof they had greater neede, yet would Sertorius neuer agree thereinto. Morwith-Banding, thus much he graunted Mithridates, that he foould enjoy Cherandelia & Bio 84- securius me. funding, thus much the granted particular that the first the first was t any right, excepting this specially: that he would never suffer him to vsurpe any corry, vnto the which the ROMANES had any just title, and the which he had toft in warres by force of articles dansequeful. unto Fimbria, & had afterwardes also willingly furrendted by agreement made berwesehim and sylla. For he fayd he would enlarge the Empire of Rows through his victories, but not

imbayre or hurte it by his conquestes. For, a valliant man (sayed he) should coller to conquer seriorium vorwith honor, but in no wife defire life with difhonor. His aunifwere being reported vnto kinge thy faying. Mithridates, did much amaze him : and some have wrytten, that he then favd vite his famil-Bliars. What would Sertorius commaund vs then, if he fate among the firsthe Senate ar Rowin. who being an exile now, and remaining in the furthest parte of the world by the sea Atlantichim, doth take apon him to bounde the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs alfowith warres, if we attempt any thing against As IA? All this not with standing, they were agreed apon othes taken between them, that Mithridates should enjoy the contries of Cwis- seriorius PADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that Sertorius should fend him one of his Captuines with aide league with ofmen of warre, and that apon performance thereof, the kinge (hould gene hims the furnite

of three thow and etalentes, and fortie shippes of warre. So sertorius sent thicker one of his a Marini Captaines called Marcin Marini, a Senator of Rome, who fled to him for succour strong for the same state. whom Mithridates distressed certaine cities of Asia. And when Marius entred into them, King Minhri-C with his lergeauntes carying the bundells of roddes and axes before him, as before a Procont dure game M. full of the ROMANES: Mithridates gave him the upper hande, as his better and followed after Marine Prohim, Furthermore, Marius did fet certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vato others, declaring vnto them, that Sertorius of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their taxe and our flomes they payed fo that poore As in which had bene oppressed by the conclousnes of the Treasorers and farmers of the ROMANES, and also by the pride and infolencie of the souldiers which lay in garrison among them, beganne to have some hope of chaungers to defire that teration of gouernment, which Sertorius offered. But on thother fide, the Senators of Roms that were in SPAYNE as banished men in Sertorius armie, and of the like dignitie and estate that him felfe was of, they hearing fay that all was well againe at Roun, and perswading them

D felues that they should be stronge enough for their enemies, havinge no cause to seare any more daunger : beganne then to envie Sertorius greatneffe and authoritie, but Perpenna fpe- The envie of cially amonge other, who by reason of his nobilitie being puff up with a vaine presumption Perpenna vaand ambitious felfe will, practifed to make him felfe chiefe of all the armie; and to that ende threwe foorth amongest his frendes and familiars such kinde of sedicious wordes. What cur- The fedicious fedfortune (quod he) my frendes doth dayly haunt vs worfe then other making vs that were word of Pervinwilling to obey Sylla (commaunding at this day both lande and fea at his will) to chook Servorius. rather to for fake our landes and contrie? And nowe being come hither in hope to live at li- » bertie, we willingly make our felues flaues, becomminge Sertorius garde for defence of his "

persone in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayer wordes, calling vs the " E Senate, whereat enerie man laugheth to heare vs fo called, and in fine we must abide this " dishonor to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the SPANY-ARDS and Lysitanians doe them felues. Hereuppon the more parte of them being caried away with these mutinous wordes, durst not yet thew them selues in actuall rebellion against Sertorius, being afeard of his authoritie: howebeit secretly underhande they ouerthrewe his doinges, by thewing extreame crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of inflice, impofing great paymentes apon them, gening it out it was Sertorius comaundement. By which their lewde practiles, many cities revolted against him, and put them selnes into his enemies handes; and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions apon him. Furthermore, those whome he fent to pacifie the tumultes did handle them felnes in fuch forte, that where they

F shoulde have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they fer them farder out, and procured newe tumultes. Hereupon was Sertorius gentle nature and former goodnes for alte- semina firm red, that he committed a most cruell act apon all the noble mens children of that land, which forms.

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he brought up at schoole in the city of O sca : for some of them he put to death, and other a he folde as flaues. Thus Perpenna having many affociates in his wicked conspiracie against of Priprina Sectorius, brought into his confederacie also one called Manlius, who had chiefest chargein observations all the army. This Manlines loued a young boy exceedingly, & bicause he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plat of this conspiracy, willing him notes reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him only: for he should see him a green man before it were longe. The younge boy louinge an other better than him, called Aufling

went & reuealed vnto him all that Manlins had told him. Aufidius marueled to heare the how made prinie to it, feeing him felfe also was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that confederacie, lim was one of them. And when the boy also named Perpenna, Gracium, & some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of cousell, he was worse afrayed then before, but yet seemed to make a litle of it, and solde the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit Manlius wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boafted of that which was not true, and didir onely but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went foorthwith who

Perpenna, and tolde him how their practife was discouered, declaring further what danner they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he favd, & thereupon they deuised this treason. They had suborned a messenger to bring counterfeate letters to Sertorius, feyning in the same that one of his Lieutenauntes had wona great battell, in the which he had flaine a maruelous number of his enemies. Sertorius beine very glad of the good newes, made facrifice vnto the goddes to geue them thankes. Where upon, Perpenna taking the present oportunity inuited Sersorius to Supper to him, and allother his frendes that were present (enery one of the conspiracie with him) and was so importunate

Sertain mo- with Sertoring, that in the end he promifed him to come. Now Sertoring did enervie great modeft, ashines. destie at the bourde, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them also that vsed his table, to talke of grave and wife matters, and yet one to be honeftly mery with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middeft of supper, they that fought occasion of quarrell, beganne to speake lewde wordes, counterfeating to be drunke, and to play many vile partes of purpose to anger Sertorius. Whereuppon Sertorius. whether it was that he coulde not abide to see those villanous partes, or that he mistrusted their ill will towardes him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreuerent maner shewed vnto him: fell backewards apon the bed where he sate at mess, I

feeming no more to marke what they did or fayd. Perpenna at that instant tooke a cuppeful

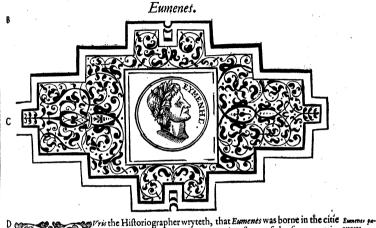
of wine, & making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The cuppe falling downe made a noyle, and that was the figne genen among them. Therewithall Antonius that fate about Sertorius at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. Sertorius feeling the thrust, strouew rise: but the traiterous murderer got vp on Sertorius brest, & held both his handes. And thus was Sertorius cruelly murdered, not able to defend him felfe, all the conspirators falling apon him. Sertorius death being blowen abroade, the most parte of the Spanyards fent Ambastadors immediatly vnto Pompey and Metellus, and yeelded them felues vnto them: and Perperna with those that remained with him, attempted to doe some thing with Sertorius army and preparation. But all fell out to his vtter destruction and ruine, making the world know that he ! was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to affaile Pompey, who had ouerthrowen him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamitie, he did not vie him selfe like a valliant minded man, and one

worthy to rule: for, thinking to faue his life, having Sertorius letters and wrytinges, he offered Pompey to deliuer him all Sertorius letters fent him from the chiefest Senators of Rome, wryt-

ten with their owne handes, requestinge Sectorius to bring his armie into ITALIB, where he should finde numbers of people desirous of his comming, and that gaped still for chaunge of gouernment. But here did Pompey shewe him selfe a graue and no younge man, deliuening Serverine ringe thereby the citie of Rome from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innouation. For he put all Sertorius letters and wrytinges on a heape together, and burnt them enery one, F without readinge any of them, or fufferinge them to be red. And moreouer, he presently put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would breed Pompey.

new occasion of trouble & sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of the afterwards were brought to Pompey, who put them all to death : and the rest of them fled into AFRICER where they were all ouerthrowen by them of the contrie, and not a man of them scaped, but fell ynfortunately apon thedge of the sworde, Sufidius only except, Manlius companion in laue. Who, either bicause he was not reckened of, or else vnknowen, dyed an olde man in a nelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miferable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF



of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers sonne of the same contrie, rengage. (who for pouertie earned his living by carying marchaundifes to and fafro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, as well at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, Philip king of MACEDON chaunsing to come through the city of CARDIA, where having nothing to do he tooke great pleathe city of CARDIA, where naturing nothing to the city of CARDIA, where naturing nothing to the European Space to prefure to fee the young men or the chie haude fuch activitie, and performanning to wreftle: and among them, Eumenes shewed such and tooke him away to kings of

formed it with so good a grace withall, that Philippe liked the boye well, and tooke him away the kinger of

E with him. But fure their reporte feemeth trueft, which wryte that Philippe did aduaunce him Macedon. for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of Philippe, Eumenes continued his feruice with king Alexander his sonne, where he was thought as wise a man, & as faithfull to his mafter, as any: and though he was called the Chaunceller or chiefe fecretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest frendes & familiars. For he was fent his Lieutenaunt generall of his whole army, against the Indians, and was Perdice as fucceffor in the gouernment of his province, Perdice as being preferred vnto Hephastions charge after his death. Nowe bicause Neoptolemus (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of Alexander told the Lordes of the counscil of Macedon, that he had served the king with his shield and speare, and howe Eumenes

F had followed with his penne and paper: the Lordes laughed him to fcorne, knowing that befides many great honors Eumenes had received, the king effeemed fo well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinfeman. For the first Lady that Alexander knew HHH iii

in A s 1 A, was Barfine Artabazus daughter, by whom he had a fonne, & called his name Heren A les: & of two of her fifters he maried the one of them called Apamavnto Ptolomye, & her other fifter also called Barline, he bestowed upon Eumenes, when he distributed the PERSIAN Ladies among his Lordes and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fellin disgrace with king Alexander, & stoode in some daunger by meanes of Hephastion. For Hepha flion following Alexanders courte on a time, having appointed Eurus a phiphe player alod ging, which Eumenes servauntes had taken up for their maister: Eumenes being in a rage, went with one Mentor vnto Alexander, crying out that a ma were better be a phiphe & a common plaier of Tragedies, then a fouldier, fithence fuch kinde of people were preferred before men of service that ventured their lives in the warres. Alexander at that present time was as angrie as Eumenes, & roundly tooke vp Hephastion for it howbeit immediatly after having chaunged his minde, he was much offended with Eumenes, bicause he thought him not to haue vsed that franke speech so much against Hephastion, as of a certaine presumptuous boldenes towarder him selfe. And at an other time also, when Alexander was sending Nearchus with his army by fea to cleere the coastes of the Occean, it chaunsed the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his frendes to take vp money in prest, and among others, vnto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred talentes. Eumenes lent him but a hundred, and sayd he had much a doe to get him so much of all his tenantes. Alexander sayd nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talentes: but commaunded his officers to set Eumenes ten a fire, bicause he would take him tardy with a lye, before he could gene order to cary away his gold and filuer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make this to faue any thing: the which Alexander repented afterwardes, and was force it was burnt, bicause all his letters and wrytinges were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched they found in niggots of gold and filuer mingled together, aboue a thowfand talentes, and yet Alexander tooke none of it away : but more then that, he sent vnto all his Lieutenauntes, Captaines, and Gouernors of contries, wherefocuer they were, that they should fend him copies of all the letters which they before had sent vnto him, bicause all those which hehad were burnt, and commaunded Eumenes to take them againe. After that, Eumenes and Hepheflion fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was geuen him, infomuch as very sowle wordes passed betwext Hephastion and him : yet did not the king geue Eumenes any ill countenaunce at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after Hephastion was dead, the king taking his D death grieuously whom he loued so derely, gaue no good countenaunce (and was very briefe befides)vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge vnto Hephaltion whiles he lived, & thathe. thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto Eumenes of all other, whose malice towards Hephaltion was knowen to him well enough: infomuch as he would ofte twyt him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offred Hephaftion. But Eumenes being very wife, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurte: and deuised (to further Alexanders desire, seeking to honor Hephastions funerall with all pompe possible) newe inventions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before bene feene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tombe. Againe, when Alexander was dead, there fell out great variance betweet the MACEDONIAN E footemen, and the noble men that had bene neerest about him : and in that quarrell, Eumener in good will stucke to the Lordes, but in wordes he seemed a newter and frend to both partes faying, it was not for him being a straunger to thrust him selfe into the quarrells of the Ma-CEDONIANS. And when the other Lordes were departed from BABYLON, Eumenes tarying behinde pacified the greatest parte of the fouldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had confulted together, and taken order for those contentions, they deuided the gouernment of the prouinces amonge them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition Eumenes had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of TRAPEZ VNTE, the which at that time was not subject to Thempire of MACEDON, for Ariarathes kept in then as F king. Howbeit it was fayd, that Leonatus and Antigonus would put him in possession of it, with

Eumenes made Gouer tries of Cap-Paphlagonia. a great and puisant armie, and make him Gouernor there. Yet afterwardes Antigonus made

EVMENES. none accompt of Perdice as letters vnto him, putting him in the header of great imaginations m conquer all, despising all other. And Leonatus also came downganto Para volta, and vndermoke the iorney of this conquest for Eumenes sake, But when he was in iorney thitherwardes, Hecatam, tyran of the CARDIANS, went to him to his army, & prayed him rather to goe helpe Antipater and the other MACED ONIANS, which were befreged in the citie of LAMAIA. So Leonatus being willing to take fea, and go thither, went about to perswade Eumenes also to like of it and to reconcile him with Hecateus: for they were not frendes one with an other by reason of a quarrell that Eumenes father had with this Hecataus, about the government of their citie. Besides that, Eumenes had many times complained of him openly vnto king Alexander, saying, that he was a tyranne, and befought the kinge that it woulde please him to sette the Car-DIANS at libertie. And therefore Eumenes refusing that iorney against the GRACIANS, alleaging that he was afrayed of Antipater, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & also to gratifie Hecataus, he would put him to death : Leonatus then revealed him felfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would naffe ouer the fea to ayde Antipater, where in deede his meaning was to take the kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from Cleopatra, willing him to come to the citie of P B L L A, and there the would marry him. When Eumenes was made privy to his purpose : either bicause he feared Antipater, or els for that he had no great good opinion of Legiatus, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very rathe and vinconstant in his doinges, he staleaway from him by night, with those fewe men he had being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the fumme of fine thow fand talentes, and fled with them vnto Perdiccas, vnto whom he bewrayed all Leonatus intent and minde: whereuppon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counfell. Shortly after, Perdiceas brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with 2 great armie which he him felfe did leade. Where Ariarathes was taken prisoner, and Eumenes established Gouernor of the contrie, who delivered the charge of the great cities vnto his frendes, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing euery where. Judges, Receivers, Governors, and all luch other officers necessarie as he thought meete. Perdice as medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, Eumenes went away with Perdice as againe, as well to wayte apon him, as also bicause he would euer be about the kinges. But Perdice as thinking with him selfe that he alone could wel enough performe thenterprise he went about, and confidering also that the realme heleft behinde him stoode needefull of a wife and skilfull Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: when they were in CILIcinreturned Eumenes backe againe, under colour to fend him to his gouernment, but in dede tokeepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined apon the fronters of his contrie whereof he was Gouernor, bicause Neoptolemus did vnder hand practise some alteration. Now though Neoptolemus was a prowde and infolent person, yet Eumenes still deuised to hold him in, and kept him from attemptes, by gentle and fayer wordes. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footemen were growen exceeding stows &insolent: he for a strength & defense against them, set vp a copany of horsemen. & to bring it to passe, released all the contriemen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue a horsebacke, and bought a great number of horse of service, which he gaue amongs them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and giftes he gaue to them that ferued well, and so by continual exercise and often remouing them from place to place, made them very ready and feruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACED ON, some much amazed, some others very glad when they sawe howe by this diligence Eumenes had in fo shorte a time gotten about him such a number, as sixe thow-

fand three hundred horsemen. About that time, Craterus and Antigonus having subdued the GRECIAN S, came on with their army into A SIA to ouerthrow Perdice as greatnes and powers and newes also, that shortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon Perdissar being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against Ptolomye, made Eumenes his Lieutenaunt generall, and gaue him commission and full authoritie ouer all his fouldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto Neoptolemus and Alcetas, HHH iii

commaunding them by the same that they should be obedient vnto Eumenes, and sufferhim A to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for Alcet as, he flatly aunswered, that he would not be arthis warre: for the MACEDONIANS under his charge were ashamed totale armes against Antipater, and moreover they would not fight against Craterus, but contrarily were bene to receiue him for their Captaine, fo much good will they bare him. Neoptolem on thother fide, was as ready to play the traitor, and to doe Eumenes a shrewde turne, as A cetas was. For being fent for by Eumenes to come to him, where he should have obeyed him. he fet his men in battell ray to fight with him . There did Eumenes reape the first frute of his wife forefight of the horfemen, which he had fet up to make head against the footemen of the MACEDONIANS, For when his owne footemen were broken and ouerthrowen, he ouercame Neoptolemm, and put him to flight with his horsemen, and tookeall his cariage. Then he made

them march in order of battell against the MACED ONIANS, who were dispersed enery where following the chase of his footemen, whom they had ouerthrowen. Thus coming apon them in this diforder, he draue them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him; and moreouer, euerie man to take his othe to serue him faithfully in this warre, wheresoeuerhe would lead them. Now Neoptolemus gathering a few together that fled, went with them you Craterus and Antipater: who fent ynto Eumenes to pray him to take their parte, with condition that he should not onely enjoy the contries and provinces still which he had in government. but furthermore that they would geue him others vnto them, and make him stronger thene. uer he was: besides that by thacceptation of thosfer, he should be taken for Antipaters good frend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto Eumenes made auniwere that having alwayes bene Antipaters enemy, he could not of a fodaine become his frend foe cially feeing him vse his frendes as enemies: howebeit otherwise that he was very willing m make Craterus peace with Perdiceus, and to restore him againe to his fauor, apon reasonable & indifferent condicions. And furthermore, that if he ment to affaile him, that then he would aide him fo longe as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lofe his life before he would breake his promise. This aunswere being brought vnto Antipater, they sel to consult at leasure what was to be done. In the meane space, Neoptolemus that fled apon his overthrowe, was come vnto them : who told them how the battell was fought, and befought them both vene instantly, (but Craterus chiefly) to gene him aide if it were possible. For the MACED ONIANS were fo farre in loue with him, that if they did but fee his hatte, and heare him speake, they have

would all arme them selves and sollow him. For, to speake a troth, Craterus was had in great

estimation amog the MACED ONIANS: insomuch as after Alexanders death, he was more de-

fired of the common fouldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he hadfor

their fakes incurred Alexanders difgrace and displeasure, bicause he went about to perswade

him to leave the king of PERSIAES maner, whereunto Alexander by litle and litle gaue him felfe: and also for that he maintained and defended the customes of the contry of MACEDON, the which every man through pride and excesse beganne to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore Craterus fent Antipater into CILICIA, and he him felfe with Neoptolemus, went against Eumenes with the best parte of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vaprouided, supposing he would geue him selfe to pleasure and pastime, after so lace a victorie. E But Eumenes like a wife and vigilant Captaine had taken fuch order, that he heard newes time enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readines to relift Emments skill him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in warre. For he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not only kepe his enemies fro knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men also to kill Craterius in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepe also so dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie. First, he made a rumor to be spred in his host, how Neoptolemus & Pigres were againe comen against him, with certaine horsemen of all sortes gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to have removed in the night, a great defire of F fleepe came apon him, in the which he had a maruelous straunge dreame. For it seemed vnto him that he faw two Alexanders preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a

a harrell of footemen, ranged after the MACROONIAN facion who comming to gette charge thone apon the other, came the goddeffe Minerus to aide the one, and Ceres likewife to avde the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom Mir nerses aided was ouerthrowen, and that Ceres had gathered cares of corne and made a crowne ofthem, to gene him that had wonne the field. Hereupon Eumener perhaaded him felfe that this dreame made for him, and promifed him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile contrie of come, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were fowen with corne in every place. shatitiwas a pleasure to behold it, thewing the benefit of long peace, to fee all the corne fields how greene they looked. But whe he vaderstoode that the enemies had ginen their fouldiers for the fignall of battell, Minerus and Mexander then was his full imagination confirmed more then before. Whereuppon, he gaue Ceres and Alexander for fignall of the battell to his fouldiers, and commained every man to make them a garlande of wheate eares to weare on their heades, and that they thould wreath flowers and notegayes about their pikes. He was in aninde many times to make his truftiest Captaines printe against whome they should fight. and not alone to trust him felie withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine. hekept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this daunger, but to him felle. Now when he came to gene battell, he would place neuer a Macanon an directly a-

sainft Crateries, but let two companies of men of armes that were ftraingers against him, the

which Pharnabazus (Artabazus fonne) and Phanix Tenidian did lead. Then he focially com-

maunded, that fo foone as they faw the enemies before the, they should straight gene charge,

BONIANS Would turne of his fide, if they might but once fee him : notwithftanding he praved

them that were about him, to them felues like valliant men that day, and therewithall

D fiercely fet spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on

either fide, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swordes: but that day did

not Graterus dithonor the memory of Alexander, for he flue many of his enemies round about

him, valliantly repulsed them that did affaile him, and many times overthrewe them. Yet in

fine, one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him fuch a blow on the fide, that he turned

him of his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But Goreyas, one of Eume-

mer Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to garde

ing a fire with an old malice, they fought vp and downe thone for the other. So at the two first

courfes they could not one light apon thother, but at the third meeting, when they knew one

an other, then they let spurres to their horses, their swordes drawen, and with great cries gaue

charge apon eche other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had

met with their prowes : and both the Captaines laying the bridells in their horse neckes, clo-

fediogether, and with both handes friued to plucke of eche others headpeace, and to rene

their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing eche other, their horses

him: howebeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the very panges of death, crare

Eumenes and Neoptolemus on thother fide, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, be-

Gening them no leafure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or tromper that they should fend ware them : for he feared much that the MACAD ONIANS Would turne against him, if they once came to know Crateria. Now for him selfe, he led the right wing of Banell behis battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, ner and Crawhere he should meete full with Neoptolemus fronte. When they had passed a little hill that unu.

floode betwene both battells, Eumenes horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full cariere to fet apon their enemies. Craterus feeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and curfed Neoptolemus that had decoined him in that forte, informing him that the MACE-

ranfrom them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other falt as it they had wrestled together. Neoptolemus got vp first : but as he rose, Eumenes cutthe hamme of his legge, & raifed him felfe vp withall. Neoptolemus staying him felfe apon one knee, his other legge being very fore hurt, defended him felfe on the ground the best he could, from Eumenes that was on his feete, but he could geue him no deadly wound : neuerthelesse him selfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the grounde. Then Eumenes inflamed with choller against him. went about to strippe him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious moode, remem-

bred not that Neopeolemus had his fword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about it groyne, not farre from his privile partes: howebeit the wounde made Eumenes worfe already then there was cause of hurt, for that Neoptolemus strength was gone before the stroke tank dying presently apon it. Eumenes having stripped him found him self very il, (by reason of him woundes) on his armes and legges, which had many a fore gashe: notwithstanding, begoth on his horse againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies his bene fighting still. But there being told that Grateria had his deathes wound, he went straighting to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not past knowledge. Then Eumenes list had from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hande, accursed Neoptolemus that had

Neoptolemus.

brought him to that pitiefull state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of the deerest frendes, to make him the instrument of his veter vindoing. This second battell Employer wanne tenne dayes after the first battell obtained, which got him great honor, for that he had discomfitted one of his enemies through wisedome, and the other by valliantnes. Buryetting bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his frendes also that tooke his pane when they bethought them, that he being a straunger, had with the weapons and powered the MACEDONIANS them selues, slaine the greatest and most famous Captaine among them Now if Perdice as had bene so happie, as to have lived and received thad vertilement of Cree. THE death: no dout he had bene the greatest person of all the MACED ONIANS. But as ill luck would have it, within two dayes after that Perdiceas was flaine in a mutinie of his mening. o'yrr,newes came to his army of Eumenes victorie, and also of the death of Craterus. Where upon the Macedonians were so offended with Eumenes; that incontinently they condend ned him to dve, & gaue Antigonus and Antipater commission to execute the reuenge. When Eumenes passing by mount Ida(where the king kept a race and brede of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of aduertisement thereof to the kinges ryders: Animater, as it is reported, smyled, and in mockerie sayd, that he marueled in fee Eumenes great care, to thinke that he should either gene or receive any account of the kinges goodes. So Eumenes thought good to fight in the great plaines of Lydia, especially neere vnto the chiefe citie of SARDIS, bicause he was the stronger in horsemen, and fortha he would make Cleopatra fee the power of his armie. Howebeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of Antipater) he went further into hie PHRYGIA, and wintered in the citie of Cr-LENES. But there Polemon, Alcetas, and Docimus, fell in convention with him for leading of the army, faying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. Eumenes aunswered them, truely here is euen the comon faying vp and downe: desperate men regard no daunger. Now Eumenes having promifed his fouldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promeffe, folder them all the farmes & castells of that contrie, together with the men and beastes of the same, whereof the prouince was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenauntes of the bandestauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through Eumenes engines of battery which he suffred them to carie with him: and having taken them, they went and denided the spoyle, paying enery souldier ratably his wages due. This denise brought him against in fauoramong his fouldiers. For certaine papers being founde in his campe cast abroadely his enemies, promifing great offices, and a hundred talents befides to any man that killed E. menes: the Maced Onlans that ferried under him were fo offended with all, that they prefent ly fet downe an order, that from that time forward a thowfande of the best fouldiers among them(which also had charge vnder them)(hould alwayes garde his person, keeping watchee uery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after an other. Whereunto they all agreed: & Emmenes gaue them those honors and rewardes, which the kinges of MACEDON were wonton generation their frendes, and which they gladly received. For through their graunt he had asthoritieto gene purple clokes and hattes to whom he thought good, which was the honors blest gift the kinge of MACEDON could geue. It is true that prosperitie maketh simplement high minded, whereby they feeme (though they be not) very honorable, but specially when fortune hath raifed them to honor & wealth. But in deede he that is of a noble minde & flow F The confiancy corage is best discerned in advertitie: for he never yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by Emmenes. For when he had loft a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADO-

EVMENES. a erasthrough the treaton of one of his fouldiers; he being purfued, yet noner gane the traitor any leafure to flie to his enemies for fafety, but tooke him, & truffed him vp And after he had fed for a time, he turned his horse head vpon a sodaine, and leaving his enemies side hand of him that had him in chace, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, & held on iornving folong, vntill he came to the felfe fame plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them felues, and the fouldiers anarte) he burnt them with the dores, gares, and windowes of all the villages & townes thereabouts that he could get together; and in steede of tombes for them, heraifed vp great heapes ofearth. Infomuch as Antigonus comming thither immediatly after he wondred much at his valliantnes & inuincible corage. Remouing thence, he met with Antigonius cariage & thight Eumenes Brarafile without daunger haue taken a number of priloners, as well free as bond Sonalic porter tageame. all the riches & treasure which they had spoyled in so many fundrie warres townes and contries: howbeit he was afrayed that if his fouldiers were loden with that fpoyle, it would make them more heavy to march, and vnable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to gun from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he trufted to come to and this warre. For he made account that Antigonus in the end would be weary of following thin folione a time. & therefore that he would turne fome other way. Moreover he perceived that it was ynpossible for him by his authority to keepe the MAGED ONTAN 5 from taking for ferie apray, as offred it felfe vnto them: whereupon he commaunded them to flay a while, & baire their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies carriage. But in the meane time he fecretly fent a meffenger to Menander (who had the charge and conduct of all the carriage) to will him to flie with all speede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and fafe from horsemen, where they could not be enuironned. and there to fortifie him felfe: fending him word also, that he fent him this advertisement, for meold frendship & acquaintance that had bene between them afore. Menander hearing what daunger he was in, made his men truffe vp their cariage straight. Thereupon Eumenes openly fent certaine light armed men to discouer, & to bring him newes: and therwithall commann. ded them to arme, and bridle their horfes, as if he had ment to have led them against the enemies. His skowtes were nowe returned, and told him that it was vnpossible either to distresse ontake Menander, for that he was fled into a place of fuch strength, & therefore he was not to D become by. Eumenes feemed to be very fory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence not withstanding Menander afterwards reported this matter to Antigonus, & the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend Eumenes, & after that loved him better then ever they did before bicause that having their childre in his hands whom he might have made flattes, & their wives also whom he might have defiled, he spared them al. How beit Antigonus to put them out of this humor told them, ye are deceived, my frendes: for it was not for your fakes, nor yet to pleafure you, that Eumenes tooke not your wives, your children, & your goods; but only for the feare he had to have shackles on his heeles, to let him from freedy flying; So Eumenes departing from thence fled ftill before Antigonia, & wandring vp & thowne, did him felfe wish his fouldiers to get them somewhere else, either in deede for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was viewilling to have fuch a number about him, being too fewe to fight's battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of scituacion called Nora, in the confines of LYCAONIA & CAPPADOCIA, with fine hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed. And when he was comen thither also, he gaue enery one leaner to depart that asked him licence, bicause they could not have abidden the discomodity of the place, which was very straight, & the lacke of necessary viscolls which they must needes hand wanted, if the flege didcontinue long: & thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenaunce. Shortly after came Antigonus before the forte, but would not befrege it before he fent for Eumenes to come to him apon his word Eumenes aunswered him, that Autigonus had many of his frendes about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his I tribe, & that him felfe on thother fide had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore

if Antigonus would have him come and speake with him; that he should sende him one of his

chiefest frendes in hostage. Againe Antigonus being carnest with him, and telling him it was

reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: aunswered him, I will acknowledge none better then my selfe, so long as I can hold my from in my hand. In the end, Antigonia (according to Eumenes request) lent his owneneuew my into the force, and then came Eumenes out. At their meeting they both embraced and

gnanimity.

Emmerialle luted eche other, as frendes of old acquaintance and familiaritie: and fo fell in talke of diner with Anigs matters; but all this while Euroceues neuer once made request to departe in safety, neither ye demaunded pardon, but only defired the confirmation of his charge & gouernment, and the he might be restored to that which was geuen him. They that were present at their meeting

marueled much at Eumenes, & greatly commended his stowtnes. Now whilest they were the in talke together, the Macad Onians came out of all partes of the campe, to fee what mane of man Eumenes was : bicause that after the death of Craterus there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN fouldiers, of any Captaine, but of Eumenes. Neuertheleffe, Antigonus fearnes they would do Eumenes some mischiese, commaunded them alowde to geue backe, and made ftones to be throwen amonge them to keepe them of him. All this notwithstandinge here fayne in the end to put them of with his gard, and to take Eumenes in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him fafely into his force againe. After this imparlance, Antigonus compafed this forte of Nora round about with a wall, and left a fufficient number of men to continent

Esomene: be. the fiege, and fo went his way with the rest of his army. In the meane time Esomenes remained first of Mera. thing that was good to eate, nor sweet of talk, to sustein their bread. Yet with such as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them every one after an other sit at his bourde with him, and withall did facion out that manner of dve.

with a certaine life and familiarity of pleasaunt deuises to entertaine them at their meate For besides that he sought to shewe them as pleasaunt a countenaunce as he coulde, yet name rally he had a sweete fayer face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained up in it: but like a freshyouth, being of such a constitution of bodie, that the excellentest workeman that ever was could not better set out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be seene in him. His speeche was not harsh nor churlishe, but very mylde, and pleafaunt, as appeareth by the letters hewrote. Now for the fiege, there was nothing that more annoyed the belieged, then the narrownes of the forte wherein they were

which was not aboue two furlonges compasse about, and their houses so litle and narrowe,

that they could scant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of esercise for them selves, or their horse. Now Eumenes to take away the sluggishnesse that grow eth by idlenesse, (a thing most hurtefull to them that are acquainted with travell and paines) had exercise, to keepe them in breth, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occasion were offered; put his men into the longest & widest hall he had in his house, (being fourteene cubits long to walks vp and downe in) and raught them first of all to march fayer and softly, and then by little & little to haften their pace. For the horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other & then did foftly trife them vp with long pulleyes fastned to the beames: their hindmost feet standing on the ground, & their formost being alost. The horses being trised up in this mane, their riders came with lowde cries behinde them, & fome with whippes in their hands to lash them, that the horse being mad with all, yerked out behind, & sprang forward with his formed legges to touch the ground, that they did but even rafe it a litle, so as every vaine and finew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a some withall, so good an exercise to the it was, as well to put them in breth, as to kepe their legges supple to run. After that, they had their otes very cleane pickt & dreffed, that they might difgeft them the fooner, Antigonus having long continued this fiege, newes came vnto him that Antipater was dead in Macedon, &that the realme was in a great broyle, through the factions of Cassander & Polyperchan, Antigonus, whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coueting with him selfe the whole kingdom of MACEDON: thought good to make Eumenes his frende, that

A Refayd: that he did referre him felfe to the judgement of the Macan ONIANS which kept him befreged, to judge which of those two formes were most meetest: that which Antigonis had fent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in Antigonus forme of othe, there was a lide mencion only made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the rest following, he bound Eumenes particularly to him felfe. But Eumenes in his forme of othe, did first of all put Olympias the mother of kinge Alexander, and the kinges his sonnes afterwardes: and for the relt, he sware he would be frende of the frendes, and enemie of the enemies, not of Anticomu onely, but of the kinges, and of Olympias. The Maced ONIANS being at the flege before Nora, did better like the forme of Eumenes othe, than they did that of Antigonus. So having genen Eumenes his othe, & made him fweare according to that forme: they raifed their flege. and fent also vinto Antigonus to take his othe. All this accomplished, Eumenes redelinered the

CAPPADOCIANS their hostages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their steade, horse of warre, beastes of carriage, tentes and panillions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were dispersed abroade after his overthrowe, so that in fewe dayes he was about a thowsande horsemen, with whom he fled. fearing yet Antigonus, and he did wifely, For Antigonus had not onely commaunded them m shutte him vp againe straighter then he was before : but besides that wrote sharpe letters and verie angrily vnto the MACHDONIANS, which had accepted the correction of the othe. Whilest Eumenes wandered vp & downe flying still, he received letters from certaine in M A-CEPONIA (fearing Antigonia greatnesse) and specially from Olympias: which sent vnto him C to come into MACEDON, to take the charge and gouernment of her young sonne Alexander. whome they fought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewife received letters from Polynerchon and from king Phelippe, who commaunded him to make warre with Antigonus with his This was Ani-

armie he had in CAPRADOCIA, and to put in his purse of the kinges, fine hundred filuer talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of CYNDES, and be-lippe father of fides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall Mexinder, places, to delitaye the changes of the Nation, whom they also they wrote vinto Antigenes and Teutamus, the two Captaines of the Argyraspides: to had summer wit, the fouldiers with the filter shieldes, or shieldes filtered, which were of the olde bandes Philippe. of Alexanders armie. These two Captaines having ereceived these letters, did vie Eumenes Eumenes, with very good wordes, & shewed him great countenaunce: yet a man by their lookes might philippes Deafily conjecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought them felues men fuf- Lieutenaum ficient, and worthie to commaunde Eumenes, not to aide him. Howebeit Eumenes behaued of his amy. him selfe very wifely. For as touching their enuie, he pacified that, bicause he tooke not the Alexanders money which he was commanded to take for his owne vie, for that he had no neede of it. And fondiers, fo as for their ambition and prefumption, difdaining to be commaunded by him, though they their filtered

could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey the did reclaime them, by a superstition he frieder. laved before them, which was this. He made them beleue that Alexander did appeare to Eumenessen him in his fleepe, and that he frewed him a pauillion sumptionally fette out in the state and Emmene fair magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne; and tolde him, that if they would med denife. kepetheir councell place in that pauillion, he would be present among them, and ayde them E in all their councells and conduct of their warres, so that they would alwayes beginne by him. He easily perswaded Antigenes and Teutamus to beleue that which he spake, who would not goe to him to confult of any matters : neither did he thinke it honorable for him felfeto be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set vo

the hie contries and met with Peucestas on the way, (Eumenes very great frende) who loyned with them, and other great pieres of the realme, with all their power befides. This did greatly strengthen the armie of the noble men of MACEDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne persones, bicause they had no man F to commaunde them since the death of Alexander, they were growen selfe willed by dissolute libertie, and effeminate in their maner of life: and moreover they had gotten a tyrannicalliferceneffe, nourished & increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

agoodly rich pauilion, which was called Alexanders pauilion and there they kept their coun-

cells and affemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towardes

through his helpe he might attaine his defired purpose. Thereupon he sent Hyeronymus vitto I him to treate of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would have him sweare vnto him. When Eumenes had feene it, he would not be fwome in that maner, but correctedit,

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but shamefully flattered A the old bandes of the MACIDONIAN fouldiers, geuing them money, and making them ban kets and feastles of sacrifices. And thus in shorte time, of a campe they brought it to be add folute tauerne, where the noble men got the fouldiers fauor that they might be chosen chief. taines of all the armie: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honorable states and offices of the common wealth Now Eumenes found straight that these pieres of the realme disdained one an other, howeher that they all feared and mistrusted him, and sought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore

felfe out of

to preuent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupie money, and so borrowed great summe of the especially, whom he knew most hated him: to the end that from thence. forth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the money they had a lent him. And thereof followed a straunge thing: for other mens money and goodes, was the safetie of his life. For where others geue money to saue their lines, he by taking of money sa ued his owne life. Now for the fouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whileft they fawe they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they still hong apon them that gaue them. being desirous to be made Generalles: and came euery morning to their vprising to waitea. pon them, and follow them wherefocuer they went. But when Antigonus was come to campe

vifferie.

med with gils

hard by them with a great and puisant army, and that their case required then a valliant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the fouldiers alone, but all the pieres and states besides, (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) fubmit them selues vnto Eumenes, to be at his commaundement. For when Antigonus affaired all the wayes he could to c passe ouer the river of Passigris, the pieres which were layed in divers places to let him from Pasitigris fl. passing ouer, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but Eumenes onely that relisted him. and fought with him: where he flewe fuch a number of his men, that he filled the river with tell with An them, and tooke foure thowfande of them prisoners. Againe, when Eumenes was sicke, these olde bandes did more plainly shew, what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banket them, and make them good cheere at their houses, yet that Eumenes onely of all other was worthieft to be their Captaine, and to commaunde them. For Peucellas hauing feasted them in the kingdom of PERSIA, and geuen euery souldier a mutton to facrifice, thought he had wonne great fauor & credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, Eumenes by misfortune fell daungerously sicke, & therfore would n needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyfe, bicause he could take no rest. But they had not gone farre, before they saw their enemies, which having passed our certaine litle hills betwene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the fouldiers fawe the gliftering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the funne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers apon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates apon their armors : (which was the apparel they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the formest stayed apon it, and cried out, willing them to fend for Eumenes to lead them, for they would els goe no furtherif they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raifed their pykes, & layed downe their shieldes at their feete, calling from one to an other to stay, & to their prinate Captaines I also: and told them plainly, that they would not sturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vnlesse Eumenes were among them to lead them. Eumenes hearing of it, came to them with great speede, hastening his slaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on every side, he held out his right hand to the souldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The fouldiers also so some as they sawe him, saluted him in the MACED ONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their shieldes, clapping them against their pykes with a great showte, bidding their enemies come when they would, they shoulde be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. Antigonus on thother fide, being informed by certaine prisoners which his souldiers had taken in skermish, that Eumenes was fallen very fore ficke, and by reason thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he should haueno F great a doe to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speede he could to fight. But when he came so neere, that he might easily see the order and countenaunce of

A his enemies, who were fet in such good order of battell, that it could not any waves be amended: he was much amased with all, and pawsed a great while, and in the meane time spied Eumenes litter a farre of, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out alowed, as his maner was, and turning him selfe to his frendes, sayd. See, sayd he, I beleue it Antigonal is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with those wordes, he mocke to En

founded the retreate, & brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was

a litle passed ouer, the MACED ON IANS fell to their olde trade againe, the pieres to flatter the fouldiers, and the fouldiers to waxe braue and stowte against their Captaines: so that when they came to take their garrifons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the whole contrie of the GABENIANS, the first from the last being lodged almost a thowsand furn longe of. Which Antigonus vnderstanding, determined to set apon them, they mistrusting nothing. And so went sodainly towards them, by a shorter way then that he had already commen, but the worler way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus dispersed asunder, their Captaines could not readily assemble them all together, But while he was in this his iorney, in the defert crooked way, he was fo ouertaken and with fuch boysterous windes and extreame bitter cold that his fouldiers could go no further. but were forced to tary stil, to prouide them present remedy against the sury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knewe of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines towardes the defert. heing amased to see such a number of fires in the valley, fent presently with speede apon two camells light loden, to aduertife Peucestas, who being neerest vnto the mountaine was so scared with these newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to doe. For, seeing his other companions as much afrayed as him felfe, he fled apon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But Eumenes quieted this great feare, affuring them that he would flav the fodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three dayes later than

they looked for: which they beleued . Then did Eumenes sende messengers into every quar- Eumenes strate ter to all the Captaines, commaunding them speedily to put their men in readinesse, and to gainst stige. meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him felfe in the meane time went with new. other Captaines to choose a fit grounde to lodge a campe, the which might easily be seene

In fortified the fame with trenches, and detided it out into quarters, making fire in every place, such a distance of one from an other, as they vie commonly to make in a campe. It was no fooner done, but Antigonus came to the toppe of the mountaines, and fawe these fires a farre of, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had longe before knowen of his comming, and that they came against him. Being afrayed therfore least his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freshe apon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comminge through that defert contrie: he tooke his way to lead backe his armie, not the neerest way by the which he came, but through the contry richlyinhabited and replenished with great cities and good townes, to refteshe his ouerwearied people. Yet feeing he had none alaroms geuen, nor any skermishes offered him, (as they vie F commonly when both armies are neere together) and that the valley men told him that they had seene none other armie but his, sauing that round about there was store of fires: then he straight mistrusted that it was one of Eumenes stratageames of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to steale apon him, but to put all to the hasard of a battell. But in the meane time, the most parte of the hoast was gathered about Eumenes, for the great estimacion euery man had of his wisdom and sufficiency insomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he only as their Lieutenaunt generall should commaund the wholearmy. This spited the two Captaines of the Argyraspides, Antigenes & Teutamus, who bare him such Emer the caan inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practifed his death: & affembling together panion of ver-

from the toppe of the mountaines, which they must passe that come from the desert: & there

F with many of the states & particular Captaines, they fat in councell to know when, & in what forte they should kill him. Howbeit the most voices assembled in this councell, were whole of Emmenes opinio, that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the battel, & that immediatly red.

after they should put him to death. This being thus resoluted apon, Eudamus Captaine of the Elephants, and an other called Phedimus, went fecretly and told Eumenes what they had concluded apon in the affembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for the they fought to pleasure him, but only bicause they were asrayed to loose the money they had

lessers to kepe

lent him. Eumenes gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his best frendes, and tolde them: you see howe I am enuironned with a troupe of wilde Exements tare and brutishe beastes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and wrytinges that all his frender had bene sent him, bicause he would not have them suffer for him after his death, that had fent him fecret aduertisementes. Afterwardes when he had disposed of all his private matters in this forte, he stoode in a doute whether he shoulde lose the battell geuing his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADOCIA, through MEDIA and R ARMENIA. Howebeit he resolued of nothing before his frendes. But when the mischiefehe was in had put divers thoughtes into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did fethis

army in battell ray, perswading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous people to standton like men. And as for the olde fouldiers of the MACED ONIANS, they fo litle needed exhoration, that they them selues did exhorte Eumenes to be of good corage, saying: that their ene. mies would neuer abide them, bicause they were all the oldest souldiers, and of greatest experience, that had bene in all the conquestes of kinge Philippe, and of his sonne Alexander, and The old band that it was neuerheard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any fette battell, the most of them being three score and tenne yeares olde, and the youngest no lesse then three score. Whereeurry man 60 upon, when they ranne with great furie to geue charge apon their enemies, they criedoutayear old and lowde speaking to the souldiers of the MACED ONIANS that were under Antigonus: Ahwret-Emmener con. ches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And so assailing them with a lustic corage, and in a

flet with An- rage withall, in a shorte space ouerthrew the squadron of their enemies, & slue the most pane tigonus. of them in the fielde. Thus was Antigonus armie cleane ouerthrowen on that fide: but on tho. ther side where his men of armes were, through Pencestas cowardlinesse (that handeled him felfevery ill at that battell) he had the vpper hande, and wanne all their cariage, through his forefight in the greatest furie of the battell, and the strength of the place where the battell was

fought. For it was a maruelous great plaine of length, neither too depe, nor yet to hard ynderfoote, but couered ouer with a small fine fand, much like to the drie fand the sea casteth vp.& leaueth apon the shore. This sand being scattered abroade by riding and going to & fro of 6 n many thowsandes of men and horses during the time of the battell foughten, had raised such a mightie dust and white smoke in the element, as if they had sturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their fight fo fore, as they could fee nothing before them: in respect whereof Antigonus might easily sease all their carriage, them selves being neuer a whit the wifer. The battell being come to this passe you have heard, Teutamus sent presently vnto Antirenus, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage againe, which he had taken & caried into his campe. Antigonus made him aunswere, that he would not only redeliuer the goodes vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vse them with all the fauor he could, so farre foorth as they delivered Europenes into his handes. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke presently a wicked resolution, to deliuer him aliue into the handes of his enemies. And with that deter- E Argyrafpides. mination they came neere vnto him, not makinge any countenaunce as though they would lay handes on him, but rather feeming to garde and defend his persone as their manner was: fome of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others acculing the noble men of cowardlines, saying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of the hauing spied his time, flew to him, and tooke his fword out of his hande: the others straight laved hold of him, and bound both his handes behinde him with his owne girdle. Antigonus vnderstanding

it, fent Nicanor thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then Eume-

nes having made request vnto them to suffer him to speake, as they brought him through the

should make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, but to

tell them of thinges, which (as he fayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereuppon filence

bandes of these olde MACEDONIAN souldiers: it was graunted him with condicion, that he F

being made; hogor up apong little hillocke, and there spake vnow them, putting forth his hands haing bounds O weetched and faithlesse men, the wickedest that ouer Mide and a bred What The water fogreag triumphe, or victorie, hath euer Antigomis wonne of you, halling fought it fuch infi. to the mainer nite wayes: and you your felues doe now put into his handes odelivering him your Gaptaine Argrafides bound and manacled ? Will not this be to your greathame, that being mafters of the fielder his fouldiers you will graunt the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle couetonine selfmo." nev and paltry stuffe which you have lost? And yet is not this all, but the worst behinde: to " fend your Captaine as you do to pay the ransome of your baggage. For myselfe, though now "

they lead me bound, yet doe I remaine free vnouercome, vanquisher of mine enemies, & fold ,, by them that should be my frendes, Well, yet this request onely make vnto you, in the name " of Imiter, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddes, (vnto whom all vowed othes " ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and conjure you, to kill me your selues in this place. For all " commeth to one end. To be haine in Antigonts campe by the hands of mine owne enemies. will euer be counted your deede; and you may be affured he will not be angrie withall, for he only desireth Eumenes death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your hands from this attempt, vnlose yet one of mine only : that shall suffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will " not put a sword in my hande, throw me bound yet hands and seete vnto wilde beastes: which ...

ifveperforme, then doe I discharge you of your othe taken between both my handes, which ,, vehaue sworne vitto your Captaine as holily and perfectly performed. Apon this speeche of Eumenes, all the rest of the army had copassion of him, that they wept for render affection. But G the ARGYRASTIDES cried out to cary him away, and not to gene eare to his preaching : and that it was a good deede to punishe this wicked CHERRONE SIAN, according to his delertes. confidering thathe had turmoyled the MACED ONIAN S with endlesse water and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much fhame that the worthieft fouldiers that ever ferued kinge Philippe & Alexander, to painfully in all their warres, should for recompence of their service in their olde age be turned a begging their wives having now lyen three nightes with their enemics. With those wordes, they violently draue him on towardes Antigones campe, who fear ring least the multitude of people that ranne to see him, would smother him in the prease, bicause every man ranne out of the campe: he sent thither tenne of the strongost Elephantes he had and a good number of men of armes of the Mades and PARTHIANS, to make way for D him in the prease, When Eumenes was now come into Antigonia campe, his hart would not ferue him to fee him in that miferable state, for that they had once benefamiliarly acquainted

together. Whereupon, fuch as had him in their custodie, came to Anticones to aske him how

he would have him kept. Who aunswered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a Antigonu

while after he tooke pitie of him, and discharged him of his weightiest irons, and sent one of

his household servaunts to him to see him well vsed, and suffered his frendes to come & bring menes being

himany thing he lacked. Thus did Antigonia deferre many dayes, before he would determine militar.

ought of Eumenes, hearing enery man speake, and pondering their purposes and severall opinions. Nearchus CRETAN and his owne some Demetrius spake for Eumenes, and made sure to faue his life; contrarie to all the other Lordes and Captaines that were about Antiegnus, who E would in any case have him dye. Eumenes standing in these termes, asked his keeper Onomar- The mable thu one day, what Antigonus ment, that having his enemy in his hands he did not quickly tid minds of Euhimout of his pame, or noblely deliuer him? Onomarchus chuslishly aunswered him againe, menes. that the time was past nowe to showe his corage, as though he feared not death; and that he should have shewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me Impiter (quod he) so have I done. and if thou beleuelt not me, aske them that fer apon me : for I never met with manyer more frong then my felfe. Onomarchus replied againe: fith now therefore thou haft found aftronger than thy felfe, why then canft thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when Antigones had resolt ued of his death, he commaunded them to geue him no more meate: and thus taking his fue stenaunce from him, Eumenes was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came such newes, The Mach of

F that fodginely the campe remoued : and therefore before their departure, a man was fent to Eumenes to dispatche him out of his paine. Antigonus licensed his frends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his afthes and bones to fend them to his wife & children. Eumenes

AGESILAVS.

being flaine in this manner, the gods appointed anne other judges to reuenge the diflogation and treason of the ARGYNASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying of Eunenes, but deal gomus felfe: who deteffinge them as cruell murderers; and periured persones to the godden appointed thyrtim Gouemor of the province of Anachosta, to kill them eueric mother forme what way he coulde, that none of them might energice MACED ON agains, north Greekithe feat account, and the programme of the ground was a single and glienger of the first and the same glienger of the same glieng

THE COMPARISON, OF

if ve perte

Ere have we fet downe the thinges worthie memorie of Emmene; and Sertorius. Nowe to compare them together, in this they were both alike : that they being ftraungers in a straunge contrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes bene Capraines of dillers nations, and

chiefetairies of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to Se chiefetaines or great and warneste armes. Dut tims was proper to so-torius, that all those of his faction gaue him the chiefest place of an h thoritie, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthieft w

commaund where Eumener having many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the fame. So that they obeyed the one,

desiring to be governed by a good Captaine . & for their owne safety gave place to the other, feeing them lelues viable to command. For Sertorius being a ROMANE, gouerned the Spa-NYANDS and L. V. SITANIANS : and Eumenes a CHERRONESIAN, the Macedonians. Of the which, the SPANTARD'S of long time had bene fubicat to the Empire of Rome, and the Mit CEDONIANS at that time had fubdued all the worlde. Furthermore, Sertorias beingethened great estimation for that he was a Senatour of Rome, and had had charge of men of ware ! before, came to the dignity & estate to be chieferaine of a great army. Where Eumenes came with small reputacion, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only leffe meanes to preferre him then Sertorius had, but greater lets & impedimentes also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stoode against him, and fecretly compired his death: and not as Sertorius, whom no man contraried from the begin ning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions fecretly confirmed against him. Therefore Sertorius ende of all his daungers, was to ouercome his enemies: where Elimination greatest danngers came through his victories, which he wanne of his owne men, through the

The deduce malice of them that enuied his honor. Nowe for their deedes of armes, they are both in macond some of net alike : but on thother fide for their conditions; Emmenes naturally loued warre and con F Sourcine co- tention: and Sertorius imbraced peace & quietnes. For Eumenes that might have lived in fallry with honor, if he would but have geven place to his betters, and for laken the warres : liked

better with the daunger of his life to followe marriall feates; with the greatest personages of MACEDON, and in the end to came to his death, Sertorius contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the fafetie of his person to take armes against them that would not behim live in peace. For had not Eumenes bene fo ambitious and flower to firiue against Antionnus for the chiefest place of authoritie, but could have bene contented with the seconde. Antigonus would have bene right glad thereof: where Pompey would never fo much as fuffer Sentorius to live in rest. So, the one made voluntary warn's onely to rule, and the other against his wil was compelled to rule, bicause they made warres with him. Wherby it appeareth that Emenes naturally loued warre, preferringe the couctous defire of a better estate, aboue the blewof his life : and the other as a right fouldier, yied the warres only for a meane to faue his Biologyaliar defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was flaine, miltrufting no treason against

hims and the other looking every hower for prefent death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a troble minde; porto miltrust them whom he thought his frendes : and the other she wed a faint hart, being taken when he ment to flie. So Sertorine death dishonored not his life, Sertorine fuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could never make him fuffer. boneft, then The other having no power to anoide his destinic before he was taken, and having sought the death of meanes to live being in prison and captivitie: could neither paciently nor manfully abide his Eumenes. death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his hart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

> THE LIFE OF Agesilaus.

o illustions



Rehidamus the fonne of Zeuxidamus, having honorably raighed in L A- The paren. CED & MON left two fonnes behind him : Agu which he begate of that sage of Agenoble Lady Lamprido, & Agefilaus a great deale younger, which he had by Eupolia, Melilippidas daughter. So the kingdom falling by fucceffion wnto Agus the eider, the younger fonne Agesilaus remaining a private person, was brought up after the Lac ONTAN manner, which was a The infirm.

traight kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Wher- Hinn of Ageof it is thought the Poet Simonides calleth SPART R. Damasimbrososto Mana. wit, making men civill: for that by continuance of cuftome; it frameth

the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much, or more, than any other city that cuer was in

Agefilaus bey, before he

the world, taming them from their childhoode, as thry doe young coltes. The law difpenses, with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that straight subjection & hard life : but Aced law had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his estate, that he came to the dignity and by, bifore he reme honor to commaund, having from his youth learned to obey. The which youdoutedly was the cause, that he knewe better than any other king, howe to please and beare with his subjectes.

helping his royall estate & princely behauior, grafted in him by nature, with that cuttese and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with The modeline the boyes which were brought vp together, Lyfander fell in lone with him, wondering at the modelty of his wit. For having better spirite, and being more constant in his opinion, the any of the other children, striuing euer to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he toole

all trauells in hande, that it was vnpoffible to ouercome him, much leffe to compell him lie was on thother fide fo milde & gentle, that every curreous word wrought in him bester obe dience, than any feare could doe : bicause it grieued him more to be reproued, then to takes pon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being (horter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasaunt wit, he vied the matter to pleasaunt fauntly and paciently, that he would merily mocke him felfe; which maner of mery behause did greatly hide the blame of the bleamish. Yea further, his life & corage was the more commendable in him, for that men fawe that notwithstanding his lamenes, he refused no paine

nor labor. Of his person we haue drawen no counterfeate, bicause he woulde not in any wife haue it drawen, and did expressely commaund by his will, that they should neither draw his picture, nor make any mowld or image of his body. How beit we finde that he was of small a stature, wherby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer mery and pleafaunt, and neuer penfiue nor troublesome in word nor looke, euen to the last ende of his life he was better loued, then the most fayer creature that lived, Notwithstanding, the Ephori(as Theophrastus writeth) did condemne king Archidamus in a summe

of money bicause he maried a litle woman; saying that he would be get them demy kings, no

as being on his death bed, Leotychides falling on his knees, wept, and so behaved him felle, that

kinge Agie

Alcibiades

kinges in deede. In the time that his eldest sonne Agertaigned king, Aleibiades being banished adultor with ATHENS, fled out of Sicile into Laced EMON, and had not long remained in Sparra before they suspected him, that he kept king Agis wife, called Times for which cause Agis would not acknowledge the childe she brought to be his sonne, saying that Alcibiades had begotten him. But Times cared not much for it, as Daris wryteth: for otherwhile as the fate amongel h her women, foftly the called him Alcibiades, not Leotychides. On thother fide they reporte, that Alcibiades him selfe sayd, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene Timea, but only for the defire he had that fome of the kinges of LACEDEMON should be begotten of his feede. Neuertheles at the length he was drinen to forfake LACED EMON, militure fting king Agu, who euer after douted of the childe, & thought him a baftard : vntill fuch time

Agefilass

Agis before many witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king Agu was dead, Lasander that had then ouercomen the Athentans by sea, & was created king, more in credit & authority in the city of Spanta, than any other practifed to put the crowne apon Agestiam head, saying, that Leotychides had no interest vnto it, bicause he was a bastard. The like did divers other citizens fay of him, which loved Agesilaus vertue, and liked him paffingly, for that he had bene brought up from his childhood among them. But on the contrary parte also, there was a Soothsayer or wisard in Sparta, called Diopithes, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, & was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies A lame king, and divinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Span

TA: and for proofe thereof he told this auncient oracle before the counsell, As stately as thy stomake is o Sparta take good heede, And stand upon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede. For halting one day downe will cast thine Empire to the ground, By meane of wvarres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round,

Lyfander replied against it, saying, that if the Spart ans were astrayed of this oracle, they should rather beware of Leotychides. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aA foired to be king: but rather if he were a baftard, and not lineally descended of the race of Herseles, For that, fayd he, were to make the kingdom halte. Agefilaus furthermore alleaged, that the god Neptune him felfe had witneffed, that Leotychides was a bastatd: for he draue Agis by

an earthquake, to runne out of his wives chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and

more, Leorychides was borne. So was Agestlaus apon these allegacions not onely proclaimed Agestlaus proking of Sparta; but he had geuen him moreouer, as lawful heire, all his brother Agis goods, claimed king. and Leotychides rejected as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his des a bastard. mothers fide were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moyty of all the goodes: by which act, Agefilaus wanne all their good willes, where elfe they had enuied him for his fucceffion in the kingdom. And (as Xenophon fayth) by obeying his contrie, he grew to fuch powerthat he might doe what soener he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the sway and gouernment of the common wealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearely, the

other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the infolency of the kings, Ephori tare for that they should not (as we have more amply wrytten in Lycurgus life) have absolute po- certaine offwer in their handes. Vppon this occasion, the kinges that succeeded in the gouernment, had fed to conorte (as it were) by inheritaunce, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, the kinges in-Applicant tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarelled inimitive if a. with the Ephori and Senatours, Agefilaus did honor and reverence them, and would never my were by difparche any matter without their privity, but was alwayes ready to goe when they did fend them ofed. him. When he was fet in his chaier of state to geue audience, if any of the Ephori chaunsed to come in, he would rife vp vnto them : and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors fake present him a gowne, and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senatours, winning their good wills, he made his power great. & the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauior towards the rest of his contrymen was such, Agestlau, an as his enmity was leffe faulty the his frendthip. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iuft

cause, but he aided his frends euen in vniust causes. And wheras he thought it a shame not to frend. honor enemies, when they had done well: he could not finde in his hart to rebuke his frendes when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succoring & helping of them in their euill doings. For he thought it no thame to ferue his frendes turne, howfoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduerfaries offended, he was as fory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he D were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hartes of all men. The Ephori feeing that. and fearing his power, punished him in mony for that he made the common loue of his con-

strifewere taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all thinges should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betwene the worlde and them : euen fo, the lawemaker of LACED EMON feemeth to have allowed ambition & strife in the common wealth, as a spurre to vertue, by procuring VVhehr caalwayes some contencion and emulacion amonge great persones. And his reason was that the mobility be this base and effeminate sauor, in winking one at another, when men are to be rebuked, ought profitable in a not of right to be called by the name of concorde. And fure some thinke that Homer also faw common E thesame, for he would neuer else haue made Agamemnon to haue reioyced to fee Vlysses and wealth. Achilles at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contencion among great men, were very available for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great

quer the LACED EMONIANS signory by sea. Lyfander being glad of this occasion, longing to besent againe into Asia to succour his frends whom he had left there as Gouernors & Lieutenants of cities & prouinces (of the which, some of them were driven away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority & ruling ouercruelly:) perswaded Age-F silaus to goe into Asia, to make warre apon this barbarous king, farre from GRECE, before his army were gathered together. And to copasse this the easilier, he wrote vnto his frends in Astathat they should send vnto SPARTA, to require Agesilaus for their Captaine, and so they

daungers with them. Nowe when Agefilaus was entred into his kingdome of LACED EMON.

newes were brought him out of Asia, that the king of PBRSIA prepared a great nauv to con-

triepriuate to him selfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and

did. Thereupon Agefilam going to the affembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would geue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counfellers & all. stants to him in these warres, two thowsand free I LOTES, & six thowsand of the consederates of LACED # MON. All this was immediatly graunted through Lysanders frendthippe towards

Azefiam in him, and he was sent away straight with the thirty Captaines which he had requested: of the which Lyfander was the chiefest, not only for his riches and authoritie, but also for the good

will he bare vnto Agesilaus: who thought him selfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his frendship he shewed him in bringing him to be king. Now Agefilan army being affembled at the hauen of Geræste, him selfe with certaine of his frends went yn

to the citie of AVLIDE, where in his sleepe he drempt that one sayd vnto him: O king of the LACEDEMONIANS, thou knowest that neuer none but Agamemnon, & now thy selfe, was cho. fen Generall of all GREECE, considering therefore that thou commaundest the same people he did, that thou makest warres with the selfe same enemies, departing from the selfe same place to goe thither, it is reason that thou make the selfe same facrifice vnto the goddesse, the which he made at his like departure. Agesilaus straight apon this vision, remembred that A. gamemnon through the perswasion of the Soothsayers did sacrifice his owne daughter in the same place. Yet this made him not afrayed, but the next day he told it to his frendes, and said he would sacrifice that vnto the goddesse, which he thought woulde please her well enough and that he would not followe that cruell denotion of this auncient Captaine Agameman And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commaunded his

Soothfayer to facrifice her: and would not suffer him to have the honor to doe the sacrifice, c that was appointed for the same purpose by the Gouernors of Bosotia, according to the custome of that place. The Gouernors of BOEOTIA vnderstanding it, were much offended and sent their officers to will Agestlaus not to doe any facrifice there, contrarie to the law and custome of their contrie. The officers that were sent, performed their commission: and sinding that the beast was slaine, & the quarters of it apon the aulter, they tooke and slong them of the aulter enery way. This vexed Agefilaus being readie to imbarke, and departed thencein choller against the THEBANS, and mistrusted much his good successe by this valuckie prediction, which feemed to prognosticate vnto him, that he should not preuaile according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arrived at Ephesys, he presently misliked the honorhe faw done vnto Lyfander, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the contriementheren repaired continually to his house, that when he came abroade, they all followed him wher-

focuer he went: as though Lyfander had in deede bene in authority to doewhat he would and that Agefilaus only had but the name to be general, so appointed by the law of LACED EMON. For in troth there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine in those partes that had won him suchesti-

mation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficial to his frends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these thinges being field in memorie, the contriemen of that contrie perceiuing the simplicity of Agesilau, and howe he was geuen to please the people, and caried no great maiestie nor countenaunce with him, and observing in Lysander that wonted roughnes and sharpespeech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeied him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. E This first of all made the other Spart ans angrie, for that it appeared they were comeasit were to serue Lysander, and not as to counsell the king: but after that, Agesilaus him selfe also

grew miscontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor sorie to see others honored besides him selfe. Yet being a man ambitiously genen, and of a noble corage, searing if he should doe any noble exploye in this warre, that they would impute it vnto Lysander, for the great estimation he was of: he first beganne to deale in this forte with him. First he contraried all his counsells: and what matters soeuer he preferred, which he was desirous should haue taken effect, Agesilaus would none of that, but tooke some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of Lysanders followers came to make fute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto Lyfander: he fent them away without any thing done for them. In like case also in F matters of judgements, if Lysander were against any, they were sure to have the matter passe on their side. On the contrarie parte also, if Lyfander bare good will to the partie, and fauored

the cause to gratific himsthey hardly escaped from setting a fine of their heades. Agestians coniniting the feshewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently roall: Ly/ander looking into the cause, diffembled not with his frendes, but rold them plainly that it was for his fake they had those repulses and wronges, and therefore did counsell them rowaite apon the king, and those that had more credit then him selfe. Now Agefilans suppor fed hegaue that aduite to make every man to malice him: wherfore to despite him the more, hemade him distributer of his vittells, (& hauing done so) some say that he spake these words see the life of in open presence of many: nowe let them goe and honor my flein distributer. Lylander being Lylander grieued withall, fayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppreffe your trendes. And bodoe I, fayd Agefilans, how to keepe them under that would be greater than my felfe. It may

B bever, replied Lysander, I have not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceine of me putme I beseeche you in some place of charge or office, where I may doeyou good teruice without offence. After this talke betwene the, Agefilaus fent him into Hellespont, where hypractife he tooke prisoner a noble man a PERSIAN, called Spithridates, out of tharnabaprouince whereof he was Gouernor, and brought him to Agefilaus with a great furnise of golde and filuer, and neere about two hundred horfemen with him. All this notwithstanding. he forgate not his grudge to Agesilaus, but being offended stil, sought oportunitie and meanes mdefeate the two houses of the privilege of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and furely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of Sparta, had he not bene preueted by death, in a iorney he made into B OE.O T IA. Thus we fee, that ambitious mindes observing no meane, are in a common weale of trimes more hurt- Ambitions full than beneficiall. For though Lysander was in deede intollerable, to shew him selfe so amhirlous, and out of time: yet was not Ageflaus ignoraunt neither, that there were divers other rous in a commeanes leffe reprochful to punish such a noble man, that offended only by gredines of honor, mon wealth, But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfepassion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his frendes imperfection. Now Tilaphernes Agefiant

arthefirst being afrayed of Agefilaus, made league with him, colourably letting him vnder- dede in Afra, and the failethand that the king would be content to fet the cities of GRECE in Asia at liberty. Notwith
hood of Tilaflanding, when he thought he had gathered force fufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed phenes. warre. Agefilaus was very well content withall: for thexpectation was great of him through Dall Greet, that he would doe some noble exployt in this formey. Moreouer he thought him

felues: and that he which was the Lieutenaunt generall of the LACED & MONIANS (who at that time commaunded both sea and lande) should not doe some deede worthie memorie among the GRECIANS. Presently therefore to reuenge Tisaphernes periurie by just deceir, he made a countenaunce as though he would first inuade the contrie of Caria. Whereuppon, this barbarous person Tisaphernes, gathered all his power together. But Agestians on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into Phrygia, tooke there many cities, and wanne great fpoyle, making his men fee by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & aucwed by othe, was a facriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On thother fide also, that to Deguilo his enemies, it was not only just and honorable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now Arekhubeing weaker in horiemen than his enemy, and finding the liners of the beattes which he had facrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of EPHB SV s, and there gathered horse-

selle dishonored for euer, that the tenne thowsande GRECIANS which were returned backe

from the furthest parte of Asia, even vnto the sea Major (vnder the conduct and leading of

Kenophon their Captaine) had ouercome theking of Persiaes army as oft as they lifted the

men together, letting the richinen understand (which would not them seluces letter in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for fernice in their place. Many of them tooke that course, & by this meanes Agoffice within few dayes had leauted a great number of men of armes, in steade of footemen that could doe finall wast. feruice. For they that were viwilling to goe to the warres, did hier them that were willing to ferue in their place : and fuch also as would not ferue a horsebacke, did gene them pay that were desirous to serue in their steades. In this he wisely followed king deamengons example. who did diffense with the person of a riche coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

mare of him. Then Agefilans had commaunded them that fold the prisoners by the dronners taken in the warres, that they should strippe them naked, & so sell them: which they did. And fundry persons willingly bought their spoyles and rayment, but they scorned their bodies, is cause they sawe them white skinned, fost, and delicate: so that sewe men would out bid the price for them, for that they thought those men unprofitable and good for nothing. Aggillar also being present at this sale of purpose, sayd thus vnto his men. See, my frendes, quodbe these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoyles for the which yeshall fight. Time being come now to put him felfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies control againe, he gaue it out that he would enter L yo 14, not meaning to deceive Tifaphernes againe but Tisaphernes deceiued him selfe. For he being deceiued before by Agesilaus, gaue no credit to this fecond rumor, but perswaded him selfe that doutlesse Agesilaus ment then to enterin ! to CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woddie contrie, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, Agesilaus invading (as he had genen it out) the cham.

pion contry, in the which stoode S and is, the capitall city of Lydia: Tifaphernes was compel. led to come to reskue it in haft, and being come thither with great speede with his horsemen. he stale apon many of his enemies whom he found straggling out of order, spoyling the contrie, & put the most of them to the sword. Agesilaus having intelligence of this, imagined with him selfe that the sootemen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, & considering also that he

time any lenger. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed sootemen, and commaunded them straight to charge the enemy, whilest he caused the heavier armed meno follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled apon it immediatly: and the GRECIANS luftely following the chase, tooke their campe, & made great slaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leafure enough not only to spoyle & ouerrunthe

kinges contry at their pleasure, but also to see the reuenge taken of Tisaphernes, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemie to the GRECIANS. For the king of PERSIA made an other his Lientenaunt immediatly in his roome, called Tithraultes: who strake of Timphernes head, and sen vnto Agesilans to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of golde and film to departe out of his contrie. Thereto Agesilaus aunswered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACED EMONIANS: and that for his owne parte, it was an easier mater to enriche his fouldiers, than him felfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thoughtin

had his army whole about him: thought it best forthwith to bid him battel, rather the to delay

dishonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then spoyles. This notwithstanding, to gratifie Tithraustes somewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS: for the fumme of thirtie talentes genen him to defray his charges, he withdrue his army out of Lydia, and went into Phrygia. In his iorney he received from the council of LACED # MON, the Scytala, or scrolle of parchement wreathed about, aduertising himthan the citizens had made him also their Generall by sea, as he was by lande. Agestlans onely of all men obtained this honor, who without coparison was of all other the worthiest man of same

rall of all the in his time, as Theopompus witneffeth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his ver-Lacedamotue, than for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was to be blamed, when niani nauy, he made choyse of one Pisander his wives brother, to be Lieurenaunt of the navy, & forsooke ! other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: feeking rather to please his wife, and to aduaunce one of his kinne, than to regarde the weale and fafety of his contrie. Afterwards he led his army into Pharnabazas contrie which he had in charge, where he founde not onely

Agefilaus

plenty of all fortes of vittells, but gathered together also a wonderfull masse of money. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with kinge Congr. who for his vertue and constant fidelity, was very desirous of his frendship. The like did spithridates, forfaking Pharmabazsus, and came vnto Agefilaus: and after he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him wherefocuer he went. Spithridates hada young sonne that was passing faier, called Megabetes, (of whom Agessiaus had great liking) and likewife a fayer young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom Agefilaus canfed P king Cotys to marry. So, taking of king Cotys a thowfand horsemen and two thowsand sootemen light armed, he returned backe into Parygra, and there destroyed Pharnabazus contre

a which he had in government, who durft not meete him in the fielde, nor truft to his holdes. but still fled from him, carying all his chiefest thinges with him, flitting from place to place. untill that Spithridates, accompanied with Erippidas the SPARTAN, followed him fo neere. Agefilans that he tooke his campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did Erippidas shewe him selfe so make your ond hard and cruell, ouerstraightly searching out parte of the spoyle that had bene imbeaceled, of his semes. compelling the barbarous people to deliver it againe, ranfacking every corner for it; that Spi-

thridates was fo offended withall, that on a sodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him. and went backe vnto the citie of SARDIS. This more grieued Agefilaus, than any thing that happened to him in all his iorney: for that he had loft so valliant a man as Spithridates, and fuch a number of good fouldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afraved least n they would detect him of miferable couetoufnes, a thing which he euer was carefull to anoid. not onely in his owne persone, but also to keepe all his contriemen from it. But besides these knowen causes, the loue he bare to Spithridates sonne pinched him neerely:though when the how was with him, he striued with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection and defirehe had of him. For when Megabates on a time came to make much of him, & to kiffe him: Apellans turned his face from the boy. The boy being alhamed of the repulle, durit no more come to familiarly, but faluted him aloofe of. Agefilaus then repenting him that he had not fuffered Megabates to kiffe him, made as though he marueled why he did not kiffe him as he

was wont to doe. Then aunswered some of his familliars about him: your selfe, Oking, is in faulte, bicause you durst not tarie, but were afrayed to kille so fayer a boy. For if he knewe your minde, he would come againe, fo that you turned your face no more away. When Agefleus had heard them, he pawfed a while, and faid neuer a word, but in fine aunswered them: It shall not neede you say any thing to him, for it would doe me more good I could refuse such an other kiffe againe, then if all that I fee before me were golde. Thus was Agefilaus disposed whe Megabates was with him: but in his absence he did so loue him, that I dare scantly say, that if the boy had come againe into his presence, he would have refused a kisse at his hands. After that, Pharnabazus fought to speake with him, and one Apollophanes a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a frende vnto them both. Agefilaus was the first that met at the place appointed with his frends, and tarying for Pharnabazus comming, he layed him downe vpon

then spoyled and sacked by them. Ageislans then finding that the SPARTANS that were about

him at that meting, hong downe their heades for thame, not knowing how to aunswere him,

confidering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him: began to speake in this maner. Hereto-

belt service I can against you. This aunswere passingly pleased deeplass, who taking him by

the hand, and rifing up with him, fayd vnto him. I would with (my Lord Pharnabar withaning

Flo noble a minde as thou haft, that thou were rather our frend, then an enemy. So Pharnaba

zu departing from thence with his men, his sonne being left behinde ranne to Agestlaw, and fmiling told him. King Agesilans, I will make thee my frend: and therewith gave him a dart he

the depe graffe in the shadow, under a fayer great tree. Pharnabazus also came thither, & they The meeting De fored foft skinnes long heared, and tapeftry excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to of Agefiani firon apon the grounde. But being ashamed to see Agesilaus laied on the bare grounde in that bazus, force, he also lay downe by him, though he had vppon him a maruelous riche gowne, of excellent tiffue & paffing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, Pharmabazas be-

gan first to speake, and lacked no good perswassions & just complaints, for that he having bene (ashe was) a frende vnto the LACED EMONIANS in the warre against the AT BENTANS, was

fore when we were frendes with the king (my Lord i harnaba 7 113) we have vsed his goodes like declians E frends but now that we are his enemies like enemies we vie them: and fence we fee that thou worder union wiltneedes be a flaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his fake. But when though that "Pharmabalikerather to be a frend of the GRECIANS, then a flaue to the king of PERS rather make ac-

count, that all these fouldiers, this armor, our shippes, and all we are to defend thy goodes and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon Pharnabazus told him his minde plainly : furely, fayd he, if the king doe fende hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenaunt, befure I will then take your parte firaight. But on thother fiele, if he make me his Lieutenaunt in this warre; wruft to it, I will do him the

662 AGESILAVS. had in his hande. Sgefilaus tooke it of him, and liking well the beawtie of the young youth, and the curtefie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his secretarie Adeus horse, which had a rich capariffon on: he straight tooke it from him, and gaue the horse & furniture to this liuely youth Pharnabazus sonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunsed afterwardes that being driven out of his contrie by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, Agefilen made very much of him, and did not sticke to further him in his loue abroade. For he hada great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whome they brought vp in wrestling, one dayn play for the best games. But when he was growen a bigge man and strong, and that he came to offer him selfe to be billed with them that should wrastle at the games Olympicall, being in fome perill to be vtterly refused : this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto Agesilaus, and befought his helpe, that this wrastler might not receive the foyle to be reiected. Agesilambe. ing desirous to pleasure him, performed his request with some difficultie. Thus Agesslausin his frendes, was without

respect a

frend,

frend.

ing. Agefilaus

fayd,

all thinges else was a straight observer of the law but in his frendes causes to be straight laced in matters of iustice, he sayd that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their frendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his wrytten vnto Idrian, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his frende. If Nicias have not offended, lette him goe : if he have offended, then Agefilasus lespardon him for my fake. But howesoeuer it be, let him goe. This was Agestlaus manner in the most parte of his frends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out oftentimes, that he rather halfe of his inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driven to remoue in haste on a sodaine, and to leave one sicke behinde him whome he loued decrelie: the ficke man callinge him by his name as he was going his way, befought him thathe would not forfake him . Agefilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reporteth) turned backe Other read to againe, and fayed: O howe hard is it both to loue, and to be wife. Nowe had Agefilant fort hausepin, and two yeares in this warre, and was spoken of throughout Asia, beinge maruelously commended to the kinge him felfe, for his great honestie, his continencie, his curtesse and gesilaus sayplaine dealing. For when he rode out into the contrie with his owne trayne onely, he would euer lye in the holyest temples of the goddes : bicause he woulde the goddes them selves shoulde be witnesses of his private doinges, whereas commonly we are lothe that men

shoulde see what we doe. Furthermore, amongest so many thowsande souldiers as werein

his campe, there coulde hardlie be founde a worse mattriffe, then that him selfe did lyea.

pon euerie night. And as for heate and colde, he coulde as easilie awaie with either of

both, as if by constitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide anie weather and season.

But about all, it was a pleasaunt fight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in Asia, when they

fawe the great Lordes, the kinges Lieutenauntes of Persia, (which before were prowde,

cruell, riche, and geuen to all lust and pleasure) to honor and seare a man that wenty

and downe in a poore cape, beinge affrayed of euerie shorte worde that he spake like a La-

CONIAN: infomuch as many of them called to minde Timotheus the Poetes verses, who

As Mars hath no mercie, so Greece skorneth gold. Now all Asia being up and in garboile, they willingly yelding to him in every place, after E he had taken order with the cities, & had stablished the liberty of their comon weale, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to goe further, into the land, and transporting the warres from the sea coastes of GRECE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in

proper person, and with the wealth & happines of the ECBATANIANS and the Sysianians, and by that meanes to take his leafure from him, who fitting still before, made the GRECIANS make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the Gouernours of euery citic. In the meane time came Epycidas LACONIAN unto him, and brought him newes how Spar-TAWas grieuously troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: &that therefore the Ephori did fend for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his contri**e.**

Ah voretched Greece, hovv cruell flaughters haft Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee wvaft?

For how should a man otherwise call this enuie, treason, and citill conspiracie among the GRECIANS! Who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before turning their wartes against the barbarous people, out of GRECE, and now to bring inagainst themselues. Lampor of Demaratus opinion the CORINTHIAN, that fayd the GRE classicalight was taben from them, which fawe not Alexander the great fitting in Darmerovall throne obut rather I would thinke they should have wept to have left this honor vinto Alexander and the Mores DONIANS, fondly lofing formany famous Captaines of GREGE, at the battells of Lake cases of COKONEA, of CORINTHE, and of ARCADIA. Neverthelelle, Jeeflass never did better recommended

enterprise, which he had so happely begonne? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for

the faying of Demostratus PHEACIAN, who fayd, that the LACED EMONIAN'S in publicke

tric of THRACIA, and neuer intreated barbarous kinge nor people to suffer him to passe, but

only fent vnto them to know whether they would he should passe through their contries as a

frende, or an enemie. All contries and nacions else received him very honorably to their po-

mie. The king made him aunswere, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quod contret.

Agefilaus: we will goe on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldenes,

and fearing least he would doe him some hurte as he went : fent to pray him that he woulde

passethrough his contrie as a frend. Now it chaunced so that the THESSALIANS at that time

were in league with the enemies of the LACED EMONIANS: therefore as he passed through

their contrie, he did spoyle and forage it as his enemies contrie, and fent Xenocles and Seytha

F to the citie of LARISSE, hopinge to perswade them to take parte with the LACED EMONIE

ANS. Thefe two Ambaffadours were retained there as prifoners. The SPARTANS were mar-

ucloufly offended withall : and thought good that Agefilans should befrege LARISSE with his

and in his life, nor ever frewed better example of obedience and justice due to his contries bediences.

than he did in his returne home. For fithe Hanniball that beganne to have ill succession his wartes, being in manner driven out of IT A E 18, thought neuer (but compelled he returne 2, gaine into his contrie, to obey his contriement which called him home to defend the warre the ROMANES made at their owne dores: and that Alexander the great also being fent for home vppon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into MACHDONS but made a ieastatit, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaure contiouter had fought with kinge Agis, faying, me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are ouercomming of kinge Darius here, there hash bene a battell of tattes fought in ARCA-Sith then (Ifay) these two famous Captaines have made so little account of their contrie, may we not thinke the citie of Sparta bleffed to have had fuch a kinge, that fo much renerenced his contrie and obeyed the lawe as receiving onely a little scrolle of parchement commaunding him to returne, he forfooke a worlde of goodes and wealth that he quietly enioved (with affured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked foorthwith, leaving all the alies and confederates of his contrie verie forowefull, for that he had genen over fo noble an

matters were the worthiest men, and the ATHENIANS in private causes. For as he had shewed him felfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: fo was he alwaves curteous privately to his familiar frendes. And bicause the PERSIAN coyne was stamped on the one fide, with the print of an archer: Agefilaus being readie to departe, fayd, that Agefilaus tenne thow fand archers draue him out of Asia. For fo much was brought vnto THEBES and darke D ATHENS, and distributed among the Orators and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the Spart ans. In his return. Arefilaus having passed the straight of Hellespont, tooke his way through the con-

wer, faue the people called the TROCHALIAN'S, vnto whom king Xerxes him felfe gaue prefentes that he might paffe frendly through their contry: who fent vnto Agefilans to demaund ahundred filuer talentes, and a hundred women to fuffer him to passe through their contrie. But Agesslaus laughing them to scorne, aunswered againe: why, how chaunceth it that they Agesslaus de-F came not them selves to receive them? So therewithall he marched forwarde against these spins or debarbarous people who were ranged in battell raye to stoppe his passage: howebeit he ouer-barbarous threwe them, and flue a great number of them in the fielde. The like demaund he made vnto people, remethekinge of MACEDON, whether he should passe through his contrie as a frende, or an ene-ned home

army. But he auniwered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all T HE \$ \$41 IR A and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peraduenture this is not to be marueled at in Agefilaus, that newes being brought him on a time, that in great battell fought by the citie of CORINTHE, where were many worthie and valliant Cantaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS: he seemed not to rejoice at it. but rather to fetche a grieuous figh, faying. O poore GRECE, how vnfortunate art thou to have

Pharfalians

flaine with thine owne handes so many valliant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioynine together, might at one field have ouercome all the barbarous people. The Phars allansha rying and troubling the rereward of Agefilans armie, he put foorth five hundred horsemen which gaue them so lustie a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, hefe vp tokens of triumphe apon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleased him a aboue all the rest, bicause with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of him selfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory & pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, where of they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came Diphridas one of the Ephores vino him, fent of purpose from Sparta, to commaund him immediatly to inuade B OF OT IA with his armie. Nowe though Agesilans intended some other time with a greater power to enter BOE OTIA, yet bicause he would not disobey the counsells commaundement of Sparta; he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of Asia, was at hande, and therefore he fent for two companies of them which lay in campe by CORINTHE, The LACEDEMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honor Agefilaus for that he had obeyed their commaundement fo readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as wereden c rous to goe aide the king, should come and enter their names. Notwithstanding, they only chose but fiftie of the valliantest among them, and sent them vnto him. In the meane time. gefilaus passed through the contrie of THER MOPYLES, and coasting ouer the lande of Pro-CYDE, confederates to the LACED EMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the citie of CHERONEA: where immediatly after his arrivall, he fodainly faw the funne eclipsed and darkened in the facion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of Pe fander vnto him, who was flaine in a battell which he loft by fea, fighting against Pharmabarn

Gnides. Agefilans

the funne. Pifander,

Generall of

flaine in bat-

she navie

banell with the Thebans.

and Conon, hard by the Ile of GNIDOS. These newes were very heatie vnto him, both for respect of the person his kinseman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the The Hands of common wealth. Neuerthelesse, searing his souldiers would be discoraged with the news, D and become faint harted, being ready to joyne battell he commaunded them that came from the sea, to brute abroade a contrarie tale to that they tolde him, and he him selfe to make good their speache, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and didlacrifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, sending to every one of his frends a peece of flesh facrificed, as he commonly vsed to doe, in any publike cause of iov. Then marching forward, he straight discouered his enemies farre of, and they likewise him & therupon put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading him felle the right wing. The Theban's on thother side, placed them selues in the right wing of their armie, and gaue the left vnto the ARGIVES. Xenophon being at that battell on Agefilaus fide, wryteth that he neuer knewe of the like fielde fought. At the first onset, the conflict wasnot E great betwene both, neither helde long, bicause the Thebans brake the Orchomenians straight, and Agesilaus the ARGIVES. But when either side understoode that the left winges of their battells were in great distresse, and that they turned their backes: they returned sodainly againe. And where Agefilaus might eafily have had the victory without any daunger, if he had fuffred the squadron of the enemies to passe by him, and afterwards to have charged themin the rereward: of a noble corage to shew his valliantnes, he gaue charge apon the voward, to haue honor in ouercoming them. The THEBANS on the other fide no leffe valliantly received him, & fought lustely on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agesilans person, with the fifty young men that were fent to gard him, who shewed the selues very valliant. Agesilans was fore hurt, notwithstanding their valliant resistance, his armor being passed thorow with their F pikes & swords in fundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongst the, & kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of the, & many of them selues also being killed.

A Infine, finding the THEBANS too strog in the voward they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening them selues, gaue them passage thorow them. So when they were paffed them, the Spartans perceiuing howe lotely and diforderly they marched, as thinking them selues out of all daunger, followed them, and gaue charge apon their flancke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie: for they rejoycing for their victorie at this batrell, retired faver and foftely vnto the mountaine Helicon. But Agefilaus, notwithstanding he Heliconmons. was very fore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreffed The worthing

before he had bene first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seene his men that

were flaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the teple of Minerua Itonian, which was not farre from thence: (where also were lette up tokens of tri- The semple of B umphe offred vnto her long time before by the Therans, when they had ouercomen the armie of the ATHENIANS, vnder the conduct of Sparton their Captaine, and had flaine also Tolmides their Captaine in the fielde) he commaunded his men they should lette them goe where they would. The next morning by breake of day, Agefiland defirous to fee if the THE-RANS had any corage to come downe to fight againe: commaunded his fouldiers to put garlandes apon their heades, and his musitians to sounde their shalmes or pipes, whilest he did fette vp a token of triumphe as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies fendinge to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were played, he made a folemne procession and common facrifice vnto Apollo, and offered him the tenth parte of all his spoyles which he had brought out of Asia, which amounted to the summe of an hundred talentes. This thing done, he returned into his contrie, where he was greatly honored and esteemed of all his citizens and contrie men, for his orderly life and noble behaviour : for he was no chaungeling, but the felfe fame man in state The confluence & condicion that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not him felfe into stran- of Assistant gers manners, as commonly other Captaines doe, that returne out of a farre contrie where they have made warres; neitheir did he fcorne his contrie facions, or shewed him felfe difobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and observed them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in walking or bathing, in his wives apparell, in his armory.

or any way else in his householde stuffe, as if he had never passed over the river of Eurotas.

Cleara, one of his daughters called Apolia, and the other Prolyta. Moreouer, Agefilana speare wife of king

is seene to this day in the citie of Sparta, even like vnto others, and no maner of difference. Apolia, and

steeming them selves about others, bicause they kept horse in their stable : perswaded his fi- silaus daugh-

E Now Agestlans perceiuing certaine citizens of Sparrato stand vpon their reputacion, and e- Prolysa Age-

D Yet further, he left his olde gates standing that were of so great continuaunce, that they were thought to be those which Aristodemus had set vp. Xenophon also sayeth, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more sumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACE+ Canathrum DEMON, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likenesse of griffins', hartes, or goates: a- what it is, pon the which they caried younge wenches in folemne processions in the citie. Xenophon wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agefilaus: and Dicaarehus also was much offended, that they neither knewe Agefilaus daughters name, nor yet the mother of Epaminondas. Yet we finde in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that Agessians wives name was cleare, the

fter Cynifca to fend her coche and coche horses to the Olympian games to runne for the best tern prife, only to let the GRECIANS fee that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore having Xenophon the Philosopher about him, whome he loued and made Xenophon, great account of, he perswaded him to send for his sonnes to LACED & MON, that they might great about be brought vp there, where they should learne the noblest science that men coulde possiblie Agestians. learne, to write : to obey, and to commaunde. When Ly/ander was dead, Agefilaus at his The mattile

returne out of Asia, founde a great faction and conspiracie raised by his meanes against of Lylander him in Spart a: and bicause it might appeare what manner of citizen Lyfander was when he F lived, he was likely to have openly shewed and declared an Oration which he founde among mem.

his wrytinges (the which the Orator Cleon Halicarnaffeus had wrytten for him, and Lyfander should have cunned without booke, to have spoken in open assembly that was to stirre innofome of them to be fent as Lieurenaunt of army, or otherwise to have charge in the warres. In

fine, he made it openly knowen, what couctous and wicked men they had bene in their char-

ges: fo that when they were accused of it before the counsell, he would than helpe & intrease

for them, By this meanes he made them againe his frendes, where they had bene his enemies

league, whose father had bene banished : he being a very young man, and of gentle nature.

medled not greatly with gouernment of the common wealth. Neuertheleffe, he so behaued

him felfe vnto Agefilaus, that he made him his verie good frende : for both the kinges when

they were in the citie, did eate together in one halle. Then Agesilaus knowing that Agesipolis

(as him felfe) was geuen to loue, would euer minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes

their fafetie. Afterwardes when Agefilans was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games: and there were some of them which having wonne the game D

at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victours before, were this

uation, and in maner have made a chaunge of the whole government of the common wealth A The mife con. of LACED & MON. Howebeit there was a grave counseller that having red the oration, and fell of a Send-douting the appearant reasons and perswasions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wishe him not to plucke vo the dead againe out of his grave, but rather to burie this oration together ther were, or had bene his enemies, he did the no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make

The policie of with his bodie. Agesilans liked the counsell, and proceeded no further. And for them that e. Agefilasu 10

Agefilaus, & infomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king Agefipolis his col.

she army by

of the citie, intifing him to loue some one of them, which he him selfe did loue; and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN loues there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honest condicions: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lycurgus, Ageslaus by this meanes havinge the whole authoritie (aboue all men in the citie) in his handes: (Telemias, A. made his halfe brother Teleutias Generall by sea, and him selfe with the armie by land wento beliege the citie of CORINT HE, where with his brothers helpe by fea he tooke the long walls of the same. The Argives which kept Corinthe at that time, at Agestlaus arrivall there

were solemnisinge the feast of the Isthmian games : who made them flie, euen as they came from facrificing vnto the god Neptune, driving them to leave all their preparation and folemnity. Then divers banished men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, befought him thathe woulde keepe these Isthmian games. But he denyed them, yet was contented they shoulde them selues solemnize them, and so him selfe remained there, during the time of the seast for

shegmes of Agefilau.

fecond time ouercome. Whereupon Agefilaus fayd, that the ARGIVES shewed them selves rancke cowardes, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and sacrifices, they dust not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For him selfe, touchinge such like sportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, & not to be too curious. Forhe was contented to honor such solemne affemblies and common feastes with his presence, as were commonly vsed in Sparta, & tooke great pleasure to see the sportes between the yong boves and girles of Sparta: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that Callipides an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the GRECIANS for a singular man in that arte) E meeting Agesilaus on a time, at the first did his duetie to him, and then arrogantly thrust him felfe among ethem that walked with him, thinking the king would have made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenaunce to him, in the end he asked him: O king Agelilans, doe you not know me? Agefilaus looking apon him, aunswered: what, art not thou Callipides the stage player? And so made no further account of him. An other time beinge desired to heare a man that naturally counterfeated the nightingalls voyce : he would not heare him, faying, I have oftentimes heard the nightingall it selfe. An other time also when Menecrates the Phisitian (hauing by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called him selfe Impiter, and arrogantly vsurped that name, presuminge in a letter he wrote vnto Agesilaus, to subscribe it in this manner, Menecrates Iupiter, vnto king Agefilaus, greeting: Agefilaus wrote againe vn- F to him, Agefilaus vnto Menecrates * health. So, whilest Agefilaus was in the territorie of Coprefumptions. RINT HE (where he had taken the temple of Iuno) beholding his fouldiers forraging & spoiling

A the contrie rounde about : Ambassadors came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwayes hated the THEBANS, and belides that thought it then very requisite for the good successe of his doinges, to make light of it : seemed as he neither heard nor faw them that spake vnto him. But euen at that very instant, as by diuine renenge to crie quittance, there fell a great mishappe vpon him. For before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were flaine

enery man by Iphicrates: which was the greatest losse that they in long time before had susteined. For they lost a great number of valliant souldiers, all naturall LACED & MONIANE: who heing well armed euery man, were flaine by naked or light armed hierlinges. Thereupon Agesilaus went straight into the field with hope to saue them, or at the least to be reuenged. But a receiving certaine intelligence by the way that they were all slaine, he returned againe to the remple of Juno from whence he came, and then fent for the Ambassadors of the Bobotians, to geue them audience. But they, to requite his former disdaine vnto them, made no manner offpeache of peace, but onely requested him to fuffer them to enter into CORINTHE. Ageslaus being offended, aunswered them: if it be to see your frendes triumphe of their victorie.ve may fafely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaffadors with him. hedestroyed the CORINTHIANS contrie, even to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaffadors fee, that the citizens of Corint He durst not come out into the field to defend their contrie: he gaue them leave to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowen, which by flight had escaped : he brought them into LACED & MON a-C. gaine, alwayes remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, bicause the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) should not reloyce at their losse. After this vovage. to gratefie the ACHAIANS, he entred in with them into the contry of ACABNANIA, & brought Agefilam ogreat spoyles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battel. Moreouer, when the A CHA- Mercane the IANS befought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from fowing of their grownd: he made them aunswere he would not. For slayde he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fieldes shall be sowen with corne: and so in deede it came to passe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, Pharnabazus and Conon, with the king of PERSIAES armye, being Lordes of

part of his shame: for Antalcidas that was his enemie, sought all the meanes he could to con-

clude this peace, for that he faw warre did daily increase the authoritie, honor, and fame of A-

being asked in great anger, at whose commaundement he had done that sodaine enterprise:

to lay all the suspition of the facte apon him: Agesilaus for Phaebidas discharge, letted not open-

ly to say, that the qualitie of the facte was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for

F the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thingfallinge out profitable

the sea without let of any, destroyed and spoyled all the coast of LACONIA. Moreover, the city D of ATHENS did reare up her walls againe by helpe of Pharnabazus money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereuppon the LACED EMONIANS thought good to make peace with the

king of Persia, and to that ende fent Antalcidas Ambassadour vnto Tiribazus, most shamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRECIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whose libertie Ageflaus had made warres with him before. So, it was Agefilaus happe not to be foyled with any

gefilaus. Notwithstanding, he aunswered one then, that reproued him for that the LACED .E-HONIANS did fauor the Medes: no, sayd he, they do not so, but the Medes doe play the La-CED & MONIANS. Neuertheles, threatning warreto all the GRECIANS, which would not agre to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But furely he did this chiefly for respect of the THEBANS, to thende that they being enfor-

ced by the capitulations of the peace, to fet the contry of Boho Tinat libertie againe, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soone after by that that followed. For Phabidas Phabidas pof having committed a fowleacte, in open peace to take the castell of the citie of THEBES, called select fallow Cadmea, offending thereby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPART ANS them selves also not being very well pleased withall, and those specially which were Agesilaus enemies) Phaebidas

for his contry to do it of his owne head without commaundement. All this notwithstanding. he was wont to fay in private talke, that inflice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therefore Agrilland

KKK iiii

668 AGESILAVS. that valiantnes without inflice was of no validity, and that if all men were infl, valiantnes was a of no estimation. And to them that tolde him, the great king will haue it so: Why, saydhe and wherein is he better then my felfe, if he be not infter? Iudging very wifely therein, the they should esteeme a king (whether he were of great or small power) by his justice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded the king of Persia having fenthin a prinate letter desiring his frendshippe, Agesslaus refused it, saying that common frendshippe was enough between them, and that they should neede none other, so long as that was kent But this notwithstanding, when it came to the poynt of performance, he went from his lift good opinion, and gaue place to his will & ambition, specially against the THEBANS, at that time when he did not only faue Phaebidas, but also procured the citie of Sparta to takethe fault apon them which he had committed, and to instific it, by keeping the castle of Cadmes ftill, and making Archias and Leontidas Gouernours of the citie of THEBES, by whom Phelia das came by the castell of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon enery man thought straight that Phabidas was he that had put the matter in execution, & that Agefilans gaue the counfel to do it: as thinges falling out afterwardes, did manifestly proue the suspicion true. For after that the THEBANS had driven the garrison of the LACED EMONIANS out of the castell of Cadmea, and restored their citie againe to libertie, burdening them that they had traiterous ly slaine Archias and Leontidas (who in deede were tyrannes, though in name Gouernors) he

Sphodrias take the ha-

made warre with them : and Cleombrotus, raigning then king with him after Agesipolis death. was sent before into Bor otta with an armie, Agesilaus was dispensed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reason of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the first c growth of heare on his face, & therefore went not that iorney: being ashamed that the THE-BANS should now see him fight to reuege the tyrans deathes, who had but a little before taken armes for the banished men, against the PHLIASIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called Sphodrius, of the contrarie faction vnto Agefilaus, and was then Gouernour in the citie of THESPIES, a valliant and stowt man of his handes, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good judgement. He defiring fame, and supposing that Phaebidas came to dignitie and great estimation through his valliant enterprise at THEBES: perswaded him selfe that he shoulde winne much more honor, if of him felfe he tooke the hauen of Piræa fodainly stealing apon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them of by that meanes from al trade by fea. It was thought commonly that this was a practife deutled by Pelopidas and Gelon, Gouernours of Bonoria, D who had allured certaine men to faine them selues very deuout and frendly to the LACEDE-MONIANS. These men praising and extollinge Sphodrias to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthie as him selfe alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that tretcherous winning of the castell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with leffe hardines and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriassum, where he made account to have bene at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermoreit is reported, that the men he brought with him seeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all afrayed and amazed: yea he him selse also sainted perceininghe was discourred, and so returned backe with shame and dishonor to the citie of THESPIES, E Sphedrias ac- without any exployt done, fauing only a little spoyle taken. Thereupon accusers were straight cofed fires fent from ATHENS VIITO SPARTA, who apon their arrivall found that they needed not to accuse him, for that the counsell and Gouernours of the citie had already sent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of hie treason, But he durst not returne to Sparta, fearing the furie of his contriemen, thinking in deede that they would feeme as though the wronge had bene done to them, bicause it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This Sphodrius had a sonne called Cleonymus, a very fayer boy, with whome Archidamus (Agestlan sonne) was farre in loue : who then was maruelous sorie to see this boy he loued, in so great daunger to lose his father, & yet durst not be seene to helpe him, bicause Sphodrias was one of Agefilaus aduerfaries. Notwithstanding, Cleonymus making his mone to him with the teares in F his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father Agefilaus (whome they feared aboue all men elfe) Archidamus followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durft not breake the

a matter to him: in fine, the day of the next festion being at hand, when judgement should be Home Sobiegener of Sphodrias, he boldly ventered to rell him, howe that Cleanymus had prayed him to be driamas for an humbler futer to him touching his fathers fact. Agefilaus understanding that his some loned Chammus, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, bicaufe the boy even from his childehoode gaue alwayes good hope that one day he would fure make as honest a man as any other whatfocuer : neither made he any countengunce to his fonne, as though he would doe any thing at his fute, but onely sunfwered him, for that, he would doe 49 became him in fuch a cale. Whereupon, Archidamus being balhefull, left commung any more to Eleonymus. where before he would fee him oftentimes in a day . This made sphodrias frendes dispaire of his life more then before, vittill Etymoeles, one of Agefilaus familiars talking with shom, tolde them that for the facte it felfe, Agefilaus thought it a thamefull deede, and as much milliked it

as might be: but for sphodrias felfe, that he tooke him for a valliant man, & faw that the common wealth had neede of men of such service. This was Agestlaw common talke to please his fonne, when any man came to fpeake to him of Sphodrias acculation. Infomuch that Cleonimus found straight that Archidamus had delt as faithfully and frendly for him as might be, and then Sphodrias frendes also tooke hart againe ynto them, to solicite his cause, and to be earnest futers for him . Agefilaus among other had this speciall propertie, that he loued his children Auctianus deerely; and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his house when they were sockering his lideones, and ride apon a little cocke horfe, or a reede, as a horsebacke. Infomuch as a frende much. of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he prayed him to fay Cnothing, till he had little children him felfe. In fine, Sphodrias was quit by his judges. The A-THEN IANS VINDERSTANDING IT, Sent to proclaime warre with the LACEDEMONIANS. Whereunon Ageillaus was much reproued, bicause that to please the fonde affection of his sonne, he had hindered inflice, & brought his citie to be accused among the GRECIANS for such grie-

nous crimes. Agefilaus perceiuing that king Cleombrotus his companion went with no verie Agefilaus in-

it was not for any knowen offence to the state, but for very spite & private malice of his owne.

that he fought to vidoe the Thebans in this maner: and that to follow his humor, they con-

fumed them selves going yearely to the warres one while this way, an other while that way,

without any necessitie at all, following a few LACED & MONIANS, them selies being alwayes

occupie. Then Agefilaus laughing at them, loe, my frendes fayd he: doe ye not fee now that

good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order fet downe for leading of ney into Basthe army, which was kept before, went to the warres him felfe in person, & so inuading Bot or TIA he both received and did great hurt. Wherupon Antaleidas feeing him hurt one day now truely (fayd he) the Thes and have paide you your deserved hier, for teaching them against antaleids their wills to be fouldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in dede they fay the THE- faying. Deans became better fouldiers and warriours than they were before, being dayly trained and exercised in armes, through the continual invasions of the LACED EMONIANS, Loe, this was the reason, why the olde father Lycurgus in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make Rhema of Lywatre too oft with one selfe people, bicause that by compulsion they should not be made expert fouldiers. For this cause did the confederats of LACED E MON hate Agestians, saying, that

the greater number. Then it was, that Agestlaus desiring to make the see what number of men F. of warre they were, yied this deuise. On a time he commaunded all the allies to sit downe to- Agestians for gether one with an other by them felues, & the LACED & MONIANS also by them selues. Then till design to gemer one with an other by them tenus, or the Lace of the state of the were vp, he made him crie to the braffers to rife also. After them in like maner, the carpinters: she allies, then the masons, & so consequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamacion, were all in maner on their feete. The LACED E-MONIANS, not one of them role: bicause all base mechanicall crastes were forbidden them to

webring moe fouldiers to the field, than ye doe? At his returne from this iorney of THEBES, passing by the city of MEGARA, as he went up into the counsell house within the castell, there Agestians fell F fodainly tooke him a great crampe in his left legge, that swelled extreamely, and put him to fedainly ficke great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vaine: a Philitian of Sy- of a date RACVSA in Sicile being there, straight opened a vaine under the ankle of his foote, which

made the paine to cease: notwithstanding there came such aboundance of blood, that they could not stanche it, so that he sounded oft, & was in great daunger of present death. In fine a way was found to stoppe it, and they caried him to LACED & MON, where he lay sickealing time, fo that he was past going to the warres any more. The Spartans in the meanetime received great overthrowes both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest overthrow was at the battell of Levernes, where the Thebans ouercame and flue them in plaine bat.

tell. Then the GRECIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereuppon came Ambassadors and the Deputies from all the cities of GRECE, & met at LACED ENGR Epaminondas to that ende. One of these Deputies was Epaminondas, a notable learned man, and a famois Philosopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He seeing how the other Ambassadors curried his uor with Agestlaus, only he of the rest kept his grauety to speake freely, and made an Oration, dor unto Lanot for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRECE in generall, declaring to them all, how warre did only increase the greatnes & power of the citie of Sparta, and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and townes of GRECE: and for this cause, that he did counsell them all to conclude a good and perfit peace indifferently for all, to the ende it might continewether

lenger, when they were all alike. Agesilans perceiuing then that all the GRECIANS presents the affemblie gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him speake thus boldely of peace The first be- asked him openly, if he thought it mete and reasonable, that all BOBOTTA should be set clere 13 Agest Agest at libertie againe? Epaminondas presently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it instead namend as for requisite to set all LACONIA clere againe at liberty? Agesiland being offended therwith stoods the themise of vpon his feete, and commaunded him to aunswere plainly, whether they would fet all Bose of TIA at libertie or not? Epaminondas replied vnto him with the felfe speache againe, and asked

nians flaine.

she fonne of

Sphodriss,

Xenophons

faying.

Cleonymus

greement, that then they should trie it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take voal quarells among them. King Cleombrotus by chaunce was at that time in the contrie of Pho D CIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he should forthwith spoyle the THE-BANS contrie: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fansie to the iorney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durft not refuse to goe, nor disobey the LACED EMONIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many signes presaging ill lucke, as we have wrytten in the life of Epaminondas, and that Prothous LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this warre all that he could: Agesilans would needes forward, hoping he had nowe found oportunity to be reuenged of the THEBANS, fith all GRECE besides was in peace and at libertie, them selves onely exempted from treateof peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very shortnes of time, that made it manifest enough that this warre was begonne in a geere, without any manner of reason. For the E generall peace amongest the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, monianuflaine and the LACED & MONIANS WERE QUERCOME at the battell of LEVCTRES the fifteene of lune as the bassell so as there was but twentie dayes between them. There were slaine a thowsand LACEDEMO-NIANS with their king Cleombrotus, and the choicest of the valliantest Spartans about him, Cleombrosus Amongest them was also slaine that goodly young man Cleonymus, Sphodrias sonne, of whom king of the Lacedemowe spake before: who having bene beaten downe thrise at the kings soote, three times got vp

againe, but at the length was flaine, valliantly fighting against the THEBANS. This great out-

throwe chaunfing to the LACED EMONIANS villooked for, and withall fo glorious a victoric

unto the Thebans, as Grecians fighting with Grecians had neuer the like: the vanqui-VITO THE L HEBANS, AS DAR TA NOTWITHSTANDING Commendacion for her F

fortitude and worthinesse, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as Xenophon wryteth,

him whether they would fet all LACONIA at liberty or rot. That nettled Agefilaus fo, that he

fides he was glad of fuch a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) hepre-

fently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of those, which should have bene com-

prised within the league, and cried open warres apon them in the market place. For thereft

he licensed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of GRECE to departe, with

this conclusion: that they should louingly take order among the selues for the controuers

between them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to fucha-

euer some thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen so in like case, no lesse, but rather more, ought noble mens wordes to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduerfitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chaunse there was a common feast day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of straungers that came to see the daunses & sportes of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arrived that brought the newes of the battell loft at LEVCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor straight ranne all a- The confliction bout, that they were all vidone, and how they had loft the fignorie and commaundement o- and formula uer all GRECE: would not fuffer them for all this to breake of their daunse in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to chaunge the forme of their feaft, but fent vnto the parentes to euerie mans house, to let them vnderstande the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they them selves remaining still in the Theater to see the daunses and sportes continued, to judge who caried the best games away. The next morning when euerie man knewe the number of them that were flaine, and of those also that were escaped: the parentes and frendes of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking cheerefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On thother fide, the parentes of them that scaped, kept their houses with

numinondas glorying in his victorie, would inuade PELOPONNES VS: then they beganne to be

pricked in conscience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to

their citie, for that they had thrust out of the kingdome a man perfect in limmes, to place an

impotent person, being specially warned by the goddes to beware of that aboue all thinges.

This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valliantnes, and his authoritie

was fuch thereby, that they did not onely vie him in warre, as their king and soueraine Cap-

ofwarre: they referred them selves altogether vnto Azesilaus, to take such order in it as he

thought good. But Agesilaus then, without chaunging or altering any thing of the lawe, savd

in open affemblie at LACED EMON: that for that day they should let the law alone, notwith-

standing, that afterwardes it should stand in force. By this policie he kept the lawe inuiolate.

and faued also the honor of those poore men: and withall, to put these youthes againe in

hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the contrie of ARCADIA, and would

they neuer faw enemies in their contrie that durst inuade them: but then they facked & burnt tenshow families in their contries that durst inuade them:

their wives, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses, for any matter of necessitie: ye should see him looke so heavily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Besides all this, euen amongest the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of the that kept their sonnes which The fortinade came from the battell, were fad and forowfull, and spake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of the Sparian of them that were flaine, went frendly to vifite one an other, to reloyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates beganne to forsake them, and did dayly looke that E-

taine; but in ciuill causes also wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduife. As they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Trefantas, (being a great number of them, and Trefantas be men of the noblest houses and of greatest power within the citie) least they should moue some faint barted

flurre or commotion among them. (For by lawe, they can beare no office in the common men wealth. It is shaine and reproche to geue them any wines, and also to marrie any of theirs. Punishment Whofoeuer meeteth them may lawefully strike them, and they must abide it, and not geue comendity frink them a word againe. They are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with dies. cloth of divers colours: and worst of all, to shave the one side of their beardes, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the lawe according to the infamie they deserved, specially then standing in neede of a great number of men

gene no battell, but onely tooke a small citie of the Mantinians, and foraged the contrie. This againe did a litle revine the citie of Spart a with some hope, to make that it should not vtterly dispaire. But shortly after, Epaminondas inuaded the contrie of LACONIA, with fortie thowfand footemen well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoyle: so that in all, there were about three score and imadeth Latenne thowfande fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well neere conia with fixe hundred yeares fith the DORIANS pofferfed LACEDEMON, and in all that time till then three fore &

all that came in their way, enen vnto the riner of Euroras, and hard adioyning vnto Sparre and no man durst come out to refust them. For Agesilaus (as Theopompus wryteth) would the fuffer the LACED & MONIANS to goe out to fight against fuch a tempest and furie of warrely hauing fortified the middest of the citie, and garded enery end of the streetes with souldiers he paciently bare all the bragges and threates of the THEBANS, which challenged him outm fight, and bad him come into the fielde to defende his contrie, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having him selfe procured this warre. If this went to Agesilaus hart, no lesse grieuous were these troubles to him that rose within the citie. As the cries and running toe and froe of the old men, which were mad to see that they did before their eyes: and offer women also, which no grounde nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as straughtof their wittes, to heare the noise the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fieldes ouer. Much more sorowefull also did this make him, when as he bethought him selfe. that entring into his kingdom at fuch time as the citie of Sparta was in the greatest prospe. ritie that euer it was, he now faw his honor eclipsed, and the glorie of his kingdom ouerthro. wen: and the rather, for that him felfe had often auaunted, that LACONIAN women hadne. Certainte with uer seeme the smoke of any enemies campe. And as they say of Antalcidas one day, that hear fivered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valliantnesse of one an others man

tion, alleaging for him felfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driven the LACED EMONIANS

from the river of Cephefus. It is true, faid the LACONIAN: but we did neuer drive you from

the river of Eurotas. The like aunswere made a meane man of Sparta, to one of the At-

Antalcidas being one of the Ephori at that time, did fecretly fende his children into the Ileof

CITHERA, fearing least the citie of SPARTA should be taken. Agestlans perceiving that thee nemies forced to passe ouer the river, to enter the citie: he stoode to desend the middle paste

of the citie, being the hieft place of the same, and there had his men sette in order of battell.

Now at that time, by chaunce the river of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinarie, by

GIVES that cast him in the teeth, there are divers of your LACONIANS buried in the conties. of Argolide: fo are there none of yours, fayd he, buried in Laconia. It is reported, that

Constiracies ai Lacede-Agrillaus. Unium the temple of

Diana.

reason of the snowe waters that fell aboundantly : which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldnes, then roughnes of the same, in passing it ouer. Some shewing Agelitaus how Eseminond as marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer of him, faving neuer a word but this onely: O, what a noble fellowe is that ? Epaminonda i having done all that he could possible to geue the LACED & MONIANS battell, even within the citie selfe of Sparta, that he might there have set vp some tokens of triumphe, he could neuer intife Azelilaus to come out of his forte: wherefore he was driven in the ende to departe thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the contrie. There fell out a conspiracie of two hundred men in Spart a, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the citie where the temple of Diana stoode, called Isforium, a place of strong scituacion, and ill to distresse. Hereuppon the LACED & MONIANS in surie would straight have fet apon them. But Agesslaus fearing great mutinie and sturre apon it: commaunded that no man should sturre: and him selfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them A fine dewife that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed my commaundement. This is not the E place I appointed you to affemble in, neither all of you in one place : for I willed you to difperfe your felues, some one way, some an other way, shewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing these wordes, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied and so leaving that strength, went into those partes of the citie that he had shewed them, 4gesilam then bringinge others thether, possessed the forte of Issorium, and tooke sisteene of those conspiratours, and put them to death the next night followinge. Howebeit then there brake out an other conspiracie farre greater than the first, of the Spartans them selves which were fecretly gotten together into a house, to make some sodaine sturre and garboyle, and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on thother side to neglect it, the conspiracie was ouer daungerous. Agesslaw having consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to F death, without any judgement of lawe, neuer Spart and before them suffering death, with out due order of law. Againe, whereas divers of their neighbours, & of the Ilotes them felues,

A (whom they had billed in their bandes for fouldiers) stale away, and ranne to their enemies. which did much discorage them that remained : he warned his men that they should eueric day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they shoulde take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, bicause they should not knowe the names of them that were fled in this force. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, some fay that they went out of LACONIA by The departure reason of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS discharged their bandes, of the Theand enerie one departed his way in disorder. Others also holde opinion, that they continued Laconia. there three monethes together, during which time they destroyed the most parte of the con-

mined to departe, there came one Phrixus a Spartan vnto them, fent from Agefilans, who

brought them tenne talents that they should departe out of their contrie. Thus had they mo-

ney genen them to defraye their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them felues had long before determined to have done. And yet doe I wonder, howe it is possible that all

other historiographers knewe nothing of this, and that Theopompus onely could tell of it. All

continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfet presently, and so putteth

all in daunger: euen fo Lycurgus having framed a perfect state of government in the common

wealth of Sparta, to make her citizens live in peace and amitie together: when they did

they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which Thursdides describeth: igree much as

the Ephori only fent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered any wifter.

meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they

viderstoode Archidamus came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the ci-

tie, but the father him felfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for iby,

and after him all the other Magiltrates and officers of the citie and a fwarme of old folke both

men & women came downe to the rivers fide, holding up their hands to heaven, & thanking

the goddes, as if their citie had redeemed and recourred her thame and loft honor, and be-

ganne nowe to rife againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, fome fay, that the husbandes

which was as great as all LACONIA felfe, and that for goodnesse and fertilitie compared with

the best partes of all GRECE, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And

this was the cause why Agesilaus would not agree to the peace, which the Thebans sent to offer him: and all bicause he would not relinquish that in wordes, which the enemies kept in.

deedes. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without

recovering the thing he looked for, but had in maner also lost the citie of SPARTA by a war-

like stratageame, in the which he was deceived. For the MANTINIANS being newly revolted

againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and having fent for the LACED EMONIANS: Epa-

ttie. Theopompus wryteth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS having deter-

doe acknowledge truely, that Agefilaus onely was the cause that the citie of Sparta was fa- Agefilaus saued; who leaving his ambition and felfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely fore- wed the cith feetheir fafetie. Neuertheleffe, after this great ouerthrowe, he could neuer raife Sparta 2gaine to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole bodie, which having acquainted it selfe

enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good lawemaker thought vnmeete to continue happie life: they were straight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke, By this time Agefilaus was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for verie age: but his fonne Archidamus, with the aide which Dionylius the tyranne of Syrac v sa fent vnto them, wanne a battell against the ARCADIANS, called the tearelesse battell: for there dyed not one of his The travelesse men, and they flue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely shewed the great based of Armen, and they flue a great number of their enemies. This victoric plantery increased in great weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the citie of Sparta, For in former times it was so common a thing chidanus, or weakeneffe and decate of the cities vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did factifice nothinge else to the the Areadistin goddes in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke; and they that had fought the The Laceds-D battell made no boast of it: neither did they that hard the newes reioice greatly at it. For when mort agent or e-

E durft not boldly looke their wines in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great loffes and miferable estate. Now the citie of MESSINA being by Epaminondus reedified and replenished Meffinarewith people, he called home againe out of all partes, the natural inhabitants of the fame. The fored againe SPART ANS durft not fight with him (not to hinder his purpose) though it spighted them to the hartes, and were angrie with Agefilaus, for that in his raigne they had loft all that territory,

minondas receiving intelligence that Agefilans was departed from Sparta with all his po- A wer to aide the MANTINIANS, marched away fecretly by night from TEGEA, without the Driuitie of the MANTINIANS, and went straight to SPARTA, the which he had almost surprise fed on the fodgine (going an other way then Agefilaus came,) being in manner without men to defende it. Howebeita Thespian called Euthynus, as Callifthenes fayth, (or as Xenophus writeth, a CRETAN,) brought Agesilaus newes of it : who dispatched a horseman straight

to advertise them of the citie of SPARTA, and marching forward him selfe to returne, staved not longe after before he arrived. He was no fooner come, but incontinently also came the THE BANS, who passing ouer the river of Eurotas, gave assault to the city. Then Agesilans per-Agefilaus re-pulfed Epaus-nondas from ceiuing that there was no more place nor time of securitie as before, but rather of despera

tion and courage: he valliantlie defended it more then an olde mans yeares coulde beare, Thus, through corage and desperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vie it, he put by the daunger, and faued the citie of Sparta from Epaminonde handes, fetting vp markes of triumphe for repulling of the enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to fee the LACED AMONIANS how honorable they rewarded their The formule nurse and contrie for their good education : but Archidamus chiefely of all other, fought

wonderfully that day, running into euerie parte of the citie, with a fewe about him, tore pulse the enemies wheresoeuer the daunger was greatest. It is sayd also that at that time there was one Isadas the sonne of Phaebidas, that did maruelous straunge thinges to beholde, both in the face of his enemies, as also in the fight of his frendes. He was of goodly personage The valliant- and at that time in the prime of his youth : and being flarke naked, and vnarmed, his bodie (nounted with oyle, having in one hande a borestaffe, and in the other a sworde, in this maa Sparian. ner he went out of his house, and ranne amongest them that fought, killinge and ouerthrowing his enemies that withstoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preferued him for his manhoodes fake, or else bicause men thought him more then a man, The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valliantneffe: but withall

they fet a fine on his head to pay a thowfand filuer Drachmas for his rashe attempt, to halad him selfe in battell, vnarmed for defense. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the citie of MANTINEA. There Epaminondas having overthrowen the first ranckes of the LACED ENONIANS, and coragiously distressing the rest, valliantly following the chase: there The death of was one Anticrates a LACONIAN, who receiving him (as Diofeorides writeth) flue him with his] borespeare. The LACED EMONIANS to this day notwithstanding, doe call the offpring of this

Anticrates, Machariones: as much to fay, as swordmen, as though he had flaine him with Machariefword. The Laced EMONIANS did effeeme this Antierates so much, for that deadly strokehe nes, why fo gaue (bicause they were afrayed of Epaminondas while he lived) that they gave him that she him, great honors & dignities, and discharged all his offpring & kinred from payment of subfidie and common contribucions, which priviledge one Callierates, a kinfeman of this Anticrates, enjoyed even in our time. After this battell and death of Epaminondas, the GRECIANS hauing taken peace generally amongest them, Agesilans would needes exclude the Massa-NIANS from being fworne to this peace, faying: that they neede not fweare, bicause they had no city. Now, for a fmuch as all the GRECIANS els did receive them as among eft the number, E & tooke their othe vnto this peace: the LACED & MONIANS brake of from this general peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the Massanians contrie, andali through the allurement of Agesilaus, who for this cause was thought of the GRECIANS 2 cruell and vnfatiable man for warres, to deale fo craftily, and all to breake this generall league.

Againe, he brought him selfe in discredit with all men, beinge compelled to make his cite bare of money, borowing of them still, and raising fundrie contribucions amongest them: whereas in deede it had bene his best way to have ended all those miseries, having so happie an occasion offred at that time, & not to haue lost so great an Empire of so many townes and cities, both by sea and lande, and all to plague his contrie, to winne the lande and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this most shame vnto him of all other, when he gaue him F selfe vnto one Tachos, a Captaine of the EGIPTIANS, euerie man thinking it a shamefull parte of him, that fuch a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of all the GRECIANS, and the

which had filled the worlde with reporte of his fame and glorie) (hould for money let out his nerson to hyre, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous person, a traitor and rebell to his impe and maifter, to become a mercenarie Captaine and souldier to doe him service. And moreover, he being now foure score yeares of age and vpwardes, his bodie all mangled with woundes, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recourse of the libertie of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition descrued some blame : for noble actes have their rime, yearather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But Agesilans had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of thame in seruice, specially for benefitte of the common wealth, but perswaded him selfe that it was a dishonor to him to live idlely in a citie and doe nothing, till death should come and make his summones: R thereupon therefore he leuied men of warre through all GRECE with the money Tachos fent

all the rest was Tachos him selfe in person. This at the first grieved Agesilaus to the hart, be-

Suhefayled with him into Phenice, against the Phenicians, imbasing him selfe against

his noble disposition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he saw time of reuenge. It chaun-

eed that one Nectanebos a nephewe of this Tachos, having the leading of parte of this armie;

Ding driven whether he would or not, to beare with the vanitie and pride of this EGIPTIAN.

unro him, and with them tooke fea, having thirtie SPART ANS counfellers and affiltantes to him, as he had in his first iorney. Now Agesilaus being arrived in Egipt, all the chiefe Capraines and Gouernours of king Taches came to the fea thore, and honorablic received him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of E GIPTIANS of all fortes (that were maruelous defirous of him, for the great fame that went abroade of Agefilaus) came thither from all partes rosee what manner of man he was. But when they sawe no stately travne about him. but an olde graybeard layed on the graffe by the fea fide, a litle man that looked fimplie of the matter, and but meanely apparrelled in an ill fauored threed bare gowne : they fell a laughing at Agefilaus dehim, remembring the merie tale, that the mountaines should bring forth, and was deliuered Egiptians, of a moufe. Befides all this, they wondered when they fawe men bring him prefentes to wel-

come him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geefe, and fuch groffe thinges : and refused all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things Agefilam deto him, to geue them to the I LOTES his flaues. Theophrastus wryteth, that he delighted mar- spired al dain-

ucloufly in the rushe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their finenesse 19 thinges. and the handsomnesse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Ha-

ning fooken at that time with Tachos, who was affembling his armie to goe on his iorney: he was not made chieferaine generall, as he looked he should have bene, but was appointed only Colonell of all the straungers, Chabrias Generall of all the armie by sea, and the chiefe of

rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the Egiptians, he sent vino Agestians, and prayed him to come and take his parte. The like he did also vnto Chabrias, and braved him to joyne with him, promiting great rewardes vnto them both. Tachos vnderstanding that befought them both that they would not for sake him, Chabrias for his parte allowed likewife intreate Agesilaus, and perswade him what he coulde, to continewe frendshippe with Taches Agefilans aunswered him, for thee, Chabrias, thou camest of thine owne good will, and there-E fore mayest doe what thou thinkest good: but so is it not with me. For Lam seat hither a Captaine by my contrie, to ferue the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honeftie for me to make warre with them, whome I am fent to ferue and aide: were it not sharthey them felues which fent me, doe nowe commaunde me the contrarie. This aunswere being made, he lent certaine of his men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commende Nestanebos, Both they also for their partes fent to intreate the counsell of LACEDE MONE the one as being alwayes their frende and confederate, and the other promifing to be their faithfull frende thencefoorth. The LACED EMONIANS having heard the requestes of both, aunswered them

openly, that Agefilaus shoulde consider of this matter: and wrote secretile to him, that he should doe what he thought best for the common wealth of Shart A. So Agesilans taking decilians for with him the mercenarie fouldiers which he had brought out of GRECE, went vnto Netta- faketh Tanebos, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefitte of his contrie, to bewray, a wicked charge goth thing: but in deede taking away the visard to benefit his contries they might by a better name nebot.

could neither compasse him in behinde, nor flanke him on the sides. They having in this forte

Agefilaus bo.

with waxe for

lacke of home

dy noynsed

rightly have tearmed it treason. Howebeit the LACED EMONANS placing the chiefest power of honor, to confift in the benefit of their contrie: did acknowledge nothing to be justice. but that which they thought might ferue for the advancement of the glorie of Span-

TA. Tachos seeinge him selfe forfaken thus by his mercenarie straungers, fled . But noweon the other fide, there role another Kinge in the citie of MENDES, against this Nettanebas who havinge leavied to the number of a hundred thowlande fightinge men, came to fight with Nectanebos. But he thinking to encorage Agefilam, tolde him, that in deede they were a great number of men of all fortes together, and speciallie men of handie craft, and there. fore that they were not to be feared, bicause they knewe not what warre ment. But Ages law aunswered him againe : it is not their number that I feare, but their rudenesse and ve-In whom fire- skillfullnesse, which is hardest of all to deceive. For warlike stratageames doe most prevaile a tagemetrate against men that have greatest seare and experience : and therefore they foresce one thing rather then an other. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor haue forecast, and therefore doe geue him no more aduantage that seeketh to deceive them. then the wraftler by flight is able to ouerthrowe him, whome he can not sturre nor remove Afterwardes the MENDESIAN king him selfe sent vnto Agesilaus, to winne him if he could

Neltanebos then beganne to be affrayed. For when Agelilaus counselled him to trye it be battell as soone as he could, and not to prolonge this warre against ignoraunt menthat had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouermultitude, might intrenche him rounde about, and preuent him in divers thinges : then he beganne to feare and suspect him more, and thereuppon retyred into a great citie well walled about, and of great strength. Agesilam beinge C offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardlie: but being ashamed to turne againe vnto the third, and also to departe without any exployte done, he followed him, and enclofed him felfe within those walles. The enemies pursuinge him hard, came vnto the citie. and beganne to entrenche it rounde, to keepe him in. Then the Egyptian Nectanebosfesring a longe fiege, determined to geue them battell. Thereto the hyered GRECIANS gave consent, as desiringe no better matche, and the rather also for that there was but small store of come within the citie. But Agefilaus perswadinge the contrarie, would in no wise confent to it : whereuppon the EGYPTIANS thought worse of him then before, and plainely called him traytor to their kinge. Howebeit he did pacientlie beare all their accusations, expectinge time to performe an exployte he entended, which was this. The enemies had call I a deepe trenche without, to compasse them in. When this trenche drewe neere to ende,

The fratageame of Aand that both endes lacked not much of meetinge, tarryinge till night came on, he comgainft the E. maunded the GRECIANS to arme, and to put them selves in readinesse: then he came vngrptians to the Egyptian, and fayed unto him. Loe here is an excellent occasion presented to faue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I faw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing least otherwise we shoulde have lost it. Nowe sith the enemies them selves have with their owne handes genen vs the way to fane our felues by this trenche they have cast, the which as muche as is finished thereof dothe hinder their great multitude to helpe them selues, and that which is yet left vnfinished dothe geue vs oportunitie to fight with them of euen hande : determine to shewe thy valure, and followinge vs, saue thy selfe and thy peo-B ple. For the enemies which we shall affayle before vs, shall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on our fide, can no way hurte vs. Nectanebos hearinge his wordes, wondered at his great wisedome, and so thrustinge inamonge the GRECIANS, did affayle the enemies: the which were foone ouerthrowen and put to flight, as many as durst resist, and make heade against them. Agefilans hauinge wonne Nectanebos againe to trust him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like subtiltie wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knewe not howe to auoyde. For one while he made as though he fled, and intifed them to followe him: fodainely againe he woulde turne this waye and that waye. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight fluce, walled about of either side, with great broade ditches full F of runninge water: fo that when they were even in the middest of it, he fodainely stopped their passage with the fronte of his battell, which he cast to the breadthe of the sluce,

made some small resistaunce, in the ende turned their backes and fled, and left a great number flaine in the fielde: the refidue after that last overthrowe for looke their Captaines, and fled Graplingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this Egypt LANking after that time had good fucceffe, and was quietly stablished in his kingdom, making much of Agesilance: and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes haflen home to his contrie, which was in warre with others, knowing that his citie of SPARTA was without money, bicause they were driven to geve pay vnto straungers. Thereuppon Netransbos in thende tooke his leave of him very honorably, prefenting him a gift (belides all o- The liberalis) R ther honors he did him) of two hundred and thirsie filuer tallentes in readie money, to defray Hantbus valo

died by the way, having notwithstanding recovered land with his shippes in a defert place of the coast of Lybia, which was called the hatten of Menelaus, after he was foure score & foure veare old: of the which he had raigned one and fortie, yeares king of SPARTA, and thirty yeares The raigne of thereof and more he was alwayes taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Agestlaus. Chieferaine generall of all GRECE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACED EMO-NIAN'S having a custome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their contrie in the same place where they departed: (the bodies of their kinges excepted) the Spar-TANS which were at that time about Apellans, announted his bodie with waxe for lacke of honny, and caried him home to Spart ain this maner. His sonne Archidamus fucceded him in the kingdom, whose iffue fuccefficity raigned continually after him, vnto the time of Agis (who was the fift king in fuccession after Agesilaus) whom

the charges of the warre in his contrie. Howbeit the fea being rough in the winter quarter, he Agestians.

and forme of life. The end of the life of Agesilaus.

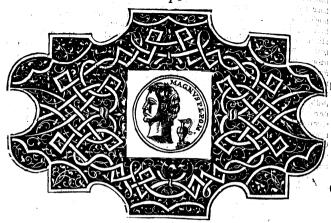
in deede Leonidas put to death, bicause he

fought to restore the LACEDENO-

NIAN s auncient discipline

LLL

THE LIFE



The father of sed in Rome.

He Romanes iceme to naue joueu rompe, inclining the felfe affection that Frometheus in the tragedie of AEfchylus appearance the was deliuered by him reth to haue borne vnto Hercules, after that he was deliuered by him: when he favd.

So great a hate I bare not to the father. But that I love the sonne of him much rather.

For the Romanes neuer shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, than they did vitto Strauge rumper, to the lined, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for in deede he have cooke him from

The Lone of she Romanes unto Pom-

Strabo, the fa-

ther of Pom-

was a noble Captaine: but being striken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villannie. Contrariewise, neuer any other Romane (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and aduersity continued lenger constant, then vnto Pompey. One only cause procured the fathers hate, and that was: an unfatiable and greedy desire of money, But Pompey his fonne, was for many occasions beloued. As, for temperance of life, apmesse to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curtefie in conversation: so that there E was neuer man that requested any thing with leffe ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdaine, and tooke with great The favor of honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he spake: for his countenaunce was sweete, mixed with grauetie, & being come to mans state, there appeared in his iesture and behauiour, a graute & princely maiestic. His heare also stoode a litle vpright, and the cast and soft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine resemblaunce (as they sayd) of the statues and images of king Alexander. And bicause euerie man gaue him that name, he did not refuse it him selse: insomuch as there were some which sportingwise did openly call him Alexander. Whereupon Lucius Philippus a Consull, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompeys fauor, that it was no maruel if he be- F ing Philip, did loue Alexander. It is reported also, that when Flora the curtifan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which the had with Pompey beinge a younge man

a relling that after the had layen with him, the could not possible rife from him a but the must needes geue him some sweete quippe or pleasaunt taunte. She woulde tell also howe one of Pampers familiars and companions called Geminius, fell in love with her, and was & maruelous earnest futer to obtaine her good will: and that the aunswered him flatty. The would not, for the love the bare to Pompey. Geminius thereuppon brake the matter to Pompey him felfe. Pomper desirous to pleasure him, graunted the request : howebeit Geminion after that, would not come neere Flora, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But Flora tooke

this not curtifan like, for the was ficke a long time for very griefe of minde, and the thought the tooke uppon it. All this notwithstanding, it is sayd that this Flora had then such fame for Flora the care her passing grace and beautie, that Cacilius Metellus letting foorth and beautifying the temple fing feren n of Cultor and Hollux, with goodly tables and pictures : among the reft, he caused her picture to

he lively drawen for her excellent beawtie. Furthermore Pompey, against his nature, delt very haddwand vncurteoufly with the wife of Demetrius, his franchifed bondeman (who while he lived was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thow and tallentes) fearing mbetaken with her beautie which was verie fingularlie fayer, least he should be thought in love with her. Now, though herein he feemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst; vercould he nor thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers : for they did actuse hims that to pleafe and content his wines, he would let passe and winke at many thinges, that was apaintitche profit of the common wealth? To proue his fober and temperate diescand howe The temperate diescand hower the temperate d

he was contented with common meates: a word (they fay) he fpake when he was verie ficke; ranneed and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomake to him againe, his Phifinan willed him to eate a thrushe. So feeking all about to get him one, there was no thrushe to be bought for money, for they were out of feafon. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at Lucullus house, for he kept them up all the yeare through. Why what then, favd he; if Lucullus ryot were not, should not Pompey line? Therewithall, letting his Phisitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was every where common it, in web facult But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Fompey being a young man, and in the field with his father, that was in armes against Cinna: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called Lucius Terentius, who being bribed with money, had promifed Cinna to kill him, The meaning

and other confederators also had promised to fet their Captaines tent a fire. This conspiracy of Lucius To?

D was reuealed vnto Pompey as he fate at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke Pompey. freely, and was merrier with Terentius then of custome. So when it was bed time the stale out of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his fafetie. Terentias thinkinge the hower come to attempt his enterprife, role with his fword in his hande, and went to Pomper's bed where he was wont to lye, and gaue many a thrust into the matteresse. After he had done that, all the campe straight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the fouldiers in all haft would needes have gone and yeelded to their enemie , beginning alreadie to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to truffe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durst not come out of his tent: notwithstanding Pompey his sonne ranne amongest the mutinous souldiers, and humbly befought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe him felfe flatling to the grounde ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them marche ouer him, if they had such a defire to be gone. The fouldiers being ashamed of their follie, returned agains to their lodginge, and chaunging minde, reconciled them felues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that Strabo, Pompeys father, was departed out of the

worlde, Pomper beinge his heire, was accused for the father, to robbe the common treasure. Pomper as, Howebeit he consessed, and anowed, that it was Alexander one of his fathers infranchised caste for rob bondemen that had stollen the most parte of it, and brought him in before the Ludges. Note mon medical withstanding, he was accused him selfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes, that were taken at Asculum. He confessed the having of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had loft them fence; when Cinna returned vnto Rome with his fouldiers, who breaking into his house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitive sen-

Talaffie at

tence, in which time Pompey shewed him selfe of good spirite and understanding, moretile A was looked for in one of his yeares: infomuch he wanne fuch fame and fauor by it, that Ang. fine being Prætor at that time, and judge of his matter, fell into fuch a liking with him, the fecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by frends brokento Pompey, he liked of the match, & the parties were fecretly affured. This was not so closely conueved but the people perceined it, by the care and paines Antificas tooke to fauor his mane Infomuch, when the ludges gaue judgement, and cleered him: all the people together, and they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, Talaffio, Talaffio, being the viuall and conmon crie they yied of olde time at mariages in Rome. This custome by reporte of auncient folke came up in this manner. At what time the chiefest peeres and Lordes of Roma didn. uishe the Sabines daughters, which came to Rome to see common sportes played where chaunsed a fewe rascalls (as hoggeherdes or neatherdes) to carie away a goodly favering man. They fearing the should be taken from them, cried out in the streetes as they wently lassio, as if they would have sayd, she is for Talassus. This Talassus was a young gentleman well knowen, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named only, did clarine their hands for ioy, & cried out with them, Talaffio, commending the choyce they had made for him. So, hereof they fay came this custome, that ever fince they have cried this word Talaffio vnto them that are newly maried, bicause the mariage of that fayer young maid proued fortunate, and happy vnto Talafins. And this me thinkes foundeth necreft to the troth of the they reporte of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this judgement genen. Pomper maried Antestia. After that, going vnto Cinnaes campe, they wrongfully accused him for some C what, whereupon he being afrayed, fectetly stale away. Now when they could not finde him in Cinnaes campe, there ran straight a rumor abroade, that Cinna had put him to death, There uppon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did fet uppon him for this occasion. Buth thinking to faue him felfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a private Captaine that followed him with his fworde drawen in his hande. Cinna feeing him, fell downe on his knees be fore him, and tooke his seale from his singer wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tushe, sayd the Captaine, I come not to seale any couenann, but to chastice a villaine and cruell tyranne: and therewithall thrust his sword thorowehim, and flue him prefently. Cinna being flaine in this forte, Carbo fucceeded him, and tookethe gouernment in hande, being a more cruell tyranne than the first. Shortly after came in 894, D being wished for, and desired of the most parte of the Romanes, for the grieuous opperfions and miseries they endured, that they thought them selues happy to chaunge Gouernon for their citie was brought into fuch miferie, as hoping no more to fee Rome recouer her loft libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of ITALIB called PICENVM (nowethe marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inhertaunce, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers fake. He feeing that the noblest men of Rome for sooke their houses and goodes, to slie from all partes vnto Syllaes campe, as vnto a place of fafetie: would not goe to him as a fugitiue and cast away to faue him felfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe him selse pleasure. So he selt the good B Pompoutiff will of the Picentines, who willingly tooke his parte, and rejected them that were fently Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, said: that Pompey which came from schoole the last day, must now in hast be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hande. After that time, Pomof an army at pey being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receive no authoritie from any man, 23. years of tooke it apon him himself, & causing a tribunal to be set up in the middest of the market place of Avxinvm, a great populous city he commaunded the two brethren called the Ventidians (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for Carboes sake withstoode his doinges) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and so beganne to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, sergeaunts of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to mar. F shall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke parte with Carbo, fled enery man, and all the reft willingly yeelded vnto him

whereby in thorte space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, cartes, and all maner of beaftes for carriage. In this forte he tooke his iorney towardes pombin soils sella not in halt, as a man affrayed to be met with by the way, but by small iotneyes, staying onto Syllat fill where he might hurt his enemy cauling the cities every where as he came to revolt trous Carlo. Neuerthelesse, three Captaines of the contrarie parte, Carinna, Galine, and Brutus, all three did fette apon Pompey together, not all in a fronte, nor of one fide, but in three feuerall places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to have made him fure at the first onfer. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his horsemen (among the which he was him selfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were G AV LES. Pompers of R comming to geue charge apon him, he ranne one of the chiefest among them through with efficies of the his launce, and flue him. The other GAV LES feeing him flaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footemen: fo that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among them selves, and some fled one way, some an other way, the best they could. Then the nwnes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare : came all in to Pomper. and welded them selves. Afterwardes Scipio the Consul comming against Pomper to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to joyne : before they came to throwing of their dances, Scipioes fouldiers faluted Pompeys men, and went on their fide. So Scipio was driven to fie. And in fine, Carbo him felfe having fent after him divers troupes of horfemen by the river of Artis: Pompey made towards them, and did fo fiercely affaile them, that he draue them into Cfuch places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yeelded them selves, horse and armor, all to his mercie. Sylla all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as soone as he winderstoode of it, searing healt Pompey thould miscarie, being enuironned with so many Captaines of his enemies. he made halt to marche towardes him for to aide him. Rompey vnderstanding of his approache. Pompey iorcommaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Ge- ned with Sylnerall might fee them brauely appointed when he should present the vnto him: for he looked that Sylla would doe him great honor, & in deede he did him more honor, then Pompey looked for, For, when Sylla faw him a farre of comming towardes him, and his armie marthalled in forgood order of battell, and fuch goodly men, that fo brauely aduaunced them felues, be-Ding coragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted a foote. When Pompey also came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour. orfoueraine Prince) Sylla refalured him with the felfe name, beyonde all mens expectacion Pomper calpresent, litle thinking that he would have geven so honorable a name, vnto so young a man ted imperator as Fomper, who had not yet bene Senator : confidering that he him felfe did contende for that title and dignitie, with the faction of Marius and Scipio. Furthermore, the entertainment that The honor Silla gaue him euery way, was aunswerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when Portigies Sylla did rule came before him, he would rife and put of his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many of ther noble men about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in him felfe. Wherefore when Sylla would straight have fent him into G AV LB, bicause Metellus that E was there, was thought to have done no exployte worthie of fo great an armie as he had with him: Pomper answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an auncient Captimethar was of greater fame and experience than him felfe. Yet if Merellus of him felfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this watte. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entring GAVI to Pompey went did of him felfe wonderfull exployees, and did fo review Metelliss olde corage and valliantnes to ade Meto fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poored upon the colde Gaule. and hard copper, doth melt and diffolue it, as fast or faster, then fire it selfer For like as of a wreftler, who hath bene counted very ftrong, and the chiefeft in all games, hathing ener burne the price away where he hath wrestled, they never recorde among them his childishe victo-Fries and wrestlinges, as thinges of no account: euen so I am affrayed to speake of the wonder-

finite great warres and battells which he had wonne afterwardes. For I am affrayed that whi-

under Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine

full deedes that Pompey did in his childhoode, bicause they are obscured, in respect of the ins Wonderfull

disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had ouercome all ITALIE, and was proclaimed

Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenaunts and Captaines that had taken his parte, and the

aduance them to honorable place & dignity in the common wealth, frankely graunting then Antiftia ; and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syl The death

Antiftius.

all that they requested of him. But for Pompey, reverencing him for his valliantnes, & thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his warres: he fought by some meanes to allie him to him. Metella his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to marrie AEmylia the daughter of Metella, and of her first husband, the which also was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husbande. These mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for Syllaes time, rather then agreable to Pompeys nature and condicion : to see AEmylia, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husbande, to marrie be great with childe, and thamefully to forfake Antiftia, who not long before had loft her father and for respect of her husbande that did put her away. For Antistius was murdered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take parte with Sylla for his sonne in lawe Pompeys sale and her mother voluntarily put her selfe to death, seeinge her daughter received such open wrong. By these apparant causes, these vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miscrable trace. die, by meanes of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Personal Company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with children company of the death of AEmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with the death of AEmylia, and the death of AEmylia, and the death of AEmylia Company of the death of AEmylia, and the death of AEmylia Company of the death of AEmylia Company of the death of AEmylia Company of the AEmylia Company o pers house. Then came newes to Sylla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicile, and that he had made all that Ilande at his denotion, as a fafe place to receine all Syllaes enemies: that Carbeal fo kept the sea thereaboutes with a certaine number of shippes: that Domitius also was gone into A FRICKE: and divers other noble men that were banished, that had scaped his proscipe tions and outlawryes, were all in those partes. Against them was Pompey sent with a greater mie. Howebeit he no sooner arrived in Sicile, but Perpenna left him the whole Ilande, and went his way. There he fauorably delt with all the cities, which before had abidden great

pey aunswered them in choller: what doe ye prattle to vs of your law, that have our swords be Lave muft gene place to armes,

to Sicile.

our fides ? It feemeth also that Pompey delt too cruellie with Carbo in his miserie. For fith he must needes dve, as there was no remedie but he should: then it had bene better they had kil-n led him when he was taken. For then they would have imputed it to his malice, that so had commaunded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him that had bene thrife Confull at Rome to be openly examined, and he fitting in his chaire of state of the bunall condemned him to dye in presence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of euery one that was present. So Pompey bad them take him away, and catie him to execution. The death of When Carbo came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the sworddrawen that should strike of his head: he prayed thexecutioners to geue him a little respit and placeso vntrusse a poynt, for he had a paine in his bellie. Caius Oppius also (one of Iulius Casars frends) The death of wryteth, that he delt verie cruelly in like maner with Quintus Valerius. For Pompey, faydhe, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewelike vnto him ! when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a fide, and walked a fewe turnes about : the when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his gard to carie him away, and to dispatche him. Howbeit we may not gene too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Iulius Cafars frendes or foes. For Pompey in deede was compelled to make away the greatest personages of Syllaes enemies that fell into his handes, being notoriously taken: but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not understand it: and moreouer did helpe some besides to faue them selves. Nowe Pompey was determined to have taken sharpe revenge of the citie of the HIMBRIANS, which had flowtly taken the enemies parte. But Sthenia, one of the Go uernours of the citie, crauing audience of Pompey, tolde him he should doe them wrong and h iniustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that

had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durft take vppon him to father,

trouble and miserie, and set them againe at libertie, the MAMERTINES only excepted, which

dwelt in the citie of Messina. They despising his tribunall and jurisdiction, alleaged the aun-

cient order & priviledge of the Romanes, let downe in times past amongest them. But Post

the offence of them all. Sthenis aunswered straight, that it was him selfe that had perswaded The bade his frendes, and compelled his enemies to doe that which they did. Pompey being pleased to Brashe of heare the franke speech & boldnes of this man, first forgaue him the fault he had committed. and confequently all the other HIMERIANS. Pompey understanding that his souldiers did kill Pompey feat diners men in the high wayes, he fealed up all their fwordes, & whole feale foeuer was broken, fealed in hewas well fauoredly punished. Pompey being busic about these matters in Sicila, received founder. letters & commission from Sylla and the Senate, to departe thence immediatly into AFRICKE. romake warre vpon Domitius, with all his power, who had leauted already more men of warre, than Marin had, not long before, when he came out of A FRICE B into IT A LIB: and had there overthrowen all the Romanes doinges, being become of a fugitive outlaw, a cruell tyranne. Pompey thereupon having speedily put him selfe in readines to take the seass left Memmins his Pompeh infifters husband Gouernor of Sicile and so him selfe imbarked, & hoysed saile with fix score ficke under gallies, and eight hundred other shippes or bottomes, to transport their vittells, munition, Sylla, against money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatfocuer. After he was landed with all his Dominio. Heete, parte at VTICA, and parte at CARTHAGE: there straight came to him seven show fand fouldiers from the enemies, & yelded the felues, befides feuen whole legions that he brought with him. They fay moreouer, that at his arrivall, he had a pleasaunt chaunce happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his fouldiers stumbled on a treasure by chaunce, and got thereby a great maffe of money. The refidue of the armie hearing that. thought fure that the field where this treasure was found, was full of golde and filuer, which the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. Pomper hereuppon, for many dayes after, coulde haue no rule of his fouldiers, neither coulde he choofe but laugh, to fee fo many thow lande men digging the grounde, and turning vp the fielde : vntill in the ende they wearied them felues, and came and prayed him then to lead them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. Domitius came to Pompey with his Domitius army fet in battel ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamyre before him that ran with a fwift comped by running streame, verie ill to get ouer: besides that, from the verie breake of day it had poored his arre. downe and rained fo fast, and was so great a winde withall, that Domities thinking all that day they should not fight, commaunded his people to trusse away, and remoue, Pompey on thother fide, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, sodainly made his men to march, and D paffed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiving that, being altogether out of order: were maruckelly amazed, and in that hurly burly would have made refutaunce. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly fet in battell ray, and had besides the winde beating the raine full intheir faces. So did the storme much hurt vnto the ROMANES also, for they coulde not one fee an other : infomuch as Pompey him felfe was in great daunger of being killed by one of his owne fouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and he was fomewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowen his enemies with great flaughter: (for they fay, that of twenty thowfand of them, there were but three thowfand fa- Pompeis viued) Pompeis fouldiers saluted him by the name of Imperator. But he aunswered them, that he Gory of Dowould not accept the honor of that name, fo long as he faw his enemies campe yet standing: E and therefore, if it were to they thought him worthie of that name, that first they should ouerthrow the trenche and force of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The fouldiers when they heard him fay fo, went prefently to affault it. There Pompey fought bare headed, to avoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe

iorney into the maine lande, and still conquered all where he came, making the power of the

ROMANES dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that contrie, the which made but small

Faccount of them at that time. He fayd moreouer, that the wilde beaftes of AFRICKE also

should feele the force and good successe of the Romanes: and thereupon he bestowed a few

dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes space at the

byforce, and in it flewe Dometius. After that overthrowe, the cities in that contrie came and Dominius yeelded them felues, fome willingly, and others taken by force: as alfo they tooke king lar-flaine. bas, that had fought for Domitius, and his realme was genen to Hiempfall. But Pompey, being king labat. desirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes

Pompeis can- vttermost, he had ouercome his enemies, subdued AFRICKE, and had stablished the affaire A of the kinges and kingdomes of all that contry, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the citie of V TICA, letters were brought from Sylla, willing him to dit. charge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of ano-

ther Captaine that should be sent to succeede him in the gouernment of that contrie. This commaundement, grieued him not a litle, though he made no shewe of it at all: but his food diers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pompey prayed them to departe, they began to geue out broade speeches against Sylla, and told directly that they were not determined (what soeuer became of them) to for sake him, and they would not that he should trustyn. to a tyran. Pompey feeing that he could not perswade them, by any reason to be quiet, rose our of his chayer, and retyred into his tent weeping. But the fouldiers followed him, and brough him againe to his chaver of state, where he spent a great parte of the day, they intreating him to remaine there & commaund them, and he desiring them to obey Sylla, and leave their mis. tinies. But in fine, seeing the importunate to presse him to it, he sware he would kill him selfe. rather then they should compell him : yet they scant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sylla when he heard that, sayd to his frender well, then I fee it is my destiny, in mine olde dayes to fight with children. He ment so, bicause of Marim the younger, who had done him much mischiese, and had besides put him ingrea daunger. But afterwards understanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in Rome were determined to goe and meete Pompey, and to receive him with all the honor they coulde: bicause he would goe beyond them all in shew of good will, he went out of his house to mette C

him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnes. led Magniu to fav great, and commaunded all them that were present to gene him that name also. This notwithstanding, some say, that it was in A FRICKE this name was first genen him by a com-

The wifedow of the Romanes commended for rewardinge foreine and

home feruice. Rullus called Maximi, in

aunfwere vn. to Sylla.

Pompey not being Senaagainft the

mon crie of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. In dede it is true that Pomper him selfe being sent Proconsul into Spayne long time after that, was the last that Subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the great: for this name then was so commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wisedom of the auncient Romans, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward service in the field with such honorable names & titles, but civil service and good gouernment also in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at Rould called Maximi, to fay, very great: of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement between the people and Senate. The other was Fabius Rullus, for that heput from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchifed, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, Fompey required the honor of triumphe, but Sylla denied it.alleaging that none could enter in triumphe into Rome, but Confulls or Prætors. For fith Serin the first who in Spayne had ouercome the Carthaginians, neuer defired this honor of triumphe, being neither Confull nor Prætor: much leffe should he stande apon demaund of triumphe into Rome, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and befides, it would purchase him enuy of his honor and greatnes. These reasons did Sylla alleage against Pompey, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would refist him. All E Pompen flows this blanked not Pomper, who told him frankely againe, how men did honor the rifing, not the fetting of the funne:meaning thereby, how his owne honor encreafed, and Syllaes diminished, Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he fayd, but perceiving by their countenaunces that stoode by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he sayd. When it was tolde him, he maruelled at the boldnes of fo young a man, and then cried out twife together, let him then triumphe a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, Pompey (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needes be brought in in triumphant charriot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from those kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrowe, he was driven to leave the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horses. Now his souldiers that had not all things as they F looked for, and which was promifed them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe he fayd he passed not for it, & that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumphe,

& then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereuppon, there was a famous man at that time called servilius, who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompeys triumphe, who sayd openlynow I know that Pompey in deede is great, & descrueth triumphe: Being enident enough, that if he would, he might then have easily bene made Senator: he sued not for that, but as they fav. fought honor by a straunger meane lesse honorable. For if he had bene made Senator so young, it had not bene to great a matter: but to have fuch honor before he was Senator, that was maruelously to be noted. But this wanne him the more fauor and good will still amongest. the common people: for they were glad when after his triumphe they faw him in companie amongest the Romane Knights. On thother side it spighted Sylls to see him come so fast forward, and to rife to fo great credit: notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was a contented to kepe it to him felfe, untill that Pomper by force & against Syllees will, had brought

Levidus to be Confull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furdered his defire. Ther- Marine Leuppon Sylla feeing Pompey returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a conful great traine of followers to honor him, he fayd vnto him: O young man, I fee thou are glad of this victory, and so hast thou cause, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such fanor of the people, as for thy fake to have made Lepidus Confull (the vilest person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe

Syllaes body from buriall in the field of Mars, and that his funeralls should not be openly so-

wed) was thought a maruelous honest man, both iust and modest: howbeit, a better Gouer-

tience. So Fompey stoode not doubtfull which way he would dispose him selfe, but tooke parte

straight with the nobility and honestest men, & was presently chosen Captaine of their armie

against Lepidus: who had already wonne the greatest parte of ITALIE, and with an army vin-

der the conduct of Brutus, kept GAVLE on this fide the mountaines, called GALLIA CISAL-

PINA. And for the rest, Pompey easily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before Mopo-

NA, belieging of Brutus. In the meane feason Lepidus came to Rome, & being hard at the walls

demaunding the fecond Confulthip, made them affrayed in the city with the great numbers

of men he had about him, gathered together of all fortes. Howebeit this feare was cooled

straight, by a letter which Pompey wrote to Rome, advertising how he had ended this warre

him selfe vnto Pompey, who gave him a certaine number of horsemen that conducted him to

a litle towne apon the river of Poe: where the next day after, Geminius being fent by Pompes,

howbeit he shewed not him selfe so like a coward neither in warres nor in his death as his fa-

ther did. As we have declared more at large in his life. Furthermore, Lepidus being driven to

E without any blood hed : for Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded

D nor in peace, then a good man of warre, infomuch as time required Pompeys skill and expe-

not, and looke well to thy busines, for thou hast advanced a daungerous enemy to thy felfe. Now the chiefest thing wherein Sylla discouered most his ill will vnto Pompey, was in his last Sylla fallen will and testament : for he gauclegacies vnto euery one of his frendes, and some of them he from the lowe C made tutors & ouerfeers of his fonne, but he made no mencion of Pompey at all. This notwith- of Pompey. standing, Pompey tooke it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would have kept

lemnifed: he contrarywise brought him very honorably and safely to the ground, Shortly after Syllaes death, his wordes of prophecie vnto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proued true. For Lepidus viurping the authoritie which Sylla had before, not colourablie, but openly entred Lepidus me-

straight in armes, sturring vp againe those of Marius faction, whom Sylla could not be reuen - with cinil ged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is that his ware. colleague, and fellow Confull Catules (whom the best and soundest parte of the people follo-

flue him. But hereof Fompey was greatly blamed, for that he had wrytten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how Brutus had put him felfe into his handes; and afterwardes wrote letters to the contrary, which burdened him for putting of him to death. This ther, flaine by Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwardes with the helpe of Casting flue Inline Colar: Pompey.

forfake I TALLE, fled into SARDINIA, where he dyed (as it is reported) of a fickeneffe that he the death of

had, not for any forowe or griefe of his owne affayers, but for a letter that was brought him Lepidus. which went to his hart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot There remained

arthat time Sertorius in Spayne, who was an other maner of warrier then Lepidus, & that kept

nes of Serso-Spayne.

POMPETAS. 686 the ROMANES in great awe: for that all the fugitives of the late civil warres were fled to him! A The valliant- as from the last disease of the warres. He had already overthrowen many inferior Captainer & was now wreftling with Metellus Pius, that in his youth had bene a noble fouldier, but now being old, made warres but flowly, and would not coragiously take present occasions offered him, which Sertorius by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he woulde. uer houer about him, when he thought least of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of fouldiers, and would ftill lay ambushes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heavy armed. Hereuppon Pompey keping his army alway together, practifed at ROME, that he might be fent into SPAYNE to aide Metellus. But Catulus, notwithstanding that he commaunded him to disperse his army. Pomper still kept them together by colour of new deuises, and was continually about Romain a armes, vntill that by Lucius Philippus meanes he had obtained the gouernment of that contry,

They fay that one of the Senators marueling to heare Philip propound that matter to the Se

mockery, he would have no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were

not affrayed of this old woman: meaning Metellus the old man. But notwithstanding these (

nate; asked him: how now Philip, dost thou then thinke it meete to send Pompey Proconsull to fay, for a Confull into Spay NE? No truely fayd Philip, not Proconfull only, but pro Confull. bus: (to fay, for both the Confulls) meaning, that both the Confulls for that yeare were men Pompeys iorof no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in Spayne, men began straight to be caried away. (as the maner is commonly where new Gouernors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereuppon Sertorius gaue out prowdeand bitter words against Pompey, saying in

Spayne againft Serto-

pleasure.

fight of Pom-Pompey flue Perpenna. Battell betrext Pompey and Ser-

gallant bragges, he stoode better upon his gard, and went stronger to fight then he did before being affrayed of Pompey. For Metellus was very diffolute of life (which no man would have uen to you & judged in him) and was geuen ouer too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in hima maruelous fodaine chaunge both of his pompe & glory which he vsed before, as also the cuttinge of of his superstuous expence. That thinge, besides that he did honor Pampey greatly by it, wan him also much more the good will of the people, when they saw that he drew him selfe downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne dispositionhe was a graue man, & temperatly genen for his defires. In this warre fortune chaunged dinerly, Sertorius was as it is commonly feene in warres : but nothing grieued Pompey more then Sertorius winning of the city of LAVRON. For he thinking to have that him in, & had geven out some glorious] wordes of the matter: wondred when he saw him selfe straight compassed in that he could not fturre out of the campe where he lay, and was driven befides to see the citie burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwardes at a set battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he slue Herennius and Perpenna, both notable fouldiers and Sertorius Lieutenauntes, and with themten thow fand men. This victory to encoraged Pompey, that he made haft to fight with Sertorius 2lone, bicaufe Metellus should have no parte of the honor of the victory. So they both metby the river of Sucron, about funne fer, both fearing Metellus comming: the one that he might Sucron fl. fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doutfull in the end of the battell: for either of their winges had the upper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, Sertorine had the greater honor: for he alone ouercame all them that stoode before him. And as for B Pompey, there was a great man of armes that being a foote, came and fet yoon him, and having both their fwordes in their handes, they both lighted apon their handes, but not both in one forte: for Pompeys hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cutof. Then Pompeys men fell apon him, all his owne fellowes on that fide being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he saued him selfe after a straunge sorte, by casting up his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, having a caparison of great value: and in the meane time, while they were buffe deuiding this booty among them, and fighting for it; he scaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them against brought their bandes into the fielde, to confirme the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But Metellus came to Pompey at that present time, whereupon Sertorius went F his way, and dispersed his army: for his campe was easily broken, & sodainly gathered against together. For Sertorius would fomtime wander the fieldes alone, and at an other time against

he would have a hundred and fifty thow lande fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement streame that somtime is dried up, and that sodainly againe is all of a flood Pompey after this battell going to welcome Metellus, when they came neere one an other the commaunded his fergeauntes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they carried hefore him, to honor Metellus withall, who was a better man than him felfe. But Metellus Themodefor would not fuffer them, but shewed him felfe equall with him in that, and in all thinges elfe, not of Pompey & respecting his seniority, northat he had bene Confull, & Pompey not, saving when they cam- Mesellus.

ned together, Metellus gaue the watch word to all the campe. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped a funder, for their enemy that was fo flitting from place to place, and was feene in fo fundry places in fo thort time, compelled them to be a funder to forefee the worst draw-Ring them fodainly from one purpose to an other: so that in fine, cutting them of from vittells enery way, spoyling their contry, and keeping the sea side, he draue them both out of the proninces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe some other where for lacke of vittels. Pompey in the meane time having fpent the most parte of his goods in this warre, fent to Rome for money to pay his fouldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they fent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into ITALIE. Lucullus then beinge Confull, though Pompeys enemy, procured they should fend him money: for he practifed to besent Captaine against king Mithridates, and therefore was affrayed to gene Pomper any occasion to returne, who defired nothing more then to leave Sertorius, to bend his force against

Mithridates, whose ouerthrow should be more honorable to him, and also lesse daungerous. In the meane space, Sertorius dyed, being betrayed by those whom he thought his frendes, among the which Perpenna was the chiefe man, that after Sertorius death would needes counterfeate his doinges, having the fame meanes, the fame furniture, and the fame power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit, and skill to employ them. Pompey therefore marching directly towardes him, and finding how ignorant Perpenna was in his affayers: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he fent to praye in the fields, commaunding them to difperfe them selues abroad as farre as they could, one from an other. Perpenna straight tooke the occasion. and gaue them charge, and had them in chase. But Pompey tarying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army fet in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all Pompey outer this warre, bicause the most of the Captaines were flaine in the field, and Perpenna the chiefe tame Perpen

D of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein Pompey was not to be con-

demned of ingratitude nor oblinion (as some do burden him) of Perpennaes frendship shewed him in Sicile, but rather deserued praise to have determined so wisely for benefit of the common wealth. For Perpenna having in his custody all Sertorius wrytings, he shewed letters of the greatest noble men of Rome, (which were desirous of chaunge of government willing him to returne into ITALIE. Pompey vpon fight of the feletters, fearing least they would breede greater sedition & sturre in Rome, then that which was already pacified put Perpenna to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his papers and wrytinges, not reading any letter of them. Pompey burnt Then Pompey remaining in Spayne a certaine time, till he had pacified all commocions and seriorius lettumultes, maruelously out of order the brought his army backe againe into I TAL IF, and arri- also did tuling E ued there when the warre of the bondmen and fenfers led by Spartague, was in greatest furie. Cafar who he

flaues. Notwithstading, fortune meaning to geue Pompey some parte of this honor, five thow-

very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of Spanne againe,

and the ouerthrow of Sertorius, there was no man, although it were in sporte, that ever gave

Vpon his comming therefore, Craffus being fent Captaine against these bondmen, made hast oner one to geue them battell, which he wan, and flue twelve thowfand, three hundred of thefe fugitive

fand of these bondmen escaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon, he having Pompey overouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that Crassus had ouercome the fensers in battell, and came the res that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The Roman Es receiving Pompeys letters, were of the bonde.

any man elfe the honor, but vnto Pompey only. For all this great honor and lone they bare unto Pampey, yet they did suspect him, and were affrayed of him, bidause he did not disperse his army, that he would follow Syllaes steppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon, as many went to meete him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after

MMM ii

POMPEIVS. he had put this suspicion quite out of their heades, telling them that he would dischargehin armie after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothingelfe, but the he was more enclined to the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a defire to reftore the Tribuneshippe of the people, which Sylla had put downe, only to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which in deede was true. For the common people at Rous neuer longed for thing more, than they did to see the office of the Tribune sette vp againe Yea, Pompey him selfe thought it the happiest turne that ever came to him, to light in such time, to doe fuch an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he coulde never haue founde the like occasion possiblie to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him. fo much as in that. Nowetherefore, his feconde triumphe and first Consulthippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothinge the greater, or better man. And yet was it a shewe and signification of his greatnesse, the which Crassis (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time delt in matters of state, and made more estimacion of him selfe then of Pompey and all the rest) neuer durst once demaunde : before he had craued Pompeys goodwill. Pompey was very glad of his request, and had sought occafion of long time to pleafure him: and thereupon made earnest fute vnto the people for him. affuringe them he would as much thanke them for making Craffus his colleague and fellowe Confull, as he would, for making him felfe Confull. All this notwithstandinge, when ther were created Confulls, they were in all thinges contratie one to an other, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Confulls together. Craffus had more authority with the Se-

nate, but Pompey had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the C Tribune, and passed by edict, that the Knightes of Rome should hauefull power against iudge causes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleasaunt sight also to the people, when he came

vnto the Cenfors in person, to pray that he might be dispenst with for goinge to the warres. The custome For it was an auncient custome in Rome, that the Knightes of Rome hauinge served acce-

taine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middeltof the market place before the two Cenfors, declaring euery Captaine under whome they had Knight of Rome, Sueth

felfe to the

Cenfers.

ferued, in what iorneys and contries they had bene, and hauinge also deliuered accomptos their good behauior and seruice, they then prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Nowell it appeared that they had done good feruice, there were they honorablie rewarded : orotherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, Gellius and Lentulus the two Censors, D ged from the being honorablic fette in their tribunall or judgement feate, taking viewe of all the Roman Knightes that mustered before them, to be seene and examined: they marueled when they Pompey sub-missesh him fawe Pampey comminge at the further ende of the market place, havinge all the market of a Confull borne before him, and him felfe leading his horse in his hande by the bridle. When Pompey came neerer, and that they fawe it was he, he commaunded his sergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Cenfors fate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and rejoycing, being verie silent. The Censors them selves also were maruelous glad to see him so obedient to the lawe, and did him great reverence. In fine, the elder of the Cenfors, did examine him in this forte. Pompey the great, I pray thee tell me if thou haft served so long time in the warrs, E as the lawe doth appoint? Then aunswered Pompey alowde: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my selfe. The people hearing that aunswere, made an open showte for ioy, they were so glad to heare it : and the Cenfors them selues came from their iudgement feate, and went to accompanie Pompey home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their handes, with great fignes of ioy. At the ende of their Consulthippe, when millikinge increased further betwext Pomper and Crassus, there was one Gains Aurelius, of the order of Knighthoode, who till that time neuer spake in open affembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how Ispiter had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Confulls from him, that they should not leave their charge and office, before they were reconciled F together. For all these wordes Pampey sturred not. But Crassus first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my selfe dishonored to gene

a place to Pompez, fith you your felues have thought him worthie to be called the great, before he had any heare of his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had fayd his minde, they were made frendes together, Pompey and and so surrendred up their office. Now for Crassis, he held on his former maner of life which frender, he had begon. Pompey as neere as he could gaue ouer to pleadmens causes any more. & began litle and little to withdraw him felfe from frequenting the marker place, and matters of judge-

ment, comming feldome abroad, & when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rate thing also to fee him any more come out of his house, or talke with any man, but Pompey he was ever accompanied with a great number, & he reioyced to him felfe, to fee that he had pride and alwaies such a traine with him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him greater

a countenaunce to fee him thus courted, thinking it dishonor to him to be familiar with meane nersons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to live like private > rivens: bicause they can not facion them selues to be copanions with the common people. (who citizen like vie a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the city, feriors in warres: will thinke fowle scorne if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this meanes when they have a noble warrier amonge them that followeth publike causes which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained)they obscure his glory and

25 they are in the field. Yea and cotrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inmake him an vinderling vinto them: whereas they doe not otherwise enuy any fouldiers, that are contented equally to geue them place and authority, as plainly appeared (hortly after by C. Pompey him felfe. By fuch an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea tooke beginning in the The beein contry of CILICIA, which was not reckoned of at the first, bicause it was not perceived, untill ning of the

they grew bold & venturous in king Methridates warres, being hyered to do him feruice. And pirates warres afterwards the ROMANES being troubled with civill warres, one fighting with an other even at Rome gates, the fea not being looked to all this while: it fet them a gogge, and made them go further then euer they did before. For they did not only rob & spoile all marchat venterers by fea, but rifled alfo all the Ilandes & townes upon the fea coast: infomuch as then there ioyned with them, men of great wealth and nobility, & of great wisedom also, & entred into their insolancy of fellowshippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set vp arsenalls or store houses in the pira

fundry places, they had fundry hauens and beacons on the land, to gene warning by fire all a-D longest the sea coast, & those well kept & watcht:moreouer, they had great sleetes of shippes, ready furnisht with excellent good galliots of ores, skilfull pilots & mariners, their shippes of fwift faile, & pinnafes for discouery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the coueringes of the fame all of purple filke, delighting only to make a glorious show of their pillage. All the sea coast ouer, there was no fight of any thinge but musicke, singing, banketing, and rioting, prifes of Captaines, and men of great quality, & raunsomes of a thowsand prisoners: & all this was to the shame & dishonor of the Romanes. Their ships were about a thowsand in nuber, The privates & they had take aboue foure hidred townes. They had spoiled & destroyed many holy teples "naty, a thowthat had never bene touched before. As the temple of the twynnes in the Ile of CLAROS, the

E temple of Samothracia, the temple of Earth in the city of HERMION, & the teple of Afculapius in Epidav RV mithe temples of Neptune in Isthmos, TENARIA, & CALABRIA: & the temples of Apollo in Activm, in the Heof Leve Ades: the temples of Iuno in Samos, in Argos, & in Lycania. They had also many straunge sacrifices & certen ceremonies of religion amongest the selues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the mistery of Mithres, which is the sunne: & remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent partes and injuries they did the ROMANE'S vpon the fea, they went a land, and where they found any houses of pleasure vpon the sea coast, they spoiled & destroyed them: & on a time they tooke two ROMANE Prætors, Sextilius, & Bellinus, being in their purple robes, with their fergeauts & officers attending on the, & caried them quite away. An other time also they stale F away the daughter of Antonius (a man that had received honor of triumphe) as flactivent a walking abroad in the fields, & she was redemed for a great summe of money. But you the greatest spight & mockery they yied to the Romanas, was this. That when they had take any of them

MMM iii

The pirates fcorning of the Romanes when they were taken.

and that he cried he was a citizen of Rome, and named his name: then they made as though A they had bene amazed, and affrayed of that they had done. For they clapped their handes on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgeue them, The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled them selves as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came vnto him, & put shooes on his feete others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the Romane facion, for feare, (fayd they) leaf he (hould be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, & mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their shippe ladders, and put him on it, & bad him go his way, he should have no hurt : and if he would not goe of him selfe, then they cast him ouer the bord by force, and fent him packing. These rouers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commaundement: infomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, not a once traffique that sea. And this was the only cause that moved the Romanes, searing sears. tv of vittells, and a great dearth) to fend Pompey to recouer the fignory againe of the fea from these pirates. The first man that moued it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be only Admirall, or Generall by sea, but should have absolute power to commaunde all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doinges in his charge Gabinius Law Was Gabinius, Pompeys frend. The fumme of this decree gaue him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from Hercules pillers, and of the maine land, the space of source hundred furlong from the sea. (For the ROMANE's dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations & mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to choose of the Senate fifteene Lieutenauntes, to geneva-C to enery one of them, severall provinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also take money out of the treasure, of the Generall receivers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred faile, with full power besides to leavy what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he lifted. This law when it had bene read onceouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuy, but also that it gave them apparant cause of seare, to gene such absolute power vnto a prinate person. Whereapon, they were all against it but Cafar, who favored the decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey, as the people, whose fauor he sought. The noble men fell maruelously out with Pomper. and at the length one of the Confulls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to fol-D low Romalus steppes, but peraduenture he would come shorte of that end he made. Thereapon the people thought to have killed him. After that, Catulus stoode vp to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, bicause he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of enuy, to speake many goodly thinges in the praise of Pompey, and in fine. aduised the people to spare him, and not to venter in such daungerous warres (one after another) a man of so great accompt, as they ought to make of him. If ye chaunce to loofe him, fayd he:whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your felfe, Then perceiuing that he lost his labor, seeking to turne the people from their determination: he lest it there, and fayd no more. Roseius rose next after him to speake, but he could have no audience. When he saw that he coulde not be heard, he made a signe with his singers, that they shoulde not geue Pompey alone this authority, but ioynean other with him. The people being offended withall made fuch an outcrie vppon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place As the vorce at that instant, was striken blinde, & fell downe amongest the people. Whereby it appeareth, that fowle falling out of the ayer to the ground, do not fall for that the ayer is broken or pearced with any force or fury: but bicause the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with fuch a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the ayer) doth strike & ouercome them. Thus for that day, the affembly brake vp, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this de-

cree should passe by voyces of the people, Pompey went abroad into the contry. There being

aduertised that the decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned agains that

feene them sun out of all partes of the city vnto him, to have waited on him home. The next

morning he came abroad, and facrificed to the goddes: and audience being genen him at an

night into theicitie, bicause he would anoyde the enuiethey would have borne him to have F

A open affembly, he handled the matter fo, that they gave him many thinges besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation fer downe and appointed at the first decree. For Pompey prehe ordained that the common wealth should arme him fine hundred shippes, & they leavied paration afor him fixe score thowsand sooremen, and five thowsand horsemen, and chose besides source rate. and twenty Senators, which had every one of them bene Generalls of armies, and two generall Treasorers also. While thinges were thus a preparing the price of vittels fell by chaunces which reioyced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of Penters only had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he deuided all the sea between the lands into thirteene regions, and in enery of them he appointed a certaine number of his thippes, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenauntes ouer them. Thus having disperfed his power all a-R broade, he brought all the pirates shippes that were in a fleete together, within his danneers and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that bad difeerfed them selues betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase: they sed all inin Cilicia, as bees into the beehiue, against whom he would needes go him selfe in person with three score of his best shippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scored all the Thuscane sea, the coastes of Lybia, Sardinia, Sicile, and of Corres of all these theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within forty, dayes foace taking infinite paines, both him felfe and his Lieutenaunts. Now when one of the Confulls called Pifo did all the best he could to hinder Pompeys preparation, and had discharged his ower men, for that he enuied Pompeys prosperity: Pompey sent his shippes before to make towardes IT ALIB to arrive at the city of BRYND VSIVM. He in the meane time, went through THUSCANE to ROME, where, so soone as his comming was knowed; all the people tan out to meetehim, as if he had bene absent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to fee him, was the fodaine chaunge of victals vnlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all partes. But Pifo went neere to be deprived of his Confulthippe: for Gabiniste had the The corresponding decree wrytten, and ready to present to the people. But Pompey would not suffer it. So, having one pile. gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went vnto the city of BRYNDVSIVM, and there tooke sea, and hoysed sayle. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortnesse of time made him palle by many good cities without comming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passeby the city of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the goddes, retur-D ned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the city, he red two wrytinges that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which fayd thus.

The humblier that thou dooft thy felfe as man behave, The more thou dooft deserve the name of god to have. And the other wryting was without the gate, which fayd: We wisht for thee, we wast for thee,

VVe vvorship thee, we want on thee. Nowe bicause Pompey having taken certaine of these rouers by sea that kept together, did viethem gently when they required pardon, and having their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled E from his other Captaines and Lieutenauntes, and went and yeelded them felnes, their wives and children into his handes. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of them felues, and by that meanes he came to have knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, whome he tooke in the ende : but knowinge that they deserved no pardon, they hid them schies. Yet the most parte, and the richest of them, had conveyed their wives, children and goodes, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into strong castells and litle townes apon mount Taurus: and fuch men as were able to cary weapon, imbarked, and lay before acity of Coracustum, where they taried Pompey, and gaue him battell, first by sea, and there were ouercome, and afterwardes they were befieged by lande. Howebeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercie, and thereupponyeelded their bodies, townes, and llandes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worse to haue approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in leffe then three monthes driven from The village the fea wherefocuer they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure of Pomper to

MMM iiii

them selues too vnthankefull : but that which most grieued them, was to see Rompeys power

established in a plaine tyranny. Hereuppon therefore, one of them perswaded and encoraged

fcore and tenne gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken. (who were in number aboue twenty thowfand persones) he did not only consider when ther he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise parte on thother side to let them goe at liberty, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as in deede they were and all poore men and fouldiers. Therefore, weying with him felfe, that man by nature is an borne a wild or fauage beaft, but contrarily becommeth a brute beaft chaunging nature whi he falleth to vice : and againe is made tame and civill in time, chaunging place and maneral life: (as brute beaftes that being wilde by nature doe also become gentle and tractable, with gentler vsageby continuance) he determined to draw these pirats from the sea into thupland and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small townes of the CILICIANS, that were feant inhabited, & were very glad of the, geuing them land to keepe them with. The conof the Southens also, that not long before had bene destroyed by Tigranes the king of Anne NIA, being desirous to replenish that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed

uers also in the city of DYMA in the contry of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants and had great store of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest frendes milliked him. Force Pompey land tellus that gentle person, (a cosen to that Metellus which was his colleague, and made warns in Spatnewith him against Sectorius) was sent Prætor into C RET A, before Pompey was chosen Generall against the pirates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was even a seconde denne of pirates. Metellus finding there a great number of these theeues, tooke many of them, and put them to death, euen all that came to his handes. Then, fuch as had fcaped from him, being straightly befieged, sent vnto Pompey to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: de claringe vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, bicaufell partes of that region from the sea came iust within the copasse limited him on the land, Pom per pardoning them apon their fubmiffion, wrote vnto Metellus, & commaunded him to leave of his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they should not obey Metellus commaundementes. After that he fent Lucius Octavius, one of his Lieutenauntes, who entredimo the townes Metellus belieged, and fought for the pirates. This made Pompey not only hated & enuied, but derided also: for that vnder his name he had protected such vile theeues, that had neither God nor law, and geuen them his authority to faue their liues, for a litle enuie and e-li Achilles dif- mulacion he bare vnto Metellus. And therefore they rightly reproue Achilles, and fay thathe shewed not the parte of a wife man, but of a young foole besides him selfe, for desire of glory, making a figne to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to strike at Hector, to thend that as Homes fayd:

Least he too late should to the battell runne. When others had the honor of it wwonne.

But Pompeys fact was worse then this. For he fought for the comon enemies of the world, and only to deprine a ROMANE Prætor of triumphe, who had done great good service to have destroyed them. This notwithstanding, Metellus left not of his warre for Pompeys letters, but hauing taken the pirates by affault, he put them to death: and afterwardes hauing done Othwiss open shame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to Rome, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, & that Pompey having no other feruice in hand, went visiting the cities vp & downe: one Manilius a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That Pompey taking all the army Lucullus had, & the provinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which Glabrio kept: should go make warre you the kings Tieranes and Mithridates, keping in his handes notwithstanding all his iurisdiction and army by sea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monante and absolute Prince, of all the Romans Empire. For by this second decree, he had all these contries not named in his former commission, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all F the armies and forces with the which he had ouercomen those two mighty kinges. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the injurie that was offered vnto Lucullus, deprining him of the

an other, flowtly to withfland this edict, and not to fuffer their liberty to be loft in this forte. Notwithstanding, when the day came that the decree should passe, they were so afrayed to anger the people, that their hartes failed them, & none durft speake against it but Catalus only: that earnestly inueyed against the passing of it a long time together, & greatly blamed the The boldness people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his parte, he oftentimes of Catului in cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some mountaine or high rocke to B retyre fafely vnto, to defend their liberty, as their ancesters had done in old time before them, law. All this prevailed not, for the decree passed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made Lorde almost of all that, which Sylla by force of armes and great effusion of blood (having made him selfe Lord of Rome) had before in his power. When Pompey had received letters from ROME, advertifing him what the people had past in Pompey his behalfe: fome fay that at the receite of them (in the presence of his familiar frendes that great diffirm were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruelously to have such great offices & charge layed voon him, one in the necke of an other, and burst forth in these wordes. O goddes, shall I nenersee an ende of such a worlde of troubles as I haue? Had it not bene better for me to have Chene a meane man borne and vnknowen, then thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, shall I neuer see the time, that breaking the neckes of spight and enuy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my contrie, with my wife & children? When Pompey spake those wordes, his familiar frendes could not abide to see his deepe diffimulation, knowing that besides his natural ambition and couetous desire to rule, he was Ougrell beglad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and Lucullus: wist Pompey which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into enery quarter, and Lucullus commaunding all fortes of fouldiers to come to him immediatly, & made also all the Princes and kinges within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the contries, altered and chaunged all that Lucullus had established before. Furthermore, he did release the D penalties enjoyined them, and tooke from them also the giftes that Lucullus bestowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpose and defire: to make them that honored Lucullus know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. Lucullus finding him felfe hardly handled Pompey and by Pompey, the frends of either fide thought good they should meete & talke together: which Luculiu meecame so to passe, for they met in the contry of GALATIA. And bicause they both were great ting in Gala-Captaines of the ROMANE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their fergeaunts &officers that carried the bundells of roddes before the, wreathed about with laurell boughs. When they met, Lucullus came out of a close & woody contry, all covered with greene wees, and Pompey on thother fide had paffed through a great fandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon Lucullus fergeaunts feeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which E Pompeys fergeaunts caried, they gave them of their greene and fresh boughes to beawtifie the roddes and axes. This was a plaine token that Pompey came to take Lucullus horior from him. In troth Lucullus had bene Confull before Pompey, & fo was he also older man then he syce the dignity of Pompey was greater, bicause he had triumphed twife. At their first meting, their enterrainment & discourse was with great ceremony and curtesie as might be, one highly praifing the others deedes, rejoycing at eche others good fucceffe: but at parting they fell to hat wordes together, Pompey vpbrayding Lucullus auarice, and Lucullus Pompey flambition, fo that

their frendes had much a doe to parte them. Lucullus departing thence, deutded the landes in-

good. Pompey on thother fide camping hard by him, specially commaunded the people inc-

uery parte to obey him in nothing what soeuer he did and besides, he took all his souldiers

from him, leaving him only fixteene hundred, which he supposed were such as for distance

and ill will they bare him, would do him but fmall feruice. Furthermore, to bleamifh the glory

GATATIA, which he had conquered, and bestowed them & other gifts, on fugliss be thought weather.

cullus succes-

of his doings, he told every body Lucullus had fought with the pompe & shadow only of the s two kinges, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, Mithriday being then prepared for warres, with shieldes, swordes, and horses. Lucullus for revenue on the other fide fayd, that Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of warre, like a cowardly buf. fard that prayeth vpon dead bodies, which others have flaine: & to cut a funder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the ours throw of Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus, to him felfe, where in deede Metellus, Crassus, and Catulus did ouercome them. And therfore it was no maruell, that he fought the glory and he

nor to triumphe for the kingdomes of Pontvs and Armenia: fith that through his fubrill practifes he had obtained triumphe for a fewe flaues and fugitiues. Lucullus being nowe gone his way, Pompey fent good garrifons vnto all the coaftes apon the fea, from the province of PHOENICIA, vnto the realme of Bosphorvs. That done, he tooke his iorney by landers. wardes Mithridates, who had in his campe thirtie thowsande footemen, and two thowsande horsemen, and yet durst not offer battel, but camped first apon a mountaine of great strength. and hard to get vp on : notwithstanding shortly after, he forsooke it for lacke of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompey tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and also by divers holes he found that for reason thereabouts should be some springes: he commaunded them to digge weller in euery corner, so that in a very short time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred

at Mithridates, that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In thend, he went and camped rounde about Mithridates, and intrenched him with a wall within his owned campe: who after he had abidden the fiege fine and forty dayes, fled away with all the choice of his army, vnknowing to Pompey, having first slaine all the sicke and impotent persons with in his campe. After that, Pompey found him an other time by the river of Euphrates, & went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mithridates would passe ouer the river before he could preuent him in time, he raifed his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that Mithridates sawe that in a dreame, which did prognosticate what should happen. He thought, that having the winde in the poope of his shippe, he was vnder faile, in the middest of the sea of Mare Bosphorum, and that he was maruelous glad of it and reiovced with them that failed with him, thinking him felfe certainly past all daunger: yetlodainly againe, that all this joy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waves of thefea. I apon a litle peece of the shippe that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the windes. Ashe was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that Pompey was come so neere, that there was no shift, but they must needes fight to defend their campe. Thereuppon, his Captaines straight beganne to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. Pompey vnderstanding they prepared to make defence, was in dout to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compaffe them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to fet vpon them more easily, his men being the better fouldiers. But Pompers olde Captaines were so earnestly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, thatin the ende he was contented they should geue charge. Now it was not so darke but they could somewhat see, for the moone that was very low and vppon her setting, gaue light enough to E discerne the body of a man; yet bicause the moone was very low, the shadow which gaugout Surther farre then their bodies, came almost euen to their very enemies, which did let the that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their dartes at the ROMANES, but they hurte neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The Romanes perceiuing that, ran apon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so affrayed,

Pompey over- but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, fo that they were flaine downeright. Thus were there tenne thowsand of the barbarous people slaine and more, and their campe also uken. As for Mithridates him selfe, at the beginning of thonset, he made a lane among the Ro-MANES with eight hundred horsemen, and passed cleane through them. But incontinently his F Broficenes, men dispersed apon it, some one way, some an other way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, whereof Hypsicrates was one of the number, which had ever bene valliant

and had a mans hart : whereuppon, for that cause Mithridates called, her Hypsicrates. She at thereis calhat time being arrayed like a man of armes of Persia, and mounted also on a horse after the datappe hat time being arrayed like a man of armes of Persia, and mounted also on a horse after the datappe has manet, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to waite audientee. voon his person, and to looke to his horse: vntill such time as the king came to a strong castell. the smen. called Inora, where was great store of gold & silver, and the kinges chiefest treasure. Then Mithridates tooke of his richest apparell he had there, & gaue it amongest them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poylon besides to enery one of his frendes to carie about them. bicause they should not (vnlesse they would them selves) fall into their enemies handes alive.

POMPEIVS.

From thence he thought to take his iorney into ARMENIA, vnto king Tigranes. Howbeit Tioranes fent to let him, and further proclaimed by trompet, that he would geue a hundred talentes to him that could kill him. Thereuppon, paffing by the head of the river of Euphrates. heffed through the contry of CHOLCHIDE. In the meane time, Pompey inuaded the contry of ARMENIA, at the request of Tigranes the younger, who was revolted against his father, and went to meete with Pompey at the river of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the Araxes ft.

head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on further into the contrie, receivinge fuch townes as yeelded vnto them. But king Tigranes (that not long before had bene confumed and destroyed by Lucullus) understanding that Pompey was of a mylde and gentle nature, he received his garrisons into his frongest forces and royall houses, and went him selfe with his frendes and kinsemen to meete Pompey, & to yeeld him felfe vnto him. Whe he came hard to his campe, being a horse backe, Tigrane relthere came out two sergeaunts of Pompeys, & commaunded him to light and go in a foote for desh him felfe there was neuer man seene a horse backe within the Romanes campe. Tigranes did not only "no Pempey.

ohey them, but further plucked of his fword and gaue it them; and in fine, when he came almost to Pompey, taking of his royall hatte fro his head, he would have layed it at Pompeys feete. Tiermes laied & falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased him selfe to imbrase Pompeys knees, his diadeans

But Pompey him felfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to fit downe by feet. him on the one fide of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he sayd vnto them both: as for the other loffes you have fusteined heretofore, you must thanke Lucullus for them, who hath taken from you, Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophena: but for that you haue left you till my comming. I will let you enjoy it, paying to the Romanes a fine of fixe thowfand talentes for the injurie you had done them, prouided alfo, that your fonne haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his parte. Tigranes accepted the condicions of peace. The Ro-MANE s then faluted him king. He was fo glad thereof, that he promifed to geue euery fouldier halfe a Mina, every Centener tenne Minas, and to every Colonell of a thow fand men a talent. His fonne was very angry withall: infomuch as Pompey fending for him to come to supper to him, he aunswered againe, that was not the frendshippe he looked for at Pompeys handes, for

he should finde many other ROMANES that would offer him that curtesie. Pompey for his aunfwere, clapped him vp as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumphe at Rome. Shortly af- Tierenes ter, Phraates king of PARTHIA fent Ambassadors to Pompey to demaunde this young Prince, some a prithat was his sonne in law: and to tell him that the river of Euphrates must be the yttermost E confines of his conquestes. Pompey aunswered againe, that Tigranes had more right to his sensommer fonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would doe it with intering of his borders, that he would doe it with intering flice. So, leaving Afranius in ARMENIA to keepe the contrie, Pompey passed by other nations Pompey. which inhabite about mount Caucasus, having Mithridates in chace: of which nations, two caucasus of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the ALBANIANS and IBBRIANS. The IBBRIANS do Mons, and stretch out vinto mount Moschiu, & to the realme of Pont vs. The Albanians lye towards there in the the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered Pompey to passe through their contrie, manus of pass apon his sending to the. But winter having stolen apon the Romanes while they were there, & they bufily occupied about Saturnes feafts: the barbarous people having leanied about forty

thowland fighting me in one campe together, came & passed over the rivet of Cyrnus (This crows the Finer commeth from the mountaines of the IBBRIANS, and receiving the river of Araxes in to it, which passeth through ARMENIA, disperseth it selfe into twelve several moustes, and lo falleth into Mare Caspium, Some notwithstanding holde opinion, that Cyrnus receiveth

kinges bro-sher of she Albanians. The Ama-

Thermodon fl

606 POMPEAVS. nor the river of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it selfe, & falleth into the same fee vnto the mouthes of the other.) Pompey might if he had would have kept them for com ouer the river, yet did he fuffer them quietly to paffe ouer. When they were all ouer, he was against them, ouercame them in battell, and flue a great number of them in the field. After wardes he pardoned their kinge, submittinge him selfe vnto Pompey by his Ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went against the IBERTANS: who were no life in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the first, and also better souldiers, and were resolved Pompey our. ly bent to doe good seruice vnto Mithridates, and to drive out Pompey. These I BE RIAMS Wife neuer fibiect to the Empire of the Persians, nor of the Medes, and scaped also from being fubiect to the Macedonians, for that Alexander neuer flayed in the contry of Hyacana whom also Pompey ouercame in a great & bloodie battell, hauing slaine nine thowsand indea field, and taken terme thow and prisoners. From thence he went into the contry of Course DA. There Servilus met him by the river of Phasis, with the fleete of shippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to followe Mithridates further, who had hidde him fellow mongest a people that were neighbours vnto the straightes of Bosphorvs, and the manifes Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newes that the AL: The Albania BANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them, Thereuppon rebell against he passed againe ouer the river of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, bicause the batte. rous people had made a strong defence a great way alongest the river side, with a manuscular number of great trees, feld and layed a croffe one ouer an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty paffed thorow them, he fell into an euill fauored contry, where he flood (trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereuppon he caused ten thousand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and so went forward to meete with his enemies, when he found by the river of Abas, being fixe score thowsande sootemen, and twelve thousand horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wilde beastes skinnes. Their Chieftaine was Cosis, the kinges owne brother. He, when the battell was begonne, flew apon? pey, and threwe a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. Pompey on thother fide, rannehim through with his launce on both fides,& flue him starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battel, which fought of the barbarous peoples side, coming from the mountaines that runne alongest the river of Thermodon. For, after the overthrow guen, the ROMANES spoyling the dead, sound targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONES, butnotal body of a woman among them. They also doe inhabite on the side of the mountaine Caucafus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border vpon the ALBANIANAIDE Gels and Let the GELE, and the LELEGES are between them, with whom they company two moneths only euery yeare meeting together, by the river of Thermodon, and all the rest of the year, pany with the they live a parte by them selves. After this last battell, Pompey going to invade the contribution HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous ferpents which he met with, being come within three days inney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the leffe, and there received preferre which were sent unto him from the kings of the E LYMIANS and the MEDES, and wrotered curreoully vnto them againe: howbeit he fent Afranius with parte of his armie against the ! king of the Parthians, who had inuaded the contry of Gordiena, and harried and fooled the king of Tigranes subjects. Notwithstanding, he draue him out, and sollowed him vno As-BELITIDE. Purthermore, all the leg mans and concubines of king Mithridates being brought vinto Pompey, he would touche none of them, but fent them all home againe, to their parents and frendes, bicause the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noblemen, of Captaines. Notwithstanding, Stratonice that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most creat about Mithridates, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his castel, where the greatest pass of his treasure of gold and filter lay, was a fingers daughter, who as they fayd, was not rides but an old man. She having song one night before Mithridates, being at supper, he fell in fancy with her, that he would needes have her lye with him the fame night, and the oldans

her father wene thome offended, bicause the king would not so much as geue him one goule

word. But the next morning when he rose, he marueled to see the tables in his house full of

A slate of gold and filter, and a great company of ferting men, groomes of ghamber & pages antification had brought him maruelous riche apparell, & a horfe ready as the gates bravebeformithed, as the kings familiars did vie when they went abroade into their ity: he thought hwas done in mockery, to have made sporte with him, and therefore would have runne his had not the feruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dved of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a little percion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleving them, arthe length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got up a horse backe, & riding through the streetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to forme for it, he told them: mafters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out but rather. that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so madde for iov. Such was Stratonices birth and parentage, as we have told you. She did then deliver this castell into Pompers hands and offer redhim many goodly riche prefents: but he would take none of them, other then fligh as fermed to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beautifie his triumphe, and left all the reft with Stratonice her felfe, to dispose as the thought good. In like manner also the king of the IMPLANS, having fent him a beditead, a table, and a chayer of cleane golde, praying him to mile it as a remembraunce from him: he delivered it over unto the Treaforers cultody, to be Pompey abo attenuntable for it vnto the state. In an other castell called Geenon, he found servaine secret leners fent from Mithridates, which pleased him maruelously to reade bicause thereby he plainly understoode the kinges nature and inclination. For in them were mencioned that he O had bowfoned (besides many other) Ariarathes his owne some, and Aleans the SARDHANIAN Minbridges bicause he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpretinge of dreames; that either him felfe or his wives had dreamed, and also love letters between Monime and him. Theophanes wryteth alfo, that there was found an oration of Rutilius, in the which heinnifed and perswaded Mithridates to put all the ROMANES to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously deuised by Theophami who hated Rutilius, bicause he was but a counterfeate to him : or peraduenture to gratifie Pompey, whose father Rutilius in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Rutiliar, and Thence Pompey departed towardes the city of Amis vs. There his ambition brought him to historiogracommit fuch factes, as he him felfe did condemne before in Lucultus: for that his enemy being? Dyeraliue, he tooke voon him to establish lawes, to geue giftes, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he him felfe (Mithridates being yet the stronger in the realme of BORPHORYS. and having a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproued an other for, appointing provinces, and geuing out giftes to every man according as he deferued to gratific twelue barbarous kinges, with divers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Wryting also to the king of PARTHIA, he disdained to gene him that title, which o. thers were wont to doe in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kinges, Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great defire to winne Synta, and to goe through the contry of A RABIA, euen vnto the redde fea, bicaufe he might enlarge his conqueftes and victories every way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in Lin va. he was the first Romans that conquered all to the great fea. On thother side, in Spayne he enlarged thEmpire of Rows, and brought the confines thereof winto Mare Atlantique. And thirdly, having lately the ALBANIANS in chafe, he came almost ynto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put him felfe in torney, intending his circuite vnto the redde fea, specially bicause he sawe Minimilates to ill to follow & worfe to ouersome by force when he fled, then when he fought, Pompeys in. any battell : and that made him fay, thathe would leave a fharper enemy behinde him, then my into Syhim felfer and that he ment; famine, For he appointed fouldiers with fufficient number of " thippes, to lye in waite for the marchauntes that failed to the contrie of Bosemony sto cary them any vittells or other marchaundifes, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should attemptit. Then he went forward with the best parte of his army, and in his way, founde the bodies of dead Romanes which Mishridates had overthrowen vnder the leading of Triarius their Captaine, and were yet unburied. So he caused the mall to be taken up, and honorably

was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him: Pampey now haiting by Afranium stubbles

made a government and province of it, being won to the Romann Empire, for that it lacked

certaine cities there, and delinered others also from bondage, which by tyrannes were fore;

bly kept. whom he chafticed well enough. Howbeit he spent the most parte of his timeshow

deciding of controverlies, pacifying of contencions and quarrells by arbitrement, whichful

out between the free cities; Princes and kinges; and fent of his frends into those places where

he could not come him felfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betweet the Pass.

fent three commissioners thither to judge definitinely betweet them both. If Pompeys fame and

renowne were great, no leffe was his vertue, inflice, and liberality, which in deede did hide

many faultes. his frendes and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of so gende

a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punishe them when they

had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vie them so well that complained vnto him, or that

THEANS and the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a contrie which both parties claimed the

the Arasians, dwelling about mount Amanus, went him felerin person into Sente and a lawfull king: and conquered all Ivais also, where he tooke king wristobulus, and builded

had to deale with him in any matter a that he made them contented, paciently to beate their couerousnes & straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loued belt was called Demetrius, a bondman infranchifed, who otherwife was very differete in his doings but being somewhat too bolde of his good fortune: of him they make this mencion. Catethe

Pompeys absence went to see the city of ANT 10 CH. Now for him selfe, his maner was always to goe a foore, & all his frendes besides that did accompany him to honor him, were a horse, backe. He perceiuing a farre of, a great forte of people comming rowardes him all in white and of one fide of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes; round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall; thinking they had done it for his fake to honor him; that

Cates excla- ftion: then fayd Cate, alas poorecity, and fo paffed by it. Notwithstanding, Pomper him telle mation against was cause that Demetrius had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should have had bicause they sawe howe boldly he would vie Pompey, and howe well he would take it without Pampeys infranchifed

offence. It is reported, that when Pompey oftentimes had bidden fome to dinner or fupper, while he was entertaining and welcomming of them, and would rary till they were all comes Demetring would be fet at the bord, and prefumptuously have his head covered eventeithe very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIBOUT of this iorney, he had alresdy purchaced the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about Rouse and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly valled Demetrius gardens:

sed him felfe so Pompey.

Theater.

first, and yet no more then needed. Insomuch as lie that was owner of it after him ; which he came into it, he marueled, and asked where abouts it was, that Pampey dyned & support These thinges are reported thus. Now, the king of the A RABIANS, that dwell about the callelland led Petra, having neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the Romanis army loas than greatly affrayed of them, and wrote vnto Pompey, that he was at his denotion, to doe what he would commaunde him. Pompey thereuppon to prouchim, whether he ment as he finaled brought his army before this caffell of Petral Howebeit this voyage was not likely of anany men, bicaufe they judged it was an occasion found out to leave following of Mahridan, at gainst whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an auncibit endur to Rome, and that beganne to gather firength againe, and prepared (as they heard fag) to lead

though his mafter Pampey was but meanly housed till his third Consulthippe. How beitafter

wardes, he built that famous stately Theater, called Pompeys Theater, and lowned vinouthat all

fo an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farre more sumprisons and stately then the

A 2 great army through Sc YT HIA and PANN ON IA into ITA E 150 But Pomper thinking he should former minithe his power by fuffering him to goe on with warres, then that he thould otherwife he able to take him flying : would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time to longothar in the end he was muchy his hope. For when he was not farre from the caltell of Petra, & had ledged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse vp and downerhe campo postes came serving to him from the realine of Ponties, and brought him good newes, as was cafily to her differenced a farre of by the heades of their lauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The fouldiers perceiving that, flocked ftraight about him a but Pomper would make an ende of his riding first, before he red these letters. Howbeinthey crying to him and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horle, and returned into his campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand uppon to speake unto them, and againe, the

faildiers would not sary the making of one after the manner of their campeq: which men of warre doe make them felues, with great turnes of earth; laying one of them vopon an other! but for halt & earnest defire they had to heare what newes there was an the letters, they layed together a heape of faddells one apon an other, and Pompey getting whof them colde howe Mithridates was dead, and had killed him felfe with his owner handes, hichard bit, fohne Phare Minidate

mees did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed a writting voto him, that he keprit for him felfe and the Roman es. V ponthele newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull joy, and did facrifice to the goddes, geuing them chankes, & were Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good judgement and of a noble mindein C. G as mery as if in Michigares person abone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enomies. Pemper by this occasion, having brought this warremore easily to patienthen he hoped forb departed prefently out of A RABIA, and having speedily in few tlayes passed through the come tries lying by the way, he came at length to the city of Asit says. Therefounde great these minimum and fenrs that were brought vnto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the kinges blobde and amongest the rest; Mithridates corfe, which could not well be discerned by his face, bithey made this procession, which he in no wife would have had done. Thereuppon he comcause they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie up the brainemenerthelesse. maunded his frendes to light from their horses, and to goe a foote with him. But when they fuch as defired to fee him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For Pamper would came neere to the gate of the city, the mailter of the ceremonies that led this proceffion, in inno wife fee him: but to avoide entry fent him away wito the city of Syrio pe. He wondted uing a garland on his head, and a rodde in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them: where much at the maruelous sumptuons riche apparell and weapons that he ware. The scaberd of they had left Demetrius, and when he would come? Catoes frendes laughed to heare this que n D his fword (which coft four hundred talents) was stolen by Prublins, and fold to Ariarathes. Al. The baine of

loa hatte of Mithridates of wonderfull workeman hipperbeing begged of Cansu his fosterbook feaberd of his ther, was fecretly genen to Faultus, the fonne of Sylla, without Pompeys printry. But afterwards found. when Pharnaces understoode of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them! Entraces basing ordered all things and established that prouince, went on his iorney homewards with great pompe and glory. So, comming vnto Mirriene, he released the city of all taxes and Pompeyers. paymentes for Theophanes lake, & was prefent at a certaine play they year lymake for games, terns on of where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, having at that time noise ther matter in hande, but Pompeys actes and ieastes. Pompey liked exceeding well the Theater where these playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a stately enthem

E that in Rome As he paffed by the city of Ruodes, he would nedes heare all the Rethorisians. dispute, and gaue every one of them a talent. Posidonitis hath written the disputation he made: before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rethoritian, vponthe theameand proposition Pampey felfe did geue them, touching the generall question. Pompey did the like av A THEN'S VALO the Philosophers there. For he gate towards the reedifying of the city againg, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into I TALLE, to have bene very honorably received, and longed to be at home, to fee his wife and children, thinking also that they long booked for himshit the god that hath the charge gener him to mingle fortunes prosperity with some bitter soppe of aduerfity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more full rowfull. For Mutia his wife had in his abstence played fallo at tables. Bur Posting their Mutia time of the his wife had in his abstence played fallo at tables. E farre of, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were tolde him: Howebeit, when his requirement drewe neeres into IT ALLE, and that he was more attendible of generated the ill reportes he. Possey for heard: then he fent vnto her to tell her, that he refused that for his wife wryting nothing to NNN ii

Pompeis hamane to Rome enter into Rome before his triumphe: whereupon Pompey fent to the Senate, to pray themen deferre the chofing of Confuls for a few daies, bicaufe he might be prefent to further Pife, who

can refugath mittrufting this defire of Pampers, that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him; denied him

The consties

follow. The kingdom of Pontys, Armenia, Cappadocta, Paphlagonia, Media, Col-CHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, & MESOPOTAMIA: & furthermore, the people that

plate & juells, to pur into the common treasory, the value of twenty thowsand ralents, besides that which had bene distributed alredy amongst the souldiers: of the which he that had lest for his thare, had fifteene hundred Drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the thew of this miumphe, befides the Captaines of the pirats, were thefethat follow. The fonne of Tigranes king F of Armenia, with his wife & daughter: the wife of king Tigranes himselfe, called Zosme: Ari-Robulus king of Ivare: Mithridates fifter with fine formes of hers, & fome Ladies of Sexthia

her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had for saken her. Notwithstanding in Ciceroes Epifeles the caule appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroade in ROME which troubled them fore, being geuen out that he would bring his armie straighten Rome, and make him felfe absolute Lord of all the Romane Empire. Crassing thereuppones ther for that he beleued it in deede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the enuy towardes Pampey the greater: conueyed him felfe, his family, and goodes. Pompey within fodzinely out of Rome. So Pompey when he came into ITALIE, called all his fouldiers toped rename out of ther, and after he had made an oration vnto them, as time & occasion required; he command ged his foul- ded them to feuer them felues, & euery man to repaire home to apply his busines, remebrine to mete at Roun together, at the day of his triuphe. His army being thus difperfed, & straight reported abroad for newes: a maruelous thing happened vnto him. The cities feeing Pompey the great without fouldiers having but a small traine about him of his familliar frendes oncies went all of the tomesto him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquelle but from some jorney take for his pleasure. Such was the love of the people to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into Irwir ristfo that if he had bene disposed to have made any innovation in the common wealth, he had not needed his army! In those dayes there was a law, that no man should

fixed for the Confulthip that yere. They denied him his requeft, by Caroes meanes that hindred

the statelines & magnificece therof, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked

time: for there were many things prepared for the thewe, that were not feene, which would

haue served to haue set out an other triuphe. First there were tables caried, wheron were with

ten the names & titles of all the people and nacions for the which he triumphed, as thefethat

ir. Pemper marueling to heare of his boldnes & plaine speech, which he only yied of all other to ()

defend his just causes had a maruelous desire to win him & to make him his frend So Cate has uing two neces. Pamer defired to marry the one him felfe, & the other for his fonne. But Cate flativ. His wife & fifter on thother fide, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with Pompey the great. About that time it chauced, that Pompey being very defirous to prefere Afranius to be Conful, he caused certaine money to be genen amongest the tribes of the peoples, & the fame was deliuered out to fome, euen in his owne gardens. This thing being report red abroad in the city every man spake ill of Pompey that he put the Consulthip to sale for me nev. vnto those that could not deserve it by vertue, fith him selfe only had obtained it by purchale, of many a noble & worthy deede. Then fayd Cato to his wife and fifter: loe now, we had p bene partakers of this fault to had we matched with Pompey. When they heard it they conferfed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honor. But now to his triumphe, For

dwell about Phoenicia & Palestine, IVD EA, & A BABIA: & all the pirats which he hadouercomen both by fea & by land, in all parts of the world. In all these contries, he tooke about B a thowfand castels few lesse then nine hundred townes & cities: of pirats ships eight hundred; & nine & thirtie defolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreover, these tables declared, that the revenue of the comon wealth of Rome before these conquests he made, amounted yerely but to fine thowsand Miriades: & that from thence forth with the fummes he had added ynto the former revenue, they should now receive eight thowfand & fine hundred Miriades: & that he brought prefently in ready gold & filuer, & in

A The Olfages also of the IBERIANS and the ALBANIANS, and also of the kings of the COMMA-GRNIANS: ouer & besides a great number of other markes of triumphes which him selfe or his Lieutenauntes had wonne at fundry battells in divers places. But the greatest honor that ever he wanne, and which neuer other Confull of the Romanes but him selfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumphe of the three partes of the world. Divers other Roman Bs had Pompey conmumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of AFRICKE : the seconde time of quered three EVROPE: the third time of Asia. So that it appeared by these three triumphes, that he had work miumphed in maner of all the lande that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by then which compare his doinges vnto Alexander the great) vnder foure and thirty yeares of Affa. age, though in troth at that time he was neere forty. O, happy had it bene for him, if he had pompey mi-B dved when he had Alexanders fortune : for all his life afterwardes, made his prosperitie hatefull or his advertity milerable. Imploying the honor and authority he had gotten by his valli- of forty year. antness, fauoring mens vniust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his The chaunge annes, lauding incise white causes the mothing. For like as when the strongest places of of Pompos honor, and vinwares brought his greatnes to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of former and acine, which receiving their enemies into them, doe genethem the benefit of their owne home. thrength: euen fo, through Pompeys power, Cafar growing to be great, ouerthress him in the end with the felfe same meanes he imployed, to the ouerthrowe of others. And thus it fortuned Incullus at his returne out of Asia (where Pompey had vucurteously vied him) was then Incultur bevery well taken of the Senate, and much more when Pompey was also come to Rome. For the loud of the Senate did counsell and incorage him to deale in thaffaires of the state, feeing him waxevery O flow, and geuen too much to his ease & pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. of Asia.

Sowhen Pompey was come, he beganne to speake against him, and through the frendshippe resulting and affiftance of Cato, confirmed all his doinges in A sin, which Pompey had broken and rese mored against ded. Pompey finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driven to have recourse voted the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in frendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, flance. the most impudent & vilest person was Clodius : who received him, & made him a praye vnto Pompey lay the people. For he had Pompey ever at his elbow, & against his honor caried him vp & downe and with the the market place after him, to speake as occasion served to confirme any matter or devise of the people. which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his goodwill he craued of Pompey (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he D would forfake Civero, who was his frend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth, Pompey graunted his request. Thereupon Cicero being brought in daunger of law, and Pompey for

requiring Pompeys frendship to helpe him, he shut his dore against them that came to speake field cierco. in his behalfe, and went out him felfe at an other backe dore. Cicero thereuppon fearing thext treamity of law, willingly for fooke Rome. At that time, Iulius Cafar returning home from his Prztorshippe out of SPAYNE, beganne to lay such a platte, that presently brought him into great fauor, and afterwardes much increased his power, but otherwise viterly undid Pompet and the common wealth. Now he was to fue for his first Consultshippe, and considering the enmitte betwext Pompey and Crassus, if he joyned with the one, he made thother his enemies he deuised to make them frendes, a thing seeming of great honestic at the first sight, but yet a cafar recon-E pestilent deuise, and as subtill a practise as could be . For the power of the city being before ciled Pompes deuided into two partes, (as a shippe evenly ballest of eche side) and maintained the common wealth vpright: being now brought into one mas power, there was no possibility to withstand it, fothat all fell to wracke in the end. Whereuppon, Cato wifely told them afterwardes, that

fayd the civill warres between Pompey and Cafar was cause of the destruction of the common wealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chiefe originall cause of this misery, but rather their frendshippe and agreement. For by their frendshippe, Cefar was chosen Consull, who straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for restoring of the colonies belonging to Rome, and for distributing of lands to them that had none simbaling the caffer law for maiesty and dignity of the chiefe Magistrate, and making the Consultation maner no bet-desident of F ter then he Tribunelhip of the people. Bibulus his colleague and fellowe Confull, did what he lander Lex could to refift him, and Cato also did aide him to his power ; vntill Casar openly brought Pomper into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if

NNN iii

Pamper gow he did gene his confent to the decrees which he did fer forth. Pompey anniwered him, he did a with Cefar, for passing his ple : wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, sayd Pompey. Against

Pompey ma-ried Iulia, the daughter of

Bibulus the men out of the market place,

by Pompey. The law Agraria confirmed by she people.
Gaule and Illyria appoinsed unso Cabilles, and fet them vp on every post in open places, accusing Pompey and Cafar. Cato on the binius, Comther fide, as if he had bene inspired with the spirite of prophecie, tolde openly in the Senate Caso forefbeweth the raine house, what would become of the common wealth and Pompey. Lucullus growing old lay fell

Tribune, fet-

of the com.

mon wealth,

& of Pompey.

frends, to trye what credit he had. In the end Pompey comming abroad one day into the common affembly to here how a matter of his was handled: this Clodius having a company of vacabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did : he fitting in a place E where he might be seene from the rest, beganne to aske these questions out alowde. Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that seekes for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunsers or singers, when he spake and clapped his handes on his gowne, aunswered him straight alowde to energueftion, that it was Pompey. This went to Pompeys harte, that was not wont to heare him felfe fo ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of fight: but yet it made him byte the lippe more, when he faw the Senate glad to fee him thus shamed and reproued, asa fust revenge & punishment for his vile betraying and forfaking of Cicero. So, great sturre and vprore being made upon this in the market place, and many men fore hurt, and one of Clodim bondmen being taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very necreva-F to Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwife fearing Clodius infolency & prowde words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as Clodius was Tribune, but kept #

Why then favd Cafar, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voyces of the peo

them that threaten with the fword, I will bring both fword and target. Pompey in all his life ne. uer did nor spake thinge that men more misliked, then that which he sayd at that time. His frendes excused him, and fayd it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware : but his deedes afterwardes shewed, that he was altogether at Cafars commaundement. For not many daves after, he maried Iulia the daughter of Cafar, which was affianced, or made fure he fore, vnto Seruilius Capso when no man thought of it and to pacific Capsoes anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in mariage, whome he had also promised before vnto Faustus the sonne of Sylla: and Cefar also maried Calpharnia, the daughter of Pifo. After this, Pompey filling all Roma with fouldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Confull Bibulus came into the market

place accompanied with Lucullus and Cato, they fodainly fet vpon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him : and some one, whatsoeuer he was, cast a basket of horse dong apon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very fore hurt. By this meanes, having cleered the market place of all their enemies, they paffed the law for division of lands, as they would them selves. The people being fleshed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would never flicke arange matter that they would have passed. So were all Pompeys matters confirmed, which Lacolles was against: and they appointed vnto Cafar also, the government of the GAVLES on this side and beyond the Alpes: and ILLYRIA for five yeres space, with four ewhole legions. The new o yeare following were appointed Confulls, Pifo Cafars father in law, and Gabinius the greats flatterer Pompey had about him. But now while things stoode in these tearmes, Bibulus though he were Confull, kept him felfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and only sent out

and tooke his pleasure. & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that Pompey fayd: it was more vnseasonable for an old man to followe his pleasure, then to attend matters of the comon wealth. Yet him felfe shortly after was so doted of his young wife. that he would follow her vp and downe in the contry, and in his gardens, and leaue all affaires p of waight aside. Whereupon Clodins being then Tribune of the people, despised Pompey, and beganne to enter into seditious attemptes. For when he had driven Cicero out of Rome, and had fent away Cato to make warres in CYPRV s, and that Cafar also was occupied in GAVLE & finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, bicause to flatter them be did what they would have him: he attempted incontinently to vido fome things that Pomer had established. Amongest other things, he tooke Tigranes out of prison, and ever caried him vp and downe with him wherefoeuer he went, and continually pict quarrells vnto Pompers

home still, consulting with his frendes what way he shouldtake, to appeale the anger of the Senate against him. Thereuppon, one of his frendes called Culeo pertwaded him to put away his wife Iulia, and veterly to refuse Cafars frendshippe, and to sticke again to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken was them that gaue him counsell to call Cicero home againe, who was Cloding mortall enemie, and in great fauor. with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought Ciceroes brother into the marker place _ to moun the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and divers were flaine of either fide: notwith flanding, he overcame Cloding. Thus Gicero being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey agains in fauor with the Senate, and standing with the lawe propounded to geue Pompey authoritie to cause R come to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him have power both by land and fea onerall the territories of the ROMANES. For all the hauens, martes & fayres, & all store houses for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandife and tillage, came ynder Pompeys hands.

Then Clodius accusing him, fayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of vit- commission rells, but that they made a dearth of vittells, bicaufe the lawe should passe, to revive Poissons gent to Pois power and authority againe, that was almost vnder foote. Other say, that this was a densite of perfor bring rentulus Spintber the Confull, who gaue Pompey the greater authoritie, bicaufe he might be into Rome. feat to put king Ptolomy againe into his kingdom. This notwithstanding, Canidian the Tribune preferred an other law to fend Pompey without an army, with two fergeaunts only to cary the

theres, who perfuraded him to doe to, bicaufe he would geue Pemper occasion to make newe

warres. But Theophanes craft and futtilty made not this matter fo credible, as Pompeys wit and

good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitio was nothing fo vile nor ill as that was

So, Pompey having now full authority to cause corne to be brought to Rome, he sent then his

Lieutenauntes and frendes abroade, and him felfe in person went into Signar Nowe being

I) ready to returne againe, there rose such a storme of winds in the sea, that the mariners were

in dout to way their anckers. But him felfe first imbarked, and commaunded them straight to

hoyfe favle, crying out alowde, it is of necessitie I must goe, but not to line, So, through his

boldnes and good spirite, vsing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and

markets with corne, and all the fea befides with shippes ainsomuch, the plenty he brought did

not only furnishe the city of Rome, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a

lively firing that differred it felfe through all ITALIE. About that time the great conqueffes

that Cafar made in GAVLE, did fet him aloft, For when they thought that be was occupied in

warres farre from Rome, with the Belgenns, Swisses, and Englishmen : he by secret pra-

dife, was in the middeft among the people at Rome, & most against Pompey in the waightieft

E affayres of the common wealth. For he had the power of an armic about his person, which

hedid harden with paines and continuall practife, not with intent to fight timely against the

barbarous people: for the battells he had with them, were in maner bucasa hunting sporte,

by the which he made him felfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by

the infinite gold & filuer, and the incredible spoiles and treasure which he wan apon the ene-

mies whom he had ouercome : and by fending great prefentes also to Route to the Ædiles,

So Cafar fent every one backe againe, either full of money, or good wordes: but with Remper

and Craffus, he made a matche, that they two together should fue to be Confulls, and that he

axes before him to bring Ptolomy in fauor againg with the ALEXAND TIANS. This law feemed The reflecting axes before nim, to oring Frommy in tautor against the foliation by this lawe, as being affraged. against of Palamy king least Pompeys person should miscary in so doing. Neuerthelesse, little papers were found thron of Agypta wen about the market place, and the Senate house, declaringe that Psolomy desired Pompey himse

might come to aide him in Spinthres stead, Timagenes wryteth notwithstanding, that Pfologra Went vnto Rome, & left Æ GYPT without any occasion genen him, at the perswasion of Theo-

Prætors, Confulls, and their wives, he purchated him many frendes. Therefore, after he had passed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of Ly case world of people Great repairs (both men and women) and of the Senate them selves almost two hundred persons (and a "unio Casa"). mongest them, Crassus and Pompey by name) went out of Rome vnto him. Furthermore, there were seene at Casars gate, fixe score sergeauntes carying axes before Practors, or Proconfulls.

nnn iii

him selfewould send them good aide to Rome, at the daye of election, to gene their voyces And if they were thosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to hanether gouernmentes of fome newe prouinces and armies affigned them : and withall, that the should adiorne the gouernment of those prouinces he had, for five yeares more. This packet being bewrayed and spred abroad through Rome, the honestest force misliked much thereof Wherupon Marsellinus at an open affembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would fue for the Confulship at the next election. So, they being viged by the people to make aunfwere, Pompey spake first, and said: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. Crassus aunfwered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the common wealth Then Marcellinus tharpely inveying against Pompey, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth. faid, that Marcellinus was the ranckeft churle, and the vnthankefulleft beaft in the world: face that of a dumme man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner starued and famished many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithstanding, divers that before were determined to fue for the Confulthip, went no further in it, fauing Lucius Domitius, whom Cate coun. felled and incoraged not to geue it ouer: for, faid he, thou doeft not contend for the Confulthip but to defend the common libertie of thy contry against two tyrannes. Pompey therefore feating Casoes faction, leaft that having all the Senates good willes, he should drawe also the

best parte of the people after him: thought it not good to suffer Domitius to come into the

market place. To this ende therefore, he fent men armed against him, who at the first onser of pompo ob- flue the torche bearer that caryed the torche before him, and made all the reft flie; among eff sayning the fecond Conwhom also Cato was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of Domi-C tius. Pompey and Crassius being become Consuls after this sorte, they ordered them selues no. thing the more temperately nor honeftly. For first of all, the people being about to choose Cato Prætor, Pompey being at thaffembly of the election, perceyuing that they would choose him, brake vp the affembly, falfely alleaging that he had noted certaine ill fignes, and afterwardes, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose Ania

and Vatinius Prætors. After that, by Trebonius tribune of the people, they published edicts. authorifing Cufars charge for fine yeares lenger, according to the appointment they had Prosinces de- made with Cafar. Vinto Crassin also they had appointed SYRIA, and the warre against the PAR-THIANS. VIItO Pompey in like case, all AFRICKE, and both SPAYNES, with foure Legions besides: of the which, at Cafars desire, helent him two legions to help him in his warre in GAVLE. D These thinges done, Crassus departed to his Province, at the going out of his Consulthin and Pompey remayned at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musicke, and caused wilde beaftes also to be baited and hunted, and killed a fine hundred lions . But of all thinges, there was no fuch fearefull fight and terrible fight, as was between the elephantes. This great charge and bowntifull expence, defrayed by Pompey, to shew the people pastime and pleasure made him againe to be very much efteemed of, and beloued amongest the people. Buton thother fide, he wanne him felfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernment of his Prouinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whileft he him felfe romed up and downe the pleafaunt places of ITALY, with his wife at his pleafure: either bycausehews H farre in loue with her, or els for that the loued him to dearely, that he could not finde in his harte to leave her companie. It was reported of her, (being knowen of many) that this young lady Iulia loued her housband more dearely, not for Pompeys florishing age, but for his affured continencie, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no solemne man, but pleafaunt of conuerfation, which made women loue him maruelously, vnles we will reprote the curtifan Floraes false testimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, mentiling fodainely in hurly burly, drew their fwordes, and many were flaine about Pompey: infomuch as his clothes being bloudyed, he fent his men home in hafte to fetche him other to change him. His young wife that was great with child, feeing his clothes bloudie, tooke fuch a flight in spon it, that she fell downe in a sownde before them, and they had much a doe to recour F her, and yet the fell straight in labor aponit, and was deliuered. So that they themselues, which blamed him most for his good will he bare vnto Cafar: could not reproue the love he bare

a unit his wife. An other time after that the was great with child agains; whereof the died and The delib the childe lived not many dayes after the mother. As Pomper was about to carre her into the of fulls the contrie to be buried, to a house he had there neere vnto the cite of A is with people by force make her corfe, & caried it into the field of Mars, more for the pitie they took of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either Cafar or Pompey and yet what the people did for them, it apneared rather they did it more for Cafars fake being absent, them for Pompey that was present. But ftraight when this alliace was broken, which rather covered, then bridled their ambitious defire to rule: there rose a new sturre in Rose summediatly, and every mans month was full of nritile prattle and feditious wordes. Nor longe after that also came newes, that Graffee was The begitmerthrowen, and flaine in PART HIA: who was a manifest staye and let to kepe them two from different by

a civill warres, for that they both feared him, & therefore kept their felues in a reasonable sorte tour Pamtogether. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could have withflood po decape. the better of them both that had ouercome the other, then might have bene faid of the fe two which remained, as the compeall Poet faid See how these Champions purposing ethe others force to trie. 6.0000 VVith nointed skin and dufty hands frand vaunting valliantly. -10.20 So litle can fortune prevaile against nature, having no power to stoppe coveronses: firm lo large and great an Empire, and fugh a wide contrib belides, could not containe the coue-

tous defire of thefe two men. But though they had often both heard and read. Among the gods them felues all things by lot divided are. And none of them intrudes him felfe weithin his neighours share. Yet they thought not that the Empire of Rome was enough for them, which were but

mo. But Pompey ipake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and alfo left it fooner then they thought he would have done: & that he witnessed by discharging his aimie so soone. Then thinking that Casar would not discharge his armie; he fought to make him felfe strong against him, by procuring offices of the cine, without any other alteracion. Neither would be feeme to miftruit him, but he plainely shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, bicause the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money:he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was mone either to commaund; D orthat the people (hould obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute straight, that there must nedes be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was Lucilius tribune of the people,

who perswaded them to choose Pomper, Bur Gatostucke so stowely against it that the Tribune

had like to have loft his office, even in the market place. But then many of Pompers frendes

stepped vp, and excused him, saying that he neither sought, nor would have the Dictatorship.

Then Cate commended him much, and praying him to fee good order kept in the common wealth: Pompey being ashamed to denie to reasonable a request, was careful of it. Thereupon two Confuls were chosen, Domitim; and Messala: but afterwardes when the state beganne to chaunge againe, by the death of one of the Confuls, and that divers were more earnessly bent to haue a Dict ator than before, Cato fearing it would breake out with furie determined E to geue Pompey fome office of reasonable authoritie, to kepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Informuch, Bibulus him felfe being chiefe of the Senate, and Pompeys ennemie, was the Variance as first that moved . Pompey might be chosen Constill alone : for, faid he, by this measures, either mong the sethe common wealth shalbe ridde of the present trouble, or els it shalbe in Bondage to an ho melt man. This opinion was maruelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whiereupon, Caro flading vp. it was thought straight he would have spoken against him. But silence being made cato stake in him, he plainely tolde them, that for his owne parto he would not have bene the first man to Pompos fa-

commaund, whatfoeuer he be, rather then none: & that he faw no man firter to commaund,

then Pompey, in fo troublefome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion and ordained that

Pomper thould be chosen sole Consul: and that if he fawe in his discretion he frould neede

the affiltance of an other companion, he might name any whome he thought good, but not

haue propounded that was spoken : but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it

reasonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, said he sit is better to have an office to

Pompey cha.

till two monethes were path. This was Pompey made Conful alone by Sulpit mi, regent forthe daie. Then Pomper made very freedly countenance vito Cate, and thanked him for the home he had done him, praying him privately to affift him with his counfell in the Confulting Cato aunswered him, that there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spole nothing for his fake, but for respect of the common wealth only; and for his counsellating

would aske it, he should privately have it, if not, yet that he would openly fair that which Pompey ma ried Carnelis the daughter of Scipio. of Cornelia. the daughter of Metellus

thought. Such a man was Cato in all his doinges Now Rompey retorning into the citie mane Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, not a maiden but late the widow of Publius Criffs the sonne, that was slaine in Past HIA. to whom she was maried a maiden. This Ladie hadre cellent giftes to be beloued besides her beautie. For the was properly learned, could played on the harpe, was skilfull in mulicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleasure also in philos phie, and not vainely without fome profit. For the was very modelt and folier of behatiming without brawling & foolish curiostic, which commonly young women haue, that are industrial with such singular giftes. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwish standing, these valike mariages did nothing please somes for Cornelia was young enough to haue bene his sonnes wife. Now the best cirizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the common wealth, being in such a trouble some time, which had chosen him only as her remedie to redreffe the same and that he in the meane time gaue him selfe ouer to me rying and feafting, where rather he should have bene carefull of his Consulthippe, which was disposed apon him against the lawe, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet, Furthermore, he harpely proceeded against them, which be briberie and vnlaufull meanes came to office: and having made lawes and ordinaunces for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he delt iustly and verightly in all thinges, gening faleig order, filence and grauitie, to matters of Judgement, with force of armes, himselfe being pin fent: fauing that when his father in lawe was also accused among other, he fent for the three hundred & three score Judges home to his home, praying them to helpe him. Whereppon when the accuser saw Scipio accompanied by the Ludges them selues, retorning into the man ket place : he let fall his fute. This made Pompey againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he having made a lawe, that no man should praise the offendors, whilest their matter was a hearing: came him felfe and openly praifed Planens being accused. There upon Cate being one of the Indges, stopped his cares with both his handes, saying: thathell might not heare an offendor praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refused for a Judge, before they gaues entence. Notwithstanding, Planeus was condemned by all the rest of the ludges, to Pompeys great shame and reproache. Shortly after Hapfew, one that had bene Conful, being likewife accused, watching Rompey on a time as he came out of his bathe to goe to supper vpon his knees he befoughe Pompeys fauor and helpe. But he stately passed by him, and gaue him no other aunswere, bur told him, he marred his supper; and faid nothing els to him. This inconstancy was much reproued in Pampey. Howbeit otherwise he fet all thinges in good order, and chose his father in lawe Scipio, for his colleague and fellow

in the Confulthippe, for the fine last monethes, After that, he caused the government of his uinces alsprouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commission to take yearelyout of the treasure a thowsand talentes to defraye the charges of this warre. Cefar, frend seing oareyeares that, stepped vp for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideracion of him, farther. that had likewise great warres for the Empire of Rome: faying that his good service deserved, either that they should make him Consul againe, or els that they should prolonge his charge and government, so as he might yet peacibly enjoye the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to thend that no other successor might reape the frute of his labor. Much sturre and contention being about this matter at Rome, Pompey as though for goodwill he ment to excuse the enuie they might have borne Cafar, said that he had receyved lettres from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthers more, that he thought it good they should graunt him priviledge to demaund the second Consulhippe, although he were absent. Which Carostowtely withstoode, saying, thathe

A recompense of his contrie. But by caufe Pompey make no replie nor auniment toothe comment rie men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of cefor, and the rather: focusie he had fent water him for the two legions which he had long him, under college of his warrend gainst the PARTHIANS. But Cafar though he smelthim wherefore he sent for his fouldness res:

named them home with liberall reward. About that time; Pompey fell ficke at Nike 1 1 stoff at Pompey fell daungerous disease, whereof norwithstanding he reconcered againe . The News it ranks sicke a nethereupon, by perfuation of Pranagoras, one of the chiefeth men of their cities did factifice to free reinthe goddes for his recourse. The like did also their neighbours round about sand in fine with time for the rinne fo generally through all I TALT, that there was no citie or towine (great or finall) but recome

made open seaft and rejoycing for many dayes together. Belides, the infinite normber of pages Papers held ple was fuch that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for ment all but the high wayes, cities, townes and ports of the featwere all hull of people; feathing and facrificing to the gods, rejoycing for his recourrie. Divers also went to meete him, crows med with garlandes, and fo did attend on him, casting no legaves and flowers apon him. Thus was his forney the nobleft fight that ever was, all the way as he came; howbeit men thought allo, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the civilwarres. For he fellinto fulls abride, and glorious conceit of him felfe, with the exceeding toye herooke to fee him felfe. thus honored : that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to foole concest, mother, he grew to bolde in despising of Cafars power, as though he stoode in me neede of made Pompey cher power or care to withftand him; but that he could ouercome him as he would a fare?

Omore easely, then he could have done before. Furthermore, Appine thereupon recorned from Appine for-GAVER that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had letternto conferences thed Pompey ching much his doinges which he had done there, and geuing out many fewle words again and fed his aday. For he faid, that Pompey knew not his owne firength and authorities that would freke tomake him felfe ftronge, by other power against him : considering that he might outer tome him with his owne legions he should bring with him, so soone as they sawe but Famper in the face, such ill will did Casars owne souldiers beare him, and were manuelous desirons besides to feehim felfe. Thefe flattering tales to puffed vp Pompey, and brought him the fuel a fecuritie

and truft of him felfe, that he mocked them to fcorne which were affraved of warres. And to thoscals which said, that if Casar came to Rome, they saw not how they could refish his Dipower! he fimilingly auniwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for an Popen prond ofte faid he as I doe but frampe with my foote apon the ground of Irann & Ithal bring men worder. cough our of cuery corner, both footemen and horfomen. In the meanewine, Cefar garher red force still vato him, and thenceforth drew needer who Ir at y, and fembosonic fouldiers daily to Romin to be prefent at the election of the magistrates, and many to them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongest whom , was Paule, one of the Coordins whom he Paule the Co-

the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought and Matter Andrew 110, who for Curios sake, was discharged likewise for parte of the their which Curio ought should as him selfe. Furthermore, it was found that we captaine or Contunion (got from Cafer), the was sound that we captaine or Contunion (got from Cafer). being necrownto the Senate, understanding that the counsell would not prolong day for good by cafe. utinment which he required, clapping his hand vivon the pumpicibof his fiveril rwell faid he. this shall generit him. So, to be shorte, all that was done and faid tended to this rad thowirds flanding, the pericions and requestes that Curio made in Cafaribehalfe! (feemed formewhat more reasonable for the people for he requested one of the two cither to make Pempeyto put downchis armic; or els colicence Gefar to have his armic aswell as he. Focquither being both

wanne of his fide, by meanes of a thowfand fine hundred talents. And the Mei Bribane of ful bribed by

made private men behey would fall to agreement of them selves: onels being both of like firength, neither of both would focke any lateration of earing one an other, but would comdite the dischies with erior them with their owner. Or otherwise the that thould weak de with one and fushgithen the other should double his power whom he feared. Thereto wind whenly replyed the Conful Marcellus, calling Cafar, theefe, and faid that inchould be proclaimed an apon enemie to Red was his headid not deliver to his armie. This no principle and in the control of t and Prio produced that the Senate thould decide the marter For faid he will thought would

must retorne home as a private man, and leaving his armie, should come in person to draw

have Cafar leave his army, and Pompey to keepe his let them frand on thone fide. Thereway the most parte of them stoode at one side. Then he bad them againe come away from them that would have them both leave their armies. Then there remained only but two and twins tie that stoode for Pompey : and all the rest went of Curioes side. Then Curio looking along iou of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was received of his Tribunets. ction, with showtes of iov and clapping of handes, and infinite no legaves and garlandes of flowers throwen uppon him. Pompey was not then present to see the Senators good willow wardes him : bicaufe by the law, fuch as haue commaundement ouer fouldiers, can notes ter into Rome. Notwithstanding, Marcellus standing up, sayd: that he would not standens fling hearing of orations and argumentes, when he knew that tenne legions were already base fed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes against them : and that he would fend a main vnto them, that should defende their contrie well enough. Straight they chaunged apparel at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamitie. Marcellus then comminge through the market place vnto Pompey, beinge followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolke him openly: Pompey, I commaund thee to helpe thy contry with that army thou hast already and also to leavy more to aide thee. The like speeche did Lentulus vse vnto him, who was at

reasonable requestes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his request

was, that Pompey and he should both of them refigne their gouernments, and should dismife

their armies to make all well, referring them selues wholly to the judgement of the people.

men, and would not tarie for the rest of his armie that was yet on thother side of the moun-

taines in Gav Le, but made hast rather to surprise his enemies apon the sodaine, being affrayd

pointed one of the Confulls the yeare following. Now, when Pompey thought to leavy foul. gains Cafar. diers in Rome and to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went vnwillinglym him with heavie hartes, and the most of them cried, peace, peace. Antony also, against the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people sent from Cafar containing certaine offers and

and to deliuer vp accompt vnto them of their doinges. Lentulus being nowe entred into his cierro moueth Confulsbippe, did not affemble the Senate. But Cicero lately returned out of CILICIA praetifed to bring them to agreement, propounding that Cafar should leave GAVLE, and all the for and Pom. rest of his armie reserving onely two legions and the government of ILLYRIA, attending his seconde Consulshippe. Pompey liked northis motion. Then Casars frendes were contented to graunt that he should have but one of his legions . But Lentulus spake against it, and

Cato cried out on thother fide also, that Pompey was deceived, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cutte of. In the meane time, newes came to Rome, that Cafar had wonne Arime I NVM, a fayer great citie of ITALIE, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three hundred horse, and fine thowsand foote-

and in garboyle, not looking for him to foone: rather then to geue them time to be provided, and to light with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the rivers fide of Ru-Rubicon fl. bicon, (which was the vimost confine of the province he had in charge towardes I TALIE) he Cafar paffed stayed sodainely, weying with him selfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that being of a maruelous height from the ground do hedlong throw themselves downe of Rubicon. closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: crying B Cafars fay-

out these wordes only wnto them that were by, in the greeke tongue, design will be in english, ing: let the dye be cast. let the dye becalt meaning hereby to put all in hafard, and according to our prouerbe, to fet all on fix and feuen)he paffed ouer with his armie. Now, the newes of his comming being ca-

ried to Rome; they were in such a maruelous feare, as the like was never seene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly vnto Pompey, and all the other magistrates of the citie sled vnto him also. Tallmasking Pompey what power he had to refift them, he aunswered him, faltring some what in his speach: that he had the two legions ready which Cafar sent him backe againe, and

that he thought with the number of them which he had leavied; in haft, he should make up the number of thirtie thowfand fighting men. Then Tulius cryed out openly: ah, thou halt mocked vs. Panipey: Bathereupon gaue order they should fend ambassadors vnto Cafar. There I was one Phanaud in the companie, who otherwife was no ill man, fauing that he was some hyhat to bolde sthinking to connterfeace Catoes plaine manor of fpeache he bad Pompeythen

A fampe his foote apon the ground, & make those fouldiers come which he had promised the pompey gently bare with Phaonius mocke, But whe Cato told him also, what he had prophecied before hand of Cafar, he aunswered him againes in deed thou hast prophecied more truly then I, but I have delte more frendly then he. Then Cato thought good that they should make him lieutenant generall of Roma with full and absolute power to commaundall, saying: that the felfe fame men which doe the greatest mischiefe, know best also how to remedie the fame; So he immediatly departed into Sigile, having the charge and government of that contries and

also every one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITA. Turmile at tybeing in armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of Roma, Rome apon Coffee to be done. came flying thither from all partes: and those on thother fide that were within Rome, went ming. R out as fast, and forsooke the citie in this trouble and disorder. That which might setue being willing to obeye, was found very weake: and that on thorher fide which by disobedience did hurte, was to stronge and ill to be gouerned by the magistrates, having lawe telecommanish

For there was no possibilitie to pacific their feare, neither would they forfel Primer to offer thinges as he would but ever man followed his owne fancie, even as he found bit bille preis ued, affraid, or in doubt, and in one daie they were in divers mindes. Parage doubt heare no thing of certaintie of his enemies. For fome, one while would bringhim newes one way, and then againe another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with hims Arthelength, when he faw the tumult & confusion so great at Rome, as there was no meane mozacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him; telling all them that remained Chehinde, that he would take them for Cafars frendes, and fo at night departed one of the cities Pomper for-Then the two Confuls fled also, without doing any facrifice to the goddes and her were wont fooks Rome. to do before they went to make any warres. So Pompey, even in his greatest trouble and most daunger, might thinke him felfe happy to have every mans goodwill as he harb For though divers milliked the cause of this warre, yet no man hated the captaine: but there were more

found that could not for fake Pompey for the love they bare him then there were that followed him to fight for their libertie. Shortly after Pompey was gone out of Rome, Cafar was come to Cafar entred Rome, who possessing the citic, spake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified Philippy field. their feare: fauing that he threatned Metellus, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, by cause he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the common wealth. D Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter speach also, saying: that it was not so hard a thing for him to doe it, as to speake it. Thus having put downe Metelling, and taken that he needed to ferue his turne, he tooke apon him to follow Pompen, thinking to drive him out of celar follow-

ITALY, before that his armie he had in SPAYNE thould come to him. Portioner in the meane eth Pomper. time, having taken the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten fome full ppes together he made the two Confuls presently imbarke with thirtie enseignes of footemen, which he sent beyond the feabefore vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that he fent his father in lawe Scipio. and Cneus Pompey his fonne, into Syria, to prouide him shippes. Him selfcon thother side; Pompeis frafortified the rampers of the citie, and placed the lightest fouldiers he had upon the walles, and communded the BRYND VSINIANS not to flurre out of their housess & further the cast trenches for his flying within the citie, at the ende of the ftreetes in divers places, and filled those tranches with thence from sharpe pointed stakes, fauing two streetes onely, which went into the hauen. Then the third day after, having imbarked all the rest of his souldiers at his pleasure, he sodainly listing up a figneinto the aver, to gene them warning which he had left to gard the rampersithey straight

ranne to him with speede, and quickly receyving them into his shippes, he wayed ancker, and Pompey for-

hoyled faile. Cafar perceyuing the walles naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that Roma faketh Isaly, peywas fled who hasting after him, had almost ronne vpo the sharpe stakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRYND VSINI ANS geuen him warning of them. So he stayed and ranne notouerthwart rhe citie, but fetched a compasse about to goe to the hauen : where he found that all the shippes were vider faile, two shippes onely excepted, ypon the which were left a few fouldiers. Some thinke that this departure of Pompey, was one of the best stratageames of warre that euer he vsed. Notwithstanding, Casar maruelled much, that he being in a strong sis tic, and looking for his armie to come out of SPAYNE, and being mafter of the fea besides, that

he let him go, & hafted towardes SPAYNE, to loyne Pompeys army there vnto his. Now Pompe

in the meane space, had gotten a maruelous great power together both by sea & by land, His

armie by sea was wonderfull. For he had fine hundred good thippes of warre, & of gallione.

he would ever for fake I TADY. Cicero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themile, eles consell, the Perioles: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened was Pericles, the Themifocles time. Yea Cafar him felfe shewed, that he was affraid of the time Rewhen he had taken Numerius one of Pompeys frends, he fent him vnto Pompey at BRVNDVEIVE. to offer him reasonable codicios of peace: But Numerius followed Pompey, & failed away with him. By this meanes, Cafar in three score dayes being lord of all I TAILE without any blood Celar temeth shed: he was very desirous to follow with spede after Popey. But bycause he had no ships ready.

Spayne. Poper pour foystes, & pinnales, an infinite nomber. By land, he had all the flower of the horseme of Rous,

and of all I TRILIB. to the nomber of feuen thowfand horse, all riche men, of great houses, and valliant minds. But his footemen, they were men of all forts, & raw fouldiers vntrained, whom Pompey lying as Berrae, traineth his Souldiers.

Pomper continually exercised, lying at the citie of BERROEE, not fitting idely, but taking paines as if he had bene in the prime of his youth . Which was to great purpose to incorage other. feeing Pompey being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at all peeces, & then a horse backe, quickly to draw out his fword while his horse was in his full career, and easely to puri vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with fuch agillitie to hyt pointe blance. but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that fewe young men could doe the like Thither came divers kinges, princes, and great lordes of contries, and yeelded them selves ye to him:and of ROMANE captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the nom-

Labienus for- ber of a whole Senate. Amongst them came vnto him Labienus also, who before was Calor Jaketh Cofar, frend. & had alwayes bene with him in his warres if GAVLE. There came vnto him also, Bretwo, the sonne of that Brutus which was slaine in GAVLE, a valliant man, and which had never spoken vnto Pompey vntil that day, bycause he tooke him for a murderer of his father; but the willingly followed him as defendor of the libertie of ROME. Cicero him felfe alfo, though he had both written and geuen counsell to the contrarie, thought it a shame to him not to beamongest the nomber of them that would hazard their lives for defence of their contry. There

came vnto him also Tidius Sextius even into MACEDON, notwithstanding that he was another man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when Pampey faw him, he rose & went to meete him, judging it 2 good token of their goodwills vinon him, when such olde men as he, chose rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with fafety. Hereupon they fate in counfell, and following Catoes opinion, decreed that they hould put no citizen of Rome to death but in battel, and should facke no citie that was subject to the

Empire of Rome: the which made Pompeys part the better liked. For they that had nothing doe with the warres, either bycause they dwelt farre of, or els for that they were so poore, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauor Pompeys parte, thinking him an enemie both to the goddes and men, that wished not Pompey victorie. Cafar also The clemency shewed him selfe very mercifull & curteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonneall Pompeys armie that was in Spayne, he fuffred the captaines that were taken to go at liberie. & onely referred the fouldiers. Then comming over the ALPES againe, he paffed throughall out of Spane, IT ALY, & came to the citie of BRYNDVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there paffing ouer the fea, he went vnto the citie of O RIC V M, & laded there, Now Cafar having Vibius, one of Pompey famillier frends with him, whom he had take prisoner: he sent him vnto Pompey to pray agains that they might meete, & both of them desperse their armies within three dayes, and being recociled (geuing their faith one to an other) fo to retorne into I TALY like good frends together Pompey thought againe, that these were new deutifes to intrappe him. Thereupon he sodainely wet downe to the fea, & tooke all the places of streeth by the sea side, saffy to lodge his campe in, & all the ports, creekes & harbars for thips to lie in rode: fo that what wind fo euer blewon the skie, it served his turne, to bring him either men, vittells, or money. Cafar on thother side was so distressed both by sea & by land, that he was drive to procuer battel, & to affaile Pompey ! euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he euer had the better in all skirmishes, sauing once, when he was in daunger to haue lost all his army.

A Bot Pompey had valiantly repulled his men, and made them flie, and had flaine two thowsand Pompey our of them in the field : but he durft not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they field for. Whereupon Cufar faide to his frendes, that his enemie had wonne the victorie that day, if he had known how to ouercome. This victorie put Pompeys men in flich courage, that they would needes hafard battell. And Pompey him felfe also though he wrote letters wito ftraunge kinges, captaines, and cities of his confederacie, as if he had already wonne alliwas yet afraved rolight an other battell, thinking it better by tracte of time, and diffresse of virtells, to other

come him. For Cafars men being olde and expert fouldiers, and wont ever to have the victor

ne when they fought together: he knew they would be lothe to be brought to fight any other

kinde of way, to be driven to often removing of their campe from place to place, and full to

B fortific and intrench them selves, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hande, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that Pompey had before perswaded his mobito bequiet, and not to fturre, perceyuing that after this last bickering Cafar being scanted with vitells raifed his campe, and departed thence to goe into Thessaly, through the contrie of the ATHAMANIANS then he could no more bridle their glorie and corage, which eried 1000 firis fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs retorne home againe into I TALL. And others also fent their frendes and feruantes before to Rome, to hier them houses neere the market place intending when they came thether to fue for offices in the commonwelth: Some there were also that in a sollitie would needes take shippe, and faile into the He of Iles not a voto Cirnelia (whom Pompey had fent thether) to cary her that good newes, that the warrd was ena ded. Thereupon affembling the counfell, Afranius thought it best to winne brist it for that was the chiefest marke to be shot at in this warre: for whose uer obtened that, thad straight all STOILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAYNE, and GAYLE at commaundement: Furthermore, that it was a dishonor to Pompey (which in reason should touche him about all thinges) to suffertheir contrie to be in such cruell bondage and subjection vnto flaues and flatterers of ty-

rantes, offering it felfe as it were into their handes. But Pompey neither thought it honorable

for him, once againe to flie from Cafar, and to make him follow him, fithe fortune had genen him oportunitie to haue Cafar in chafe: nor lawfull also before the gods, to forfake his father in lawe Scipio, and many other also that had bene Consuls, desperied abrode in GR & Chiand THE SSALY, which should immediatly fall into Cafars handes, with all their riches and armies D.they.had. Furthermore, he faid, that they had care enough for the citie of Rome, which dress the warres fardeft of from them: fo as, they remaining fafe & quiet at home (meither hearing nor feeling the mifery of warres) might in thend peaceably receive and welcome him home. that remained conqueror. With this determination, he marched forward to follow Gafar, losely Cafa being determined not to geue him battell, but to befeege him, & only to compaffe him into Theffat, being neere vnto him, and so to cut him of from vittells. There was also an other reasonthat made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech genen our among the Romans knights that so some as ever they had overcome Cafar, they

mustalso bring Pompey to be a private man againe. Some saye therefore a that Pampey would

F was also suspected for a traitour, seeing Pompey then resulted to come to battell! I meruaile,

faidhe, that they which accuse me, doe not lustely goe to finde him out, whome they call

the marchaunt and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him prefently and Vich thefe

neuer afterwardes imploy Care in any greater matters of waight in all this warte, but when the E followed Cefar, he left him captaine of his armie to kepe his caringe by fear fearing that fo soone as Casar were once ouercome, he would make him straight also religite his authoritie. Pompey following Cular in this maner, faire and foftly, they cryed out apon him, that he made no warre with Cafar, but against his contrie and the Senate, by cause he might be still in authoritic; and that he would never leave to have them for his fervauntes and gard about him, which should rule and commaund the world . Furthermore, Domitius Aenobarbus, calling Pomper morhim continually Agamemnon, and king of kinges: made him much to be enuited. Theonise al kell of his somocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldest: for he went crying up and diers, downe, mymalters, I geue you warning, you are like to cate no The several figges this

yeare. And Lucius Afranius alio, he that had loft the armie which he had in SPAYNE, and

and many further lewel speaches , they compelled Pompey in thend (who could not abide A to be ill poken of, and would not denie his frendes any thinge) to follow their vaine hoperate defires, and to forfake his owne wife determination: the which thinge, no good shippens fter; and much leffe a chiefe and foueraine captaine, ouer fo many nations and fo great an mies, should have suffred, and consented vnto. Now, he that did alwayes commend then be fitions, that would not follow the fonde defire of the ficke pacientes: was him felfe content ted to obey the worst parte of his armie, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health food in hazard. For who would thinke or judge them to be wife men, and in their wittes who walking vp and downe their campe, did already fue to be Confuls and Pratois? confidence that Spinther Danieliu, & Scipio, were at firste together, making frendes to be highe bishoppe awhichioffice Caferhad) as if they should have fought with Tigramesking of AR MENIA, of a with the king of the NARATHBEANS, which had camped by them, and not with Cefar and his armie: who had taken a thowfand townes by affaulte, had fubdued about three hundred few talbinations, and had wonne infinite battells of the GERMANES and GAVILES; and was never outsteomethad alfortaken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise staines o many at diner barrells. All this notwithstanding, they of Pompeys side still being importunate of him & tron bling him in this force; in fine, when they were come into the fields of PRERSALIA, they come

merour, with many fpoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, & partly againe made

hain doubt: for that he was affrayed, bycaufe Cafars familie was discended from this goddeffe

& fending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skowtes vnto him, that brough

him worde they fawe a great deale of armor and weapon caryed to and fro in their enemies

campe, and hard a notice and building befides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After

these came in other skowtes, that brought word also that their voward was already set in bac

till rave. Then Cafar faid, that the days was nowe come they had longed for fo fore, and that

they should now heht with men, not with hunger, nor with want of vittells: and thereupon

gaue order prefently that they should put out the red coates or armes youn his tente, which

was the figne, all the Romanes vied, to show that they would fight. The fouldiers feeing that

Cafari con-

Labienus, ge- pelleth Pumper tis call a counsell. There Labienus, generall of the horizonen standing vp. wire neral of Pombefore them all that he would not retorne from the battell, before he had made his enemies peis horfeme. to fie. The like otherall the reft did take. The next night following, Pamper thought in the dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a manuclos.

Pompeys great clapping of their handes : & that he him felfe did fet forth the temple of Venis the confore the batsell of Phar-

noises hard in Pompeys

VVonderfull

Venus, that his dreame did fignifie, that he should have the honor of the victorie, with the fibriles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there ranne sodaine searcful noises & tumules in his campe without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe vpon it. At the fourth watche whien the watche is renued in the morning there was feene a maruelous great light ouer Cefars campe, and they were all at reft. Of that, there came as it were a torche of a buning fire, and fell in Pappeys campe. The which Cafar him felfe fayed he faw, when he went to feare be the watche. At the breake of the daye, Cafar being determined to raife his campe, and h to go to the citie of Scorvs a, as his fouldiers were bufie about ouerthrowing of their tentes.

my fee in bat-

out; left their causee and rentes, and with great showtes of loye ranne to arme them felies. The captaines of every hand also, bestowed every man in such place as he should fight, and fo they consieved them selues into battell raye, without any tumulte or disorder, as quiedly, as if they should have entred into a daunce. Pomper him selfe led the right winge of his armie against Antony. The middle of the battell he gate voto Scipio his father in lawe, being right against Domitius Caluinus. The left winge also was led by Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus, the which was garded with men of armes. For all the horfemen were placed on that fide; to diffreffe Co land they could, that was directly against them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that was so much accounted of, being the valliantest souldiers the enemie had in all his armie, amongest the which Casar did euer vie to fight in person. Casar then seeing the left winger his enemies for frong with the gard of the horsemen, and being affrayed of the brightnes of F their armoribrought forward fix enleignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth haio, comaunding them that no man should sturre, least their enemies should discouer them. េខ០៦១

A And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemies should come to gene charge voon the that then they should ronne with speed on the too side of the formest ranckes, & not to throw their dartes farre from them, as the valliantest fouldiers are wont to do , to come to the sword the somer: but to throw them vpwardes into their enemies eves and faces. For said he, these hraue fellowes and fine daunsers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was Cefers deuife at that time. Pompey being a horse backe, rode vp and downe to consider the ordinaunce of both battells: and perceyuing that his enemies stoode still in their ranckes, looking for the figuall of battell, & that his owne battell on thother fide waved up & downe diforderly, as men vnskilfull in warres: he was affrayed they would flie before they were charged.

Therupo he straightly comanded the in the voward, that they should stedily kepe their racks, Pompeis or R and standing close together should so defend them selves, receyuing the charge of the enemy. dimener of his But Cafar difliked of that deuile, for thereby, faid he, the force of their blowes was lestened & Cafar milliin withholding them fro geuing the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which that- keth Pompete faitant carrieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them more over fainte hearted. ordinance. in recevuing the charge of the enemies. In Cafars armie, there were about two and twentie Basell bethowfand fighting men: and in Pompeys armie, fomewhat about twife as many. Now , when ment cafer

theworde of battell was genen of either fide, and that the trompettes did founde the allarme: in Pholada. enery man beganne to looke to him felfe. But a few of the chiefest of the ROMANES, and cerraine GRECIAN's that were there also out of the set battel, perceyuing the imminent daunger, beganne to bethinke them, to what paffe the ambition and wilfull contencion between thefe C two men, had brought the state of Rome. For, the weapons of kinsmen, the bandes of brethem the enseignes all alike, the flower of so many valliant men of one citie, did serue for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prickt forward with couctousnes; is quite blinde and without reason. For if they could have bene contented quietly to have governed that which they had conquered: the greatest, and best part of the world, both by sea and by land, was sub-

ied vnto them. Or otherwise, if they could not have quenched their vnsatiable desire of victo-

ne & triumphe, they had occasion of warre enough offred them against the PARTHIANS and

Germanes. Furthermore, they had enough to do besides to conquer Scythia, and the In-DIANS: & withal, they had had an honest culler to have cloked their ambirious delires, if it had benebut to have brought the barbarous people to a civil life. For what horsemen of Sc x-D THIA, OF ARTOWES OF PARTHIA, OFFICHES OF INDIANS, could have abidden the power of three fore & ten thow fand ROMANE fouldiers, & specially being led by two so famous captaines, as Pompey, and Cafar? whose names, these straunge & farre nations vnderstood, longe before the name of the ROMANE s: fo great were their victories, having conquered fo many wilde, & barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one against the other, not regarding their honor, which made them so ambitious: did not spare their owne contry, who had vntill that time remained vnumeible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made between them, the love of Iulia. & marving with her, was suspected fro the beginning to be but a deceit, &a pledge as it were of a cospiracie made betwene the for a private benefit, more the for any true frendship. Now, who the feildes of PHARSALIA were conered ouer with men, with horse

E and armor, and that the fignall of battell was geuen on either fide the first man of Cafats army that advanced forward to gene charge, was Caim Crassinius, captaine of fix score and fine Caim Crassimen, to performe a great promise which he had made vnto Cafar. For Cafar, when he came the onles of out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what cafee side. hethought of the flic ceffe of this battell a Crashinia holding our his right hand vnto him, coragyoully cryed: Oh Cafar, thing is the victorie, and this daye thou shalt commend me cither aline or dead. Then remembring these wordes, he brake out of the ranckes, and many following after him, ranne amongefulthe middeft of his enemies. Straight they came to the fword, and made great flaughter. But he preffing forward still, one with a thrust ranne him through the mouth, that the fwords pointe came through at his necke. Thereupon Crasinius Crasinius I being flaine, the battell was equally Pompey did not make his left winge marche over fodaine- flaine.

ly but flaved, and cast his eyes abroade to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already deuided their companies, meaning to compasse in Casar, and to make the small nomber 000 iii

& the fix enfeignes which he had placed fecretly behinde them, (being three thow fand feet

ting men) ranne sodainely to assaile the enemie vpon the slancke, and when they cameness

vnto the horsemen, they threw the pointes of their dartes vpwardes according to Cafarsen

maundement, and hyt the younge gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfall

to fight. & least of all looking for such maner of fight had not the hartes to defend themselves

nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heades, & clapping their hades on their faces, thamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, Cafars men made no accomme to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battel of footemen, in that place special ly where they had no gard of horsemen, whereby they might the easelier be compassed about Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the voward also by the tenth legion perceyuing them selues (contrarie to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies where they thought to have environmed them: they could make no longer refiftance. They also being likewise driven to flie, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, & coniectured the flying of his horsemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his counterance a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wittes end, forgetting thather fields of Phar was Pompey the great: for that he went firaight into his campe, and spake neuer a word to an man, rightly verifiying Homers verses to this effect.

But mightie Ioue wwho fittes aloft in quorie chariot hie. Strake Aiax with fo great a feare that Aiax byandby, Let fall his lethern target made of tough oxe hide fewen folde, And ran avvay, not looking backe, for all he wwas fo bold.

In this estate Pompey entred into his tent, and fate him downe there a great while, and finds neuer a worde wntill fuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that he into his campe, And then, he faid no more: but what, enen into our campe? and fo rifing up he put a gowne on his backe, even fit for his misfortune, and fecretly stale out of the campe. The other legions also fled: and great flaughter was made of the tent kepers, and their fer-Afinisa Politio wantes that garded the campe . For Afinisas Pollio writeth (who was arthat battell on Calor reparted this fide) that there were flaine onely but fix thowfand fouldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe. Cafars fouldiers then found plainly the madnes Sevanitie of Pompeys men. For, all their I tentes and paulions were full of no legaves and garlandes of mirtle, & their couches all couch

red with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do facrifice for

iove rather then to arme them selues to fight. Thus went they to battell caried away with this

vaine & foolish hope. Whe Pomper was gone a little way fro his campe, he for sooke his horse,

having a very few with him: & perceying that no man purfied him, he went a foote faire &

foftly, his head full of fuch thoughts and imaginations; as might be supposed a man of his liter

calling might have, who for foure & thirty yeares space together, was wone cotinually to care

victorie away, and beganne then even in his last cast to prove what it was to flie, and tobe ouercome:and who thought then with him felfe; how mone howers space he had lost the hos nor and riches, which he had gotten in fo many foughten feildes and hattels, whereby he was ! not longe before followed and obeyed of so many thowsand men of warre, of so many horse men, and of fuch a great flete of shippes on the sea, and then to goe as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the citie of Larissa, and comming withe vallie of Tempe: there being The milerable a thirly, he fell downe of his bellie, and dranke of the river. Then riving vp againe, he went his flate of Pom- way thence, and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the daye, he went into a little bote vpon the riner, and tooke the free men with him that were about him, and as for the flaues, he fent them backe against and did counsell them boldely to goe to Cafar; and not to be affrayed. Thus rowing up and downe the shore side, in this little bote, he spyed a great shippe of burden in the maine sea, we ! ding at anker, which was ready to waye anker, and to faile awaye. The mafter of the thippe was a Romane, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pomper, yet knew him

A buffight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night before, that he fave Peticius pumper speake voto him, not like the man he was wont to be but in pourty and in milety \$94 dreame of he had tolde this dreame vnto the mariners which failed with him (as men commonly victo doe foecially when they dreame of fuch weighty matters, and being at leafure withall and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he sawe a little bote of the river rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their clokes at them. & bold out their hands. Thereupon Peticius Standing vp, knew Pompey Straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before : and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gaue him his band, calling him Pompey by his name, miltru-(ling (feeing him in that estate) what miffortune had happened to him. Therupon, not looking.

to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishappe, he received him into his shippe, Pompey has and all those he would have with him: and then hoised faile. With Pompey, there were both the backeth in Lenthli, & Faonius. Shortly after also, they perceived king Deiotarus comming from the river. Pencius mithem that beckened and made fignes to receive them which they did At suppor time the mane mafter of the shippe, made ready such meate as he had abord. Faonius seging Pomper for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of him selfe: ran ynto him, washed him, and annointed him. and afterwardes continued still to waite you him, and to doe such service about him, as fernames do to their masters, even to washing of his seete, & making ready of his supper. When a fimple man faw him, that could no skill of feruice, he fayd:

Good gods, how every thing becommeth noble men? C. Pompey passing then by the citie of AMPHIPOLIS, coasted from thence into the Lle of Las-

BOS, to goe fetch his wife Cornelia and his fonne, being then in the city of MITVLENE, There Pomper ari-Having cast out his ancker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore & fent him in- meth in the whe citie to his wife: not according to her expectacion, who was fill put in good hope by: at the citie of continual letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by Missiene. the city of DYRRACHIVM. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hartso much as to falute her, but letting her vnderstande rather by his teares then wordes, the great milfortune Pompey had: told her, the must dispatch quickely, if the would see Pompey with one The Grove of thippe only, and none of his, but borowed. The young Lady hearing these newes, fell downe comitia, for

in a found before him, and neither spake nor sturred of long time: but after she was come to D herfelfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, the went with speede through the city vnto the fea fide. There Pompey meeting her, tooke her in his armes, & imbraced hery The meting of But the fincking vnder him, fell downe, and fayd: Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not Pamper and his wife Carthine (good husband) that I fee thee now brought to one poore shippe, who before thou man had

riedft thy unfortunate Cornelia, wert wont to faile thefe feas with five hudred Inips. Alas, why The words of artthou come to fee me, and why diddeft thou not leave me to curfed fate and my wicked de- Cornelia vanse fleny: fith my felfe is cause of all this thy euill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead, before I heard of the death of my first husband Publius Crassius, whom the wretched ,, PARTHIANS flue? And how wife a woman had I bene, (if according to my determination) I " had killed my felfe immediatly after him: where now I line to bring yet this miffortune vnto "

E Pompey the great? It is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered " her in this maner. Peraduenture, Cornelia mine, thou hast knowen a better forume, which hath Pompeis annallo deceived thee, bicaufe the hath continued lenger with me then her maner is. But fince we cornella, areborne men, we must paciently beare these troubles, and proue fortune againe, For it is no " impossible matter for vs againe to come into prosperitie out of this present milerie, as to fall » out of lare professite into prefent calamitic. When Cornelia heard him fay fo, the fent backe " into the city for her stuffe and family. The MITYLE NIANS also came openly to falute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the city and to refresh him selfe: but Pomper would not & gaue them counfell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for Cefar was a just man, and of a curreous nature. Then Pompey turning vnto Cratippus the Philosopher, who came amog the Pompey real

F citizens also to see him:made his complaint visto him, and reasoned a lite with him about di-free craippus the uine prouidence. Cratippus curteoufly yeelded vnto him, putting him feill in better hope, fear Philifopher, ring least he would have growen too hot and troublesome, if he would have holden him hard about dinine

ties. To others, he went him felfe in person also to require money, wherewith he manned and

should preuent him before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to resist him; he

bethought him felfe what place he might best retyre vnto for his most safetie. When he had

considered of it, he thought that there was never a province of the Romanes that could faue

and defend them. And for other straunge realmes, he thought PARTHIA aboue all other, was

the best place to receive them into at that present, having so small power as they had: and that

had bene his father in law, whose prosperity if he could have endured, he might have benetice

chiefest man : and now to put him selfe to Arfaces good will, who could not away with Crasses

when he lived. Further, he thought it an ill parte also, for him to go cary his young wife of the

noble house of Scipio, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for the to vie what

villany and infolency they lift to any. For, admit the haue no villany offered her by them: yet

is it an vindecent thing, to thinke the might have bene dishonored, they having her in their

armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sodaine approach of his enemy, leasthe C

Pompty ari- compelled to take freshe acates and water. The first city he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the uethat Aug- contry of PAMPHYLIA. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of CILICIA, & many foul lia.in the con-

and Cafar crafty denise

was better able to helpe & aide them with more power then they. Other of his counsell were of minde to go into A FRICKE, vnto king Iuba. But Theophanes LESBIAN faid, he thought ita Lesbian pergreat folly, to leave Æ GYPT which was but three dayes failing from thence, and king Folom, waded Pom (being but lately comen to mans state, and bound vno Pompey for the late frendshippe and fapey to flie into nor his father found of him) and to goe put him selfe into the handes of the PARTHIANS, the D ΛΕσγρι. vileft, and vnfaithfullest nation in the world, and not to proue the modesty of a Roman B, that

gypt. & goeth to Pelusium. eunuche, and

power to doe it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this only that turned Pompey vnto Euphrates: for it seemeth that Pompeys counsell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVs in a gally of SE. E LEVCIA with his wife Cornelia. The refidue of his traine imbarked also, some into gallies, &cothers into marchauntes shippes of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without daunger, Pompey arri- When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomy was in the citie of PELVSIVM with his armie, making warre against his sister: he went thither, and sent a messenger before vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arrivall, and to intreate him to receive him. King Ptolomy was then but young man, infomuch as one Pothinus gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He affenn bled a counfell of the chiefest and wifest men of the court, who had such credit and authoritie as it pleased him to geue them. They being assembled, he comaunded every man in the kings king Protony. name to say his minde touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the king should receive him or not. It was a miserable thinge to see Pothinus, an eunuche of the kinges, and Theodotus of F CHIO, an hyered schoolemaster to teache the young king rethoricke, and Achilles EGYPT TIAN to confult among them selues what they should doe with Pompey the great. These were

to it. For Pompey at the length might have asked him, what providence of the gods there had a a mechiefest counsellers of all his eunuches, and of those that had brought him up, Nowe did bene in his doings ? And Cratippus might have aunswered him, that for the ill government the common wealth at Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the handes of a form raine Prince. Peraduenture Crationus might then haue asked him: how, and whereby Pomes wouldest thou make vs beleue, if thou haddest ouercome Casar, that thou wouldest haueviel thy good fortune better then he? But for divine matters, referre them to the goddes as it pleafeth them. Pompey taking his wife and frends with him, hoifed faile, and landed no where, her will blame them for refuting of him, and Cafar for not keeping of him. Therefore, this thould diers also, insomuch he had a three score Senators of Rome againe in his company. Then, you derstanding that his army by sea was yet whole, and that Cate had gathered together a great number of his fouldiers after the ouerthrowe, whome he had transported with him into A. FRICKE: he lamented, and complained vnto his frends, that they had compelled him to fight made towards Pompeys gallie, about whom were at that time; the chiefoft of his traine, to lee by land, & not fuffred him to helpe him felfe with his other force wherin he was the strongen what would become of this matter. But when they faw the likelihood of their entertainment. and that he kept not still neere vnto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might antihat it was not in Princely flow and maner, nor nothing auniwerable to the hope which yet presently have prepared to his power ready by sea, to have resisted his enemy. To conselle Theoblanes had put them in feeing to few men come to them in a fifther bote where began then a troth, Pompey committed not so great a fault in all this warre, neither did Cafar put foortha to milituat the finall accompt that was made of them, & doundelled Pamper to Yeurine backe. better deuise, then to make his enemie fight farre from his armie by sea. Thus Pompey being driven to attempt fomewhat according to his small abilitie, he sent Ambassadors vnto theci-

D fonne, and fayd thefe verfes of Sophostes vitto them? The man that into Court comes free. Must there in state of bondage be.

gaue fuch a feareful crie, that it was hard to the (hore:the waying vp their anekers with spede,

they hoyfed faile, and departed their way, having winde at will that blew a lufty gale, as foone

as they had gotten the maine sea. The ÆGYPTIANS which prepared to rowe after them,

when they faw they were past their reach, and unpossible to be ouertaken: they let them goe,

and to launche againe into the fea, being out of the daying error the hurling of a Hare In the How Pomple meane time, the fifther bore drew neere, and Septemins role, and faluted Possibly in the Romania warrecourse tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as four sine Captaine and Abilla alfo frake a whim in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, bicause that by the shore fide. there was a great deale of mudde and fande banckes, to that his gally thousand haute no water to bring him in. At the very fame time, they faw a farre of divers of the kings salles which were arming with all speede possible, & all the shore besides ful of fouldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would have altered their mindes, they could not have rold how to have elegated: &furthermore, thewing that they had milituited the then they had generathe murtherer occasion to have executed his cruelty 80 raking his leave of his wife Cornelias who lamented his death before his end he comaunded two Centurions to go down before him litto the Æ g yp-TIANS bote, and Philip one of his flands infranchifed, with an other flane called Seynes. When Achillas reached out his handere receine him into his bote, he turned him to his wife, and These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when he lest his owne gally, & went into the ÆG YPTIANS bote. The lande being a great way of from his gally, when he faw neuer a man in the bore speake frendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he said vnto him: me thinkes my frend I should know thee for that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no aunswere, nor shewed him any curtesie. Pompey seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hande, in the which he had wrytten an oration that he ment to make vnto king Ptolomy, & beganne to read it. When E they came neere the shore, Cornelia with her servaunts and frends about her, stoode up in her shippe in great feare, to see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honor him. But even as Pompey tooke Philip his hande to arise more easily, Septi- Pompey the mine came first behinde him and thrust him through with his sword. Next visto him also, Sal- great cruelly

Dompeyride at ancker vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this colifer which The delibert. the opinions of other were divers, for they would not have received him; the other alfor that cion of the beshould be received. But the Rethoritian Theodotus to shew his eloquences perswaded them, for the received that heither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For fayd he, if we receive him, we shall wing of Pomhaine Cafar our enemie, and Rompey our Lord: and if they do deny him on thocher fide, Pompey Pot. tion be best resolution, to send to kill him : for thereby, they should winne the good will of the them to kill one, and not feate the displeasure of the other : and forme lay moreoure; that he added this Pompey. mocke withall * a dead man bytes not. They being determined of this among them feluos, breek not. gave Achillas committion to doc it. He taking with him Septimies (who had charge afforcing Achillas ap under Pompey) and Salusas an other Centurion also, with three or four fouldiers besides, they pointed to hill

uius and Achillas drewout their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp laine as hi his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, The manlines onely fighing a litle. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after and pacience the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, his death,

Cacle to all those that were desirous to see him. Philip his infranchised bondman remained

uer by it, vntill fuch time as the ÆGYPTIANS had feene it their bellies full. Then having we shed his body with falt water, and wrapped it up in an old shirt of his, bicause he had no other thift to lay it in he fought vpon the fands, & found at the length a peece of an old fifthers book enough to serue to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathe ring the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came vnto him an old Romanes who his youth had ferued under Pomper, and fayd unto him: O frend, what are thou that prepared the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchied The funeralls Well, faid he, thou shalt not have all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany the in fo denout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to have dwelt fo long in a ftraunce t contrie, where I have abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withst I may have this good happe, with mine owne hands to touche Pompeys body, and to belien bury the only and most famous Captaine of the Romanes. The next day after, Lucius Lent. but not knowing what had passed, comming out of Cypres, failed by the shore side, and in

COMPARISON OF

Pompey with Agesilaus.



Ow that we have declared vnto you, the lives of Agefilan and Pompey : let vs compare their maners and condicions together, which are

these. First, Pompey-came to his honor and greatness, by his intergritie. Her Pompey and Sofilau and so advanced him selfe: and was a great aide vnto Sylla, doing made and Sofilau and so advanced him selfe: and was a great aide vnto Sylla, doing made and so there are to their syllaus vny noble exploits, helping him to rid those tyrans out of ITALIB, who great to the held it in bondage. But Agesilaus vnurped the kingdom of LACBD ALCED ALCED ARE NOR, against the law of gods and men, condemning Leotychides for a

bastard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull sonne: and con-temned besides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame de honorable buriall in despite of Lepidus: and maried his daughter vnto Faustus, the sonne of

king. Furthermore, Pompey did honor Sylla while he lived, and when he was dead, gave his bo-Sylla, Agestlaus contrarily did dishonor Lysander, apon light occasion: but Pomper had done no D leffe for Sylla, than Sylla had done for him. Lyfander on thother fide, had made Agefilans king of LACED & MON, and Lieutenant generall of all GRECE. Thirdly, the injuries that Pomper did The faulter of

Phebidas, not secretly but openly bicause he had broken the peace made with the THEBANS. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did vnto the ROMANES, either through ignorance, or to pleafure his frends: the fame did Agesilaus vnto the LACEDEMONIANS, through anger & felfe will in renuing warre with the Bos of IANS, apon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the

done by Arefilam: to helpe the feare and daunger the LACED EMONIANS were in, for those that fled at the battell of LEVCTRES, when he counfelled them to let the law fleepe for that

day, Neither can any man matche Pompeis with the like: who, to shew his frends what power

vnto the common weale, were done of necessitie, to please C.efar and Scopio, both of them his Agastiana and fathers in law. Agefilaus alfo, to fatisfie his fonnes loue, faued Sphodrias life that had deserved death, for the mischiefe he had done the ATHENIANS: and he willingly also tooke parte with

ceived a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first; Sole asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But ftraight fetching a greatfight also fayd he, perhappes it is Pompey the great. Then helanded a litle, and was straight taken and flaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not longe after, Cafar also came into Acres zulus (laine. Cefer erri-wesh in AEthat was in great warres, where Pompeys head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head afide, and would not fee it : and abhorred him that brought it, as a detectable murtherer Then ! taking his ringe wherewith he fealed his letters, whereuppon was grauen a Lyon holdings fword : he burft out a weeping. Achillas and Pothinus he put to death. King Ptolomy himself alfo, being ouerthrowen in battell by the river of Nilus, vanished away, and was never head of after. Theodotse the Rethoritian escaped Cafars hands, & wandred yp & downe & Gypzin great milery, despised of enery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who flue Cafar) continue quering As 14, met with him by channee, and putting him to all the forments only he could possibly deuse, at the length slue him. The ashes of Pompers bodie were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cormelia, who buried them in a towne of hers

by the citie of ALBA.

- จาก ที่สำนักสนาสารมาก และ เดือนก็การที่สุด (การแก้สุดสัญหัก) (การที่สุ

The second secon fortune of the one and the other in the faultes they committed : Pompe's fortune vnto the Ro-E MANES was valooked for. But Agefilaus would not fuffer the LACED EMONIANS to aboyd the A support of the property lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For, though Leotychides had bene proued a baffard ten thowfand times, yet had not the race of the Eurytiontides failed, but they could have fould an other lawfull king among them, that should have gone vpright: had not Lyfander, favoring Agefilaus, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the LACED EMONIANS. On thother fide aproducts from a state of the st gaine for matters of gouernment, there was never fuch an excellent deutife found out, as was

The state of the s

hewas of, did breake the lawes which him felfe had made. For Agefilant being driven of ne-F ceffity to abolish the law, to faue the life of his citizens, found such a denise that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it should doe hurt. I must needes commende this for a great vertue and civility in Azesilaus, who so soone as he

by Agefilaus and Pompey in warres.

received the Scytala (or fcrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his control and left the warre of Asia. He did not as Pompey, who made him felfe great to the benefit of the common wealth, and for the common wealthes fake, did forfake fuch honor and so great authoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but Alexander the great, had the like in those partes. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and exploytes in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that Pompey obtained, and the great armies that he led: Xen. phon him selfe if he were alive, could not compare Agefilans victories vnto his: although for the fingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompense thereof he had liberie graunted him, to wryte and speake of Agestlans what he thought good. Me thinkes also, there

she signeric of

was great difference betwext Pompey and Agefilane, in their equitie and clemencie towards their enemies. For, whilest Agesilans went about to conquer THEBES, and vtterly torace and destroy the citie of MESSINA, the one being an auncient citie of his contrie, and theo-Agestiam lost ther the capitall citie of BOBOTIA: he had almost lost his owne citie of SPARTA, for at the least he lost the commaundement and rule he had over the rest of GRECE. The other contrarily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and ma. ner of life: and when it was in his choyle to lead Tigranes king of A min ministen triumphen ROME, he chose rather to make him a confederat of the ROMANES, faying, that he preferred perpetuall honor before one dayes glorie. But fince it is reason we should geue the first place and honor of the discipline of warres, vitto a Captaine of the greatest skill and experience warres: the LACED EMONIAN then leaueth the ROMANE farre behind. For first of all Agettin neuer for fooke his citic, though it was befreged with three fcore and ten thow fand men, and 0

that there were very fewe within the fame to defende it, the which also a litle before had bee

ouerthrowen at the battell of Levetres. And Pompey on thother fide, hearinge that with fine thowfand footemen onely had taken a towne in Iralia: fled from Rome in vert feare. And therein he can not be excused of one of these two: either that he sled cowards for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conceved his wife and children away, but he left all the reft without defence, and fled: where in deede he shoulded ther haue ouercome, valliantly fighting for defense of his contrie, or else haue received the condicions of peace which the conquerors should have offered him. For, he was a citizen

and allied vitto him. For he that thought it an vittollerable thing to prolong the tearme of his gouernment, or to graunt him a second Consulthippe: did now geue him oportunitie, suffe D ring him to take the city of Rome, to fay vnto Metellus the Tribune, & the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth him felfe the stronger, and also to keepe him selfe from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agestlans excelling in that, did euer keepehim selse inuincible. Casar also had great skill therein, to keepe him selse from daunger beingste weaker, and againe could tell howe to compell Fompey to hazard battell, to his viter definiction by lande, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made him felfe Lordeof the treasure, vittells, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their handes, without fighting. That which they alleage in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for fo great and skillfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young General of E an armie may easily be brought from his wife and safe counsell, with rumor and tumult of a few fearefull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonor for him if he did otherwise: yetwere this no straunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompeythe great, whose campe the Romanes called their contrie, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Confuls that gouerned at Rome, rebells and traitors to the common wealth of Rome: who could excuse him (who was never seene commanded by other then him felfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and ever had the vpper hand) but that he was drawen on by the scoffes of Faonius, and Domitius, to hazard battell, to endaunger the whole Empire and liberty of Rome, only for feare they should call him king Agamemnon? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamie, he should have F fought from the beginning for defence of the citie of Rome, and not to have taken example of Themistocles policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a shame as he did, to lye in THES-

A CALLE 2 time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fieldes of Pharfalia for a Theater, or close campe, of necessitie to fight which of them shoulde haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Heraulde to fummone him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must aunswere to his name, and come and fight, or else to loose the honor of the crowne vnto an other. But there were infinite other fieldes and townes (and as a man woulde say the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by sea gaue him choyse to conquer if he would rather have followed the steppes of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucultus, or of Agesilaus him selfe: who did paciently abide no lesse tumultes within the citie felfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to fummone him to come out to fight, for all the rest of his contrie. And in ÆGYPT also, he did abide many false accusations against him.

B wherewith the king him felfe did burden him, praying him alwayes to have a litle pacience. In fine , having followed the best counsell which he had determined with him selfe from the Agestiana beginning, he faued the AGYPTIANS against their willes: and furthermore, he did not only than Pompty. keepe the citie of Spanta from fo great a daunger, but did also fet up tokens of triumphe in the same against the Thebans, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the flaughter, and besides that, gaue his citizens occasion to obtaine victorie afterwardes. Hereupon Agesilaus was highly praised of them, whose lines he had saued against their wills. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by them felues, through whom he had offended yet fome

fay, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio. For he meaning to keepe the most parte

of the money to him felfe which he had brought out of Asia, did haften and perswade Pom-

C per to geue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true. a worthie Captaine should not so lightly have bene brought into error, vpon a false accompt, to hazard him felfe to loofe all. Thus may we fee what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iorneys into ÆG YPT, the one fled thither by Pompeys force: the other willingly went thither with small honor, for moneys sake to serue the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the GRECIANS. Lastly, in that which we accuse the ÆGYPTIANS for Pompeys sake: for the like matter doe they againe accuse Agesilaus. For the one was cruelly put to death & betrayed by them whom

> against them. The end of Pompeys life.

he trusted: & Agesilans forsooke them which

trusted him, and went to the enemies,

hauing brought aide to fight

D

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

do allo report this after an other fort: as in this maner. That the women in those parts of long time, have bene commonly possest with the spirite of Orpheus, and the divine sury of Bacehing whereupon they are called Clodones, & Mimallones (as much as warlicke, & fierce) and doc many things like vnto the women of EDONIA, and THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine

THE LIFE OF Alexander the great.



Auing determined in this volume to write the life of king Alexander & A of Iulius Cafar, that ouercame Pompey having to speake of many things I will vie none other preface, but only defire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare al things at large, but briefly touch divers. chiefly in those their noblest acts & most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but only lines. For, the noblest deedes doe not alwayes shew mens vertues and vices, but oftetimes a light occasion, a word, or some sporte makes mens naturall dispositions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous

battells wonne, wherein are flaine tenne thowfande men, or the great armies, or cities wonne by fiege or affault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no accompt of o-B ther partes of the bodie, do take the resemblaunces of the face and fauor of the countenance. in the which confifteth the judgement of their maners & disposition: euen so they must gene vs leaue to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby shewe the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great thinges they did. It is certaine that Alexander was discended from Hercules by Caranus, and that of his mothers side, he came of the blood of the AEacides by Neoptolemus. They say also, thatking Philip his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a younge maiden, and an orphane without father or mother, in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both received into the misterie and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother Arymbas, with C whose consent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about into divers slames. King Philip her husband also, shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did feale his wives belly, and that the feale wherewith he fealed, left behinde the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wifards and foothfayers, tolde Philip that this dreame gaue him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But Aristander TELMESIAN aunswered againe, that it signified his wife was conceived with childe, for that they doe not seale a vesfell that hath nothinge in it: and that the was with childe with a boy, which thoulde have a

The face fhewerb mens condicions. The paren-

sage of Ale-Olympias she lip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philips

these newes, the soothsayers did make his joy yet greater: assuring him that his sonne which

A Lionshart. It is reported alfo, that many times as the lay afleepe in her bed, there was feene a ferpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that Withdrewe opmpia so-Philips love and kindnes from her, and caused him that he lay not fo off with her, as before he pent. was wont to doe : either for that he feared fome charme or enchauntment, or elfe for that he thought him felfe vnmeere for her company, supposing her to be beloued of some god. Some

Emus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (fignifying in the Greeke tongue too R funerstitionly genen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For O timpias about other wome, louing to be inspired with such divine madnes & sury: did celebrate their folerme facrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous maner. For in these daunces to Baschae The caried a great number of tame fnakes about her, the which gliding apon the Juie wherewith the women were dreffed in those ceremonies, & winding the selues about the little iauelings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heades: therby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon Philip after this dreame, fent Chero M'EG ALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, to inquier what it fignified. Answere was genen him, that he should do facrifice vnto Iupiter Hammon, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had loft one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, faw the god in forme of a fnake C lve by his wife. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratofthenes writeth) bidding her sonne farewel whe he went to conquer Asia, after the had fecretly tolde him alone, by whom he was begotten: the prayed him to be valliant, & to thew himselfe worthy his sonne, that begat him. Others tel also, that the was angry with this report, faying will Alexander neuer leave to make me suspe-

cted of Juno? So it is, that Alexander was borne on the fixt day of the moneth of Hecatomba- The birth of on, (in english, June) which the MACED ONIANS call Lous. On the very fame day, the temple The temple of of Diana in the city of Ephesus was burnt, as Hegesias Magnesian doth witnesse, whose crie Diana biana & exclamation was fo terrible & cold, that it was enough to have quenched that fire. It is not at Ephofus. to be wondred at, that Diana suffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, busie about Wonderfull Alexanders birth. But this is true, that all the priests, magitians and soothsayers, which were at thing! Jene

D that time in E PHBS v s, judging that this did prognosticate some maruelous great missortune of Alexander to come, like men bestraught of their wits, they ran vp & downe the city, smiting of their faces, & crying that some great plague & mischief was borne that day vnto Asia. Shortly after that king Philip had wonne the city of Potio Enthree messengers came to him the same day that brought him great newes. The first, that Parmenio had wonne a notable battell of the ILLYRIA ANS: the fecond, that his horse only wan the bell & price at the Olympian games: & the third. that his wife had brought him a fonne called Alexander, Philip being maruelous glad to heare

was borne with three victories all together, should be inuincible. Now for his stature & perfo- Mexanders nage, the statues and images made of him by Lysippus doe best declare it, for that he would be stance and E drawen of no man but him only. Divers of his fuccessors & frends did afterwards counterfeat his image, but that excellent workeman Lysppus only, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawen and refembled Alexanders maner of holding his needer formwhat hanging downe towards the left fide, & also the swete looke & east of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexan-

der, holding lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat blacke and swarter, then his face in deede was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour, mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breft. I remember I red also in the comentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a maruelous good fauor, & that his breath was very swete, insomuch that his body had so swete a smell of it selfe, that all the apparell he Alexanders wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a paffing delightfull fauor, as if it had bene perfumed. body had a

F And the cause hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature & conflictucion of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of opinion, that the sweete sauor commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth up the moisture of the bodie. By which reason

PPP ii

Gemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how madde the horse was to see his owne shadow.

which was ever before him in his eye, as he sturred to & fro. Then Alexander speaking gently The seiting

to the horse, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fury & fnorting: Meximder in

fofuly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daun-

A Alexander to the horse, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the sunne. It

Alexander concred ho.

also it appeareth, that the drie & hot contries pearched with heate of the sunne, are thosether deliuer vnto vs the best spices; bicause that the sunne drieth vp the moysture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption, This natural heate that Alexander had, made him (as it appear reth) to be given to drinke, & to be hafty. Even from his childhood they faw that he was given to be chast. For though otherwise he was very hot & hasty, yet was he hardly moved with his or pleasure of the body, & would moderately vse it. But on thother side, the ambition & desire he had of honor, hewed a certaine greatnes of minde & noble corage, passing his yeares. For he was not (as his father Philip) defirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delire to vtter his eloquence, & stamped in his coynes, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games by the swift running of his horse & coches. For when he was asked one day (bicaule be was fwift of foote) whether he would affay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speake generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he vtterly misliked all wrestling & other exercises prife, where men did vie all their strength: but otherwise he him self made certen festival daies & games of prife, for common stage plaiers, musitians, & singers, & for the very Poets also He delighted also in hunting of divers kindes of bealtes, and playing at the staffe. Ambassadors being fent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whileft his father was in fome iorney out of his realme: Alexander familliarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his curteous entertain-

ment, (for that he vied no childish questions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but

what diffance it was fro one place to an other, & which way they went into the high contries

of Asia, & of the king of Persia him felfe, how he was towards his enemies, & what power C

minde of A.

Alexander.

lexanders horfe.

he had) that he did rauish them with delight to heare him, infomuch that they made no more account of Philips eloquence & tharpe wit, in respect of his sonnes corage, & noble minde, m attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would sayto his playfellowes: firs, my father will have all, I shall have nothing left me to conquer with you. that shalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valliant nes & honor, thought, that the greater conquests & realmes his father should leave him the leffe he should have to do for himselfe. And therfore, seing that his fathers dominions & Empire increased dayly more and more, perceiuing all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt the defired no riches nor pleafure, but warres & battells, & afpired to a figury where h he might win honor. He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him vp:as schoolemasters, gouernors, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him:and among those, Leonidas was the chiefest man that had the gouernment & charge of him, a man of a seuere disposition, & a kinseman also vnto the Queene Olympias. He milliked to be called a mafter or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wher upo the others called him Alexanders gouernor, bicause he was a noble man, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolemaster, was Lysimachus, an Acar nantan borne, who had no other maner of civility in him, fauing that he called him felfe Phanix, Alexander Achilles, & Philip Peleus: & therfore he was well thought of and was the seconde person next voto Leonidas. At what time Philonica THESSALIAN had brought Bucephal the horse to sell vnto king Philip, asking thirteene talents, E they went into the field to ryde him. The horse was found so rough & churlish that the ryders faid he would neuer do feruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king Philip, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, Philipheing affrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beaft, & altogether vnprofitable the which they had done, had not Alexander that stoode by faid, O gods, what a horse do they turne away, for lacke of skil & hart to handle him. Philip heard what he faid, but held his peace. Alexander of trepeating his wordes, seeming to be fory that they should send backe the borse againe:why, faid Philip, doest thou control them that have more experience than thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered, & yet me thinkes I should hadle him better tha all they have done. But if thou canst not no more the they replied Philip: F what wilt thou forfet for thy folly? I am cotent (9 Alexander) to icopard the price of the horle. huery man laughed to heare his aunswere: and the wager was layed betwene them. Then ran

ger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without firiking or flurring the horse, made him contains the to be gentle enough. Then when he sawe that the furie of the horse was past, and that he be- berfer ganne to galloppe, he put him to his full career, and layed on spurres and voyce a good. Philip atthefirst with feare beholding his sonnes agility, least he should take some hurt, said never a word: but when he faw him redily turne the horse at the end of his career, in a brauery for that R he had done, all the lookers on gaue a showte for joy. The father on thother side (as they fay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he sayd vnto him kisfing his head: O fonne, thou must needes have a realme that is meete for thee, for MACED ON Philip pro-will not hold thee. Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extreating former mity, & that by gentle meanes and perswasion he could make him do what he would he euer Mexander, fought rather to perswade then comaund him in any thing he had to do. Now Philip putting nogreat affiace in his schoolemasters of musicke & humanity, for the instruction & education of his sonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of

greater learning than their capacities would reache vnto: and that as Sophoeles fayth. He needed many revnes, and many bits at once: C Hesent for Aristotle (the greatest Philosopher in his time, & best learned) to teach his sonne, difficile, was vnto whom he gaue honorable stipend. For Philip having won & take before, the city of STA- Alexanders oyna, where Ariflotle was borne: for his sake he built it againe, & replenished it with inhabitats shiplate which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a schoole house and borne in the dwelling place, the pleafant house that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet seene seats city of Stage. of stone which Aristotle caused to be made, & close walks to walke in the shadow. It is thought

not published. For to fay truly, in al his treatifes which be called ustated out in there is no plain

alfo, that Alexander did not only learne of Aristotle, moral philosophy & humanity, but also he heard of him other more secret, hard, & grave doctrine, which Aristotles schollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things speculative, which require thehe masters teaching to vnderstand the or els are kept from comon knowledge: which sciences, they did not D comonly teach. Alexander being passed into Asia, & hearing that Aristotle had put out certen bookes of that matter: for the honors fake of philosophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, somwhat too plaine, & of this effect. Alexander, vnto Aristotle greeting. Thou hast not done well to put in Epifile of forth the Acroamatical sciences. For wherin shal we excell other, if those things which thou Atrander

half secretly taught vs. be made comon to all? I do thee to understand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewel, Wherunto Ariflotle to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that thele bookes were published, &

instruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himselfe, nor yet to be taught by any other, then Aristotle him selfe, or his schollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for them that have bene entred & brought up in the Peripatericke feet & doctrine. It feemeth alfo, that it was Aristotle aboue all other, that made Alexander take delight to study phisick. For Alexan- Alexander

der did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but would exercise practise also, & help his the great practise also be a great practise al frends when they were ficke: & made befides certaine remedies, & rules to line by : as appea- ficke. reth by his letters he wrote, that of his ownenature he was much geue to his booke, & defired Some thinks to read much. He learned also the Iliades of Homer, of Aristotles correction, which they call the should be mis ોદ વર્ષે કર્મણ કાર્યા પ્રાથમ માના માર્થ કર્માં કરમાં કરમાં કર્માં કરમાં કર્માં કરમાં કરમાં કરમાં કરમાં કરમાં કરમાં કરમાં કર્માં કરમાં કરમા head with his dagger, calling it (as Onesicrates writeth) the institution of martiall discipline, was found a-And when he was in the high contries of Asia, where he coulde not readily come by other more king bookes, he wrote vnto Harpalus to fend them to him. Harpalus fent him the histories of Phili. Don't inelli. F flus, with divers tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and JEfibylus: and certaine hymnes of Te-

lestus and Philoxenus, Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first, as his father, and so he would have all tearmed him:bicause from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live. Homers work But afterwardes he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so frend. A ly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will be was wont to doe. This notwithstanding, he left not that zeale and defire he had to the studie of Philosophie, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed divers testimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto Anaxarchus the Philosopher. The fiftie talentes which he fent vnto Xenocrates, Dandamis, and Calanus: of whome he made great account. When king Philip made warre with the BIZANTINES, Alexander being but fixteene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenaunt in MACHDON, with the custodie and charge of his great feale: at what time he also subdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled against him.

and hauing wonne their citie by affault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Co.

lonie of it of fundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to fay, the citie of Alexander, a

He was with his father at the battell of CHERONE Against the GRECIANS, where it was re-

ported, that it was he that gaue charge first of all apon the holie bande of the THEBANS, First

thermore, there was an old oke seene in my time, which the contry men commonly call Ale.

xanders oke, bicause his tent or pauillion was fastned to it : and not farre from thence is the

charnell house, where those MACEDONIANS were buried that were slaine at the battell, For

these causes, his father Philip loued him very deerely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONE

ans call Alexander king, & him selfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his

court afterwards, by reason of Philippes new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and strife

amongest the women; for the mischiefe of diffention & gealozy of women, doth separate the

being a gealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incende Alexander against his

father. But the chiefest cause that prouoked Alexander, was Attalus at the mariage of Cleme.

This was the matter: Attalus being vncle vnto this Cleopatra, fell droncke at the mariage, and

having in his cuppes, he perswaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feast, to pray to the

goddes, that they might have a lawfull heire of Philippe and Cleopatra, to succeede him in the

kingdome of MACEDON. Alexander being in a rage therewith threwe a cuppe at his head.

and fayd vnto him : why, traytor, what am I : dost thou take me for a bastard? Philip seeing

that, rose from the bourd, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being

ground. After this great infolency, he tooke his mother Olympias away with him, and carying

her into his contrie of EPIRVS, he left her there, and him felfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA.

harts of kings one from an other, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpenes of Olympias, who s

Alexanders first souldier

The city of Alexandro-

of printing and tra, whom Philip maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when him felfe was past mariage.

Akunda. This was the matter: Attalus being uncle with clear to the contract of the contract of

troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the grounde. Then Alexander mockingen mocketh Phi-lip his father. him, loe, fayd he, to the Macedonians, here is the man that prepared to go out of Evrore into As IA, and stepping onely from one bedde to an other, ye see him layed alongest on the

In the meane time, Demaratus CORINTHIAN, a frend of king Philippes, and very familliar with him, came to fee him. Philip when he had curteoufly welcommed him, asked him howethe GR ECIANS did agree together. Truely, O king, quod he, it importes you much to inquier of the agreement of the GRECIANS, when your owne court is so full of quarrell & contencion, These words nipped Philip in such sorte, & caused him to know his fault, that through Demeratus meanes, whom he fent to perswade Alexander to returne, Alexander was made to come F. backe againe. Now whe Pexodorus, a Prince of CARIA (defiring for necessities fake, to enterin Aridam king league and frendship with Philip) offred his eldest daughter in mariage vnto Aridams king Phi-Philipper ba- lips sonne, & had sent Aristocritus Ambassador into Macedon for that purpose: the frends of Alexander & his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and suspicions, how Philip by this great mariage would aduaunce Arideus to his vtter vndoing, and leave him his heire in the kingdom. Alexander being nettled therwith sent one Thessau a plaier of tragedies into CARIA to Pexodorus: to perswade him to leaue Arideus, that was a bastard & a foole, & rather to make alliace with Alexander. This offer pleased Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his fonne in law, than Arideus. Philip vnderstanding this, went himself into Alexanders châber, taking Philotas with him (the sonne of Parmenio) one of his familliars, & bitterly tooke vp Ale-F xander, telling him that he had a base mind, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would cast himselfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a slaue & subject

A of a barbarous king. Therupo he wrote letters vnto Corin Th, that they should fend Thessalus boud vnto him. And furthermore, he banished out of MACED ON, Harpalus, Nearthus, Phrygius, & Ptolomy, his fonnes companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home againe, & placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, Paulanias susteining villany by the counsell and commaundement of Attalus & Cleopatra, crauing Iustice of Philip, and finding no amends: Philip kine he converted all his anger against him, and for spight slue him him selfe. Of this murther, most of Macedon, men accused Quene Olympias, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not cleare from suspition of this murther, For some say, that Pausanias after this villanie was done him, complained vnto Alexander, and told him how he had bene abused: who recited these verses to him of Euripides, in the tragedie of R Medea, where the faid in anger, that the would be reuenged:

Both of the bridegroome and the bride.

And of the father in lavve. Norwithstanding, afterwardes he caused diligent searche to be made, and all them to be feuerely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angrie also that his mother Olympias had cruelly flaine Cleopatra. So he came to be king of MACEDON at twenty yeares of age, and The beginfound his realme greatly enuyed & hated of daungerous enemies, and euery way full of daun- ning of Aleger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide **anders ratthe bondage of straungers, but defired to have their naturall kinges. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacifie GR &CE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but having Calide altered the gouernmentes, had through his infolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell a for that they had not long bene aquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders counsell of MACEDON, being affraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexader should veterly for fake the affaires of GR ACE, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he should seeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new sturres. But he farre otherwise determined to stablish his fafery by corage and magnanimitie: perfivading him felfe, that if they faw him flowpe and yeeld at the beginning, how litle fo euer it were, euery one would be apon him. Thereupon, hestraight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them sodainely with hisarmie, by the river of DANVBY, where in a great battell he overthrew Syrmus, king of the Alexander as D TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, having intelligence that the THEBANS were revolted, and that nercome Syr the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he the Tribal.

marched with his armie towardes the streight of Thermopiles, saying that he would make De- lians. molthenes the Orator fee (who in his oratios, whileit he was in ILLYRIA, & in the contry of the TRIBALLIAMS, called him child) that he was growen a stripling passing through THESSALY, Ethould finde him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to gene them of the citie occasion to repent them: and therefore onely demaunded Phanix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trompet, pardon and fafetie vnto all them that would yeld vnto him. The THE-BANS on thother fide, demaunded of him Philotas, & Antipater, two of his chiefest servauntes. E & made the crier proclaime in the citie, that all fuch as would defend the libertie of GRECE, should iowne with them. Then did Alexander leave the MACEDONIANS at libertie to make

warre with all crueltie. Then the Thebans fought with greater corage and defire then they were able, confidering that their enemies were many against one. And on thother side also, when the garrison of the MACEDONIANS which were within the castell of CADMIA, made a falie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironned of all sides, were slaine in maner enery one of them, their citie taken, destroyed, & rased even to the Theber work hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of GRECE afraid by ex- and rased by ample of this great calamitie and miserie of the Thebans, to thend none of them should dare Alexander. from thenceforth once to rife against him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the com-

F plaintes of his confederates, the Phocians and Plateians: who complaining to him of the iniuries the Thebans had offred, could not denie them iustice. Notwithstading, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were frendes vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON, PPP iiii

of Thebes.

A into the temple. She feeing then that he would not be denyed hunt ould need have his wall-

fold him; My Jonne, for that I fee, thou are insuncible. Act and bearing that faied be delired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwardes which he was even ready to go on with his voyage, he had divers figures and tokens from the gods: and amongest we wind the other an image of the Poet Orphem made of gyptus, in the civils of Line was in the flower figure appear

all the frendes and hinfmen of the poet Pindarus, and all those that had disswaded them which it were the rebells: he fold all the rest of the citie of T HEBE's for slaves, which amounted to the nomber of thirtie thowsand persones, besides them that were slaine at the battell, which were fix thowsand moe. Now amongest the other miseries & calamities of the poore citie of THE BES, there were certaine THEACIAN fouldiers, who having spoyled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them; and their captaine hauing rauished her by force, asked her, whether she had any where hidden and gold or filuer. The ladie told him, she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brough him vnto a well: where the faid the had cast all her inells and precious things, when the heard the citie was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN stouped to looke into the well: she standing behind him, thrust him in, and then threw stones enow on him, and so killed him. The soul, diers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and so caried her vnto Alexander. When Ale xander faw her countenance, & marked her gate: he supposed her at the first to be some great lady, she followed the fouldiers with such a maiestie & boldnes. Alexader the asking her what she was: She aunswered, that she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battell with king Philip before the citie of CHERONEA, where being generall he was flaine, valiantly fighting for the defense of the libertie of GRECE. Alexander wondering at her noble aunswere and couragious deede, comaunded no man shoud touche her nor her children, & so freely lether goe whether the would. He made league also with the Athenians, though they werever fory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne feast of their misteries being come they left it of, mourning for the Therans: courteoutly enterteining all those, that flying from C THEBES came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him , following therein the nature of lyons: or bycause that after so great an example of crueltie, he would shew a singuler elemency againe: he did not only pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did also counsell them to looke wifely to their doings, for their citie one daie should commaund all GRECE, if he chaunced to die. Men report, that certenly he oftentimes repented him that he had delt fo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke apon it was cause that he afterwardes shewed him selfe more mercifull vnto diuers others. Afterwardes also he did blame the furie of Bacchus, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill Clim at the table being droncke, and the MACEDONIANS also to refuse him to goe any furtherm conquer the Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of D his honor. Besides, there was neuer Theban afterwardes, that had escaped the furie of his vi-Ctorie, and did make any peticion to him, but he had his fute. Thus was the state of THERE as you have heard. Then the GRECIANS having affembled a generall counsell of all the states of GRECE within the straights of Peloponne fus: there it was determined that they would make warre with the Persians. Whereupon they chose Alexander generall for all Grece. Then divers men comming to visite Alexander, as well philosophers, as gouernors of states, to congratulate with him for his electio, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinta) would likewise come as the rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbes of CORINT HE, at a place called CRANIVM, he went him selse vnto him, and found him layed all a long in the funne. When Diogenes faw fo many comming E towardes him, he sate vp a litle, and looked full apon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thinge. Yea faid he, that I do: that thou stand out of my funne a litle. Alexander was fo well pleafed with this aunswere, and maruelled fo much at the great boldnes of this man, to fe how small account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, Alexanders familliers laughing at Diogenes, & mocking him, he told them: masters say what you lyst, truely if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being desirous to heare what the oracle of Apollo DELPHIAN would say vnto him touching the succeffe of his iorney into As 1 A: he went vnto the citie of DE LPHES. It chaunced for that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man yfed to aske Apollo any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles, F to pray her to come to him. But the refused to come, alleaging the custome which forbad her to goe. Thereupon, Alexander went thither him felfe in person, and brought her out by sorce

did fwcate marueloufly. Many men fearing that figne, Ariftander the foothfayer had alexant lexander beder be of good cheere, and hope well, for he hould obtaine noble wist of ies shat should never fore his jourbe forgotten, the which thould make the Poets and mulicians (westerto write and fince them. "ey into A-There for his armie which he led with him they that doe feldowner the leaft nomber alsy that Alexanders

they were thirtie thow land footemen , and five thow land bordenen and they charley more, amie into A-

Alexanders

doc write, foure & thirtie thow land footemen, and foure thow land hor lemen of reliable write teth, that Alexander had no more but three Core and tenne talents to paie his buildiers with and Duris, writeth, that he had no more prouision of vittells, then for thirtie dayes onely. And Onelleritus layeth moreouer, that he did owe two hundred ralents. Now inotwithstanding that he beganne this warre with fo small ability to mainteine it he would never take shippe before he understood the state of his frendes to know what abilitie they had to goe with him, and before he had genen vnto some landes, and vnto other, a towne, and to others agains, the custore of some hauen. Thus by his bounde hauing in maner spent almost the rouenues of the the spent sie of Alexacrowne of MACEDON, Perdiecas asked him : my Lord, what will you kepe for your felfer hope, dan favd he. Then, a Perdice as againe, we will also have some parte, since we goe with you : and C forefuled the revenue which the king had geven him for his pencion. Many others did alfo the like. But fuch as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, his gaue them very franckly, and in such liberallitie (pent all the revenue he had. With this defier & determination, he went on to the firaight of Hellespont, & going to the citie of ILLYM. hedid facrifice vnto Diana, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy goddes (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whose bodies where buried there) and specially ynto Achilles, whose graue he annointed with oyle, and ranne naked round about it with his familiers according to the auncient custome of funeralls. Then he covered it with notegaves and flowers, faying, that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithfull freind, and after Mexanders his death an excellent herauld to finge his praise. When he had done, & went up and downe faying of Actiflet. D the citie to fee all the monumentes and notable thinges there : one asked him, if he would fee Paris harpe. He aunswered againe, he would very faine see Achilles harpe, who played & sunge apon it all the famous actes done by valliant men in former times. In the meane time, Darine king of PERSIA, having leavied a great armie, fent his captaines and levetenants to tary Alex xander at the river of GRANICVS. There was Alexander to fight of necessitie; being the onely barre to ftoppe his entrie into A sta. Moreouer the captaines of his counfell about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the bancke on thother fide, which was verichie and steepe, & could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should haue speciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: bycause the kings of MACE DON did neuer vie to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that, faid Alexander, we will remedy foone: let them call it the fecond moneth, Arremifium, which is Maye. Furthermore Parmenie was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, by cause it was very late. Alexander made auniwere againe, that HELLESPONT would blush for shame, if he were now affraid to passe ouer the river, fince he had already commen ouer an arme of the sea. Thereupon he him selfe first entred the river with thirteene guidons of horsemen, and marched forwardes against an infinite nomber of arrowes which the enemies shot at him, as he was comming up the other bancke, which was very highe and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receive him in battell rave, thrufling his men downe into the river, which was very deepe, and ranne fo fwife, that it almost caried them downe the streame: infomuch that men thought him more rash than wife, to leade his men with fuch daunger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needes ouer, & in thend with great a doc recoursed the other fide, specially by cause the earth flidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was ouer, he was driven to fight pelmel one

Panill beraint Alaxader and Darivin alber in the and forightefirst with their dartes, and afterwardes came to the fworde when their
siri of Grainwere broken. Then many of them fer vpon him alone, for he was eafely to be knowen about
the rest by his shield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hong from those

were broken. Then many of them fer vpon him alone, for he was eafely to be knowen their dame were broken. Then many of them fer vpon him alone, for he was eafely to be knowen for the reft by his shield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hong from those side to thother, a maruelous fairer white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart of his high, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Roefaces & Spithridates, both two chiefe captaines of the Passians, fetting apon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Roefaces, we will exceed the passians of the passians are straight drew out his sword. Due to soon as they two had closed together, Spithridates comiting a road of the passians are soon as they two had closed together, Spithridates comiting a road of the passians are soon.

excellently armed, he gaue him fuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so some steey two had closed together, spithidates coming at toessed of him, raised him selfe vpon his stirroppes and gaue Alexander with all his might such a blow of his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creast of his helmet, and one of the sides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very heare of his head. And as he was listing up his hand to strike Alexander againe, great the suppression of the strength of

also fell'dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gaue him with his sword. Now whilest the horsemen sought with such sure; the squadron of the battell of sootemen of the MACEDONIANS had passed the river, and both the battells beganne to march one against the other. The Persians stuckenot mansfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs and sled, saving the Grecians which tooke paie of king Darius: they drew together you a hill, and craued mercy of Alexander. But Alexander setting vpon them, more of will then discretion, had his horsekilled vnder him, being thrust through the slancke with a sword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurr at this backles, were hurte amongest them valliantly signifying against descrete are. It is never that

discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the slancke with a sword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongest them valliantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were flaine at this first battell, twenty thowsand footemen of these barbarous people, & two thowsand fine hundred horsemen. Of Alexanders side, Aristobulus writeth, that there were flaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. Alexander to honor their valliantnes, caused every one of their images to be made in brasse by Lysippus. And bycause he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victorie, he sent vnto the ATHE NI ANS three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally you all the other spoiles, he put this honorable inscription. Alexander the some of Philip, and the Gracians, excepting the Lacedamonians, have wonne this spoile apon the barbarous Asians. Assor plate of gold or filuer, also purple filkes, or other such precious ware which he gat among the PERSIANS: he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victorie of Alexander, brought such a sodaine chaunge amongest the barbarous people in Alexanders behalfe, that the citie selse of Sardis, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the lowe contries and coastes apon the sea, they yeelded straight vnto him, saving the cities of Halicarnassys and Miletym, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he tooke the by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in dout afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a maruelous desire, whotly to follow Derius wherefoeuer he were, and to venter all at a battell. An other time againe, he thoughtit better first to occupy himselfe in conquering of these low contries, & to make him selfe strong with the money and riches he should finde among them, that he might afterwardes be the better able to follow him. In the contrie of Lydia neere vnto the citie Xanthum, they fay there is a springe that brake of it selfe, and overflowing the banckes about it, cast out a lite

table of copper from the bottome, ypon the which were graued certen carectes in olde letters, which faid: that the kingdome of the Persians should be distroyed by the Grecians. This did further so encorage Alexander, that he made hast to cleere all the sea coast, enemas farre as Cilicia and Phoenicia. But the wonderfull good success she had, runninge alongest all the coast of Pamphilia, gaue diuers historiographers occasion to set forth his doinges with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the sure of the sea, which vnto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would swell ouer the toppes of the higher ockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that Menander

A number him felfe in a comedie of his doth witnesse this wonderfull happynes of Alexander, when merily he sayeth:

O great Alexander, how o great is thy state? For thou with thy selfe mayst thus suftly debate. If any man lyuing I list for too call, He commeth and humbly before me doth fall. And if through the sourges my iorney doe lye, The waves give me way, and the Sea becomes a

And if through the fourges my iorney doe lye,

The vvaues give me vvay, and the Sea becomes drye.

Yet Alexander him felfe fimply writeth in his epiftles (without any great wonder) that by
the passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke shippe in the cirie of

feahe passed a place called the sadder, and that to passe there, he tooke shippe in the citie of BPHASELIDES. There he remained many dayes, and when he saw the image of Theodesses PHASELIDES. There he remained many dayes, and when he saw the image of Theodesses PHASELIDES. There he maket place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after suppers of Theodesses and cast showers and garlandes apon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it becomed by seemed but in sporte, for that he was his companion when he syuded, by meanes of Aristoste and his philosophie. After that he ouercame also the PISIDIANS, who thought to have resisted him, and conquered all PHRYGIA besides. There in the citie of Gordive synthesis should be the auncient seate of king Middes he saw the charret that is so much spoke of, which is bound Gordius in with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was rold him for a trothe of the barckerosis people where Propries where Propri

with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a trothe, of the barbarous people, that they beleued it as a prophecy: that who foeuer could vndoe the bande of that barcke, was certainly ordeyned to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander prouing to vndoe that bande, and finding no endes to vndoe it by, they were for many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his fword, and cut the knot in the middelt, So that then many endes appeared. But Arifobulus writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the chartet and fo feuered them a foonder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians & Cappadoeians, and vnderflood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withfand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to goe on with his determination to leade his army into the highe contries of Asia. Then did

king Darius him selfe come against Alexander, having leavied a great power at Sysa, of fix

decessor: and that when he came into the temple of Belus, he sodainely vanished from him. By

this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did fignifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS

should have noble successe in their doinges, & that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even

asking Darius had done, when he was but Afgandes vnto the king: and that shortly after, he

should end his life with great honor. This furthermore made him bolde also, when he faw

his wifards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Daring dreamed that he and dreame, find the same of the Marine and dreamed flatter him.

his wisards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Daries dreamed that he and dreame, saw all the armie of the Macedonians on a fire, and Alexander serving of him in the selfe same attiet that he him selfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his pre-

that Alexander remained a good while in CILICIA, supposing it had benefor that he was affiaid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknes he had, the which some say he got, by examine paines and trauell, & others also, by cause he washed him selfe in the riner of Cydnus, so which was cold as Ise. How soeuer it came, there was none of the other phistians that dust cydnus should be the content of the other phistians that dust cydnus should be the content of the other phistians that dust cydnus should be a content of the conte

him selfe of his loue and good will towardes him, thought he shoulde not doe that became him, if he did not proue (seeing him in extremitie and daunger of life) the vtmost remedies of phisses, what daunger of ever he put him selfe into: and therefore tooke apon him too ministerphisses who the warres, and perswaded him to drincke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, as goe to the warres. In the meane time, Parmenio wrote him a letter from the campe, aduertising him, that he should beware of Philip his phistian, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches, that he would geue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his master. Alexander when he had redde this letter, layed it vinder his beddes

xander miscaried. But Philip ACARNANIAN, considering his master was very ill, and bearing

The wonder head, and made none of his neerest familliers acquainted therewith. When the however the that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the kings famile liers. & brought a cup in his hand with the pocion he should drinke. Alexander then gauchim the letter, & withall, cheerefully tooke the cup of him, shewing no maner of seare or mistrast of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the fight, how one reading the letter, and thother drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one apon another, howhere not both with like cheerefull countenaunce. For Alexander looked merily apon him , plainly shewing the trust he had in his phisitian Philip, and how much he loued him: and the phistian also beheld Alexander, like a man perplexed & amazed, to be so failly accused, & straight lift vo his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witnesse that he was innocent, and the came to Alexanders bed fide, and prayed him to be of good cheere, and boldly to doe as to would aduise him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the disease, and draue for the time, to the lowest partes of his body, all his naturall strength and powers: in somuch as his freach failed him, and he fell into fuch a weaknes, and almost sooning, that his pulse did scare beate, and his sences were welneere taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few days recouered him againe. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed him selfopenly vnto the MACEDONIAN s: for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health vntill they had seene him. In king Darius campe, there was one Amyntas a MACE DONIANA banisht out of his contrie, who knew Alexanders disposition very well. He finding that Daries ment to meete with Alexander within the straightes and vallies of the mountaines: besomete him to tarie rather where he was, being a plaine open contrie round about him, confidering (usyntas profithat he had a great hoste of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for hisaluantage to meete with him in the open field. Darine aunswered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. Amynt as replied, for that, 0 king, I praie you feare not for I warrant you apon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. All these perswasions of Amyntas could not tune Darius from making his campe to marche towardes CILICIA. At the felfe fame time also, Alexander went towardes Syria to meete with him. But it chaunced one night, that the one of them missed of the other, and when day was come, they both retorned backe againe: Alexander being glad of this happe, & making hast to meete with his enemy within the straights. Darius also seeking to winne Alexanders lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army D out of the straites: beganne then to find the fault & error committed, for that he had shuthin felfe up in the straights, (holden in on the one side with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the river of Pindarus that ranne between both) and that he was driven to disperse his armie into diuers companies, in a stonie and ill fauored contrie, ill for horsemen to travell being on the contrarie fide a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in nomber. But now, as fortune gaue Alexander the field as he would wishe it to fight for his advantage: so could be tell excellently well how to set his men in battell raye to winne the victorie. For albeit that Alexander had the leffe nomber by many then his enemie, yet he had fuch policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be enrine in a pa-rine in Cilicia. Mironned: For he did put out the right winge of his battell a great deale further, then he did E his left winge, and fighting him felfe in the left winge in the foremost ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that stood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thighe with a blow of a fword. Chares writeth, that Darius selfe did hurte him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding Alexander selfe writing of this battell vnto Antipater sayeth, thatin deede he was hurte on the thighe with a fword, howbeit it did put him in no daunger: but he writeth not that Darius did hurte him. Thus having wonne a famous victory, and flaine about a hundred and tenne thowfand of his enemies, he could not yet take Darius, bycaufe he fled, having still foure or five forlonges vantage before him: how beit he tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he retorned from the chase, & found the Ma-

CEDONIANS facking & spoiling all the rest of the campe of the barbarous people, where there F

was infinite riches (although they had left the most parte of their cariage behind them in the

citie of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet referued for him selfe all king Darin

Alexanders.

A rent, which was full of a great nomber of officers, of riche moueables, and of gold and filuer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting of his armor, he entred into the bathe and fived: come on, lette vs goe and washe of the sweate of the battell in Darius owne bathe. Nave, replyed one of his familliers againe, in Alexanders bathe: for the goodes of the yanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathe, and sawe the basons and vewers, the boxes, and vyolles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetely, that it was like a parradife: then going out of his bathe. and comming into his tent, feeing it fo stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in fuch fumptuous fort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familliers and id: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supperdwas brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongest other Ladies taken prithers, king Darius mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried, who having Darius mothere, wife, and feene his chariot and bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them selues 100 deserbires. thinking Darius had bene staine. Alexander pawfed a good while and gaue no aunswere, pit- saken by Alewing more their misfortune, then reioycing at his owne goodhappe. Then he presently sent xondar. one Leonatus vnto them, to let them vnderstand, that Darius was a line, and that they should not neede to be afraid of Alexader, for he did not fight with Darins, but for his kingdome only. and as for them, that they should have at his handes all that they had of Darius before, when of Alexander he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captive Ladies, so the vote the cadeedes that followed, made them finde his clemencie to be no leffe. For first he suffred them prine Ladies. toburie as many of the Persian Lordes as they would, euen of them that had bene flaine in the battell, and to take as much filkes of the spoiles, itells, and ornamentes, as they thought good to honor their funeralles with & also did lessen no parte of their honor, nor of the nomber of their officers and feruauntes, nor of any jotte of their estate which they had before bus did allowe them also greater pencions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princely est grace, and most noble fauor that Alexander shewed vnto these captine princesses, which had The thasfinie alwayes lived in honorable fame and chastitie, was this: That they never heard worde, or fo much as any suspicion that should make them asrayed to be dishonored or deflowed: but were privately among them felues vnuifited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, notas if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close monasterie: although Darius wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as Darius also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selse, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touche them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maned them, Bar sine onely excepted, who being left Memnons widow (generall of kinge Darius by sea) was taken by the citie of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good enterteinment (being the daughter of Artabazus, who came of a kingers daughter) Alexander was bolde with her by Parmenioes procurement, (as Aristobulus writeth) who intifed him to embrace the companie of fo excellent a woman, and palling faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies besides which were Mexanders prisoners, what goodly faire women they were: he spake it pleasauntly, that the Ladies of pleasans spech PERSIA made mens eyes fore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beautie of beautie hiscontinencie, before their sweete faire faces: he passed by without any sparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, Philoxenus whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the lowe contries apon the sea coast, wrote vito him on a time, that one Theodorus a marchaunt of TARENTVM, had to fell two goodly young boies, maruelous faire: and therefore that he fent vnto him to knowe his pleasure, if he would by e them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out alowde: O, my frendes, what villany hath euer Philoxenus feene in me, that he should deuise (having nothing to doe there) to purchace me fuch infamie? whereuppon he wrote vnto him from Ethecampe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile TARENTIN marchaunt Theodorus and his marchaundise to the Deuill. He sharpely punished also one Agnon, that wrote vnto him he would bye a young boye called Grobylus (who for beautie bare the onely,

Alexanders life when be

prince as any

name in CORINTHE,) and bring hin to him. An other time also, when he heard that Danie A and Timotheus MACEDONIANS, under Parmenioes charge, had deflowed two of the fouldier wives that were straungers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto Parmenio to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them giltie of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as brute beaftes borne to destroie mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus of him selfe. For my selfe, said he, I haue neither seene, nor desired to see Darius wife : neither haue I suffred any speach of her beawtie before me. Moreouer he saied, that he did vnder. ftand that he was mortall by these two thinges: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weake. nes of our nature proceedeth fleepe and fenfualitie. He was also no greedy gutte, but ten. perate in eating, as he shewed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he faide vnto the pris cesse Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For which (for the loue she bare him) she daily sent him fundrie delicate dishes of meate, tartes, marchpaines, and befides the meate it felfe, the gaftlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he aunswered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for How Leonidas he had better cookes than those appointed him by his gouernour Leonidas, to witte: forhis diner, to rife before daye; and to marche by night: and for his supper, to eate litle at diner. And my gouernour, faid he, would oftentimes open the cheftes where my bedding and apparell lay, to fee if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Fur. thermore, he was lesse genen to wine, then men would have judged. For he was though to be a greater bibber than he was, bycause he sate longe at the bourde, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when (he was at leylure. For having matters to doe, there was neither feaste, bancket, plaie, mariage, nor any pastime that could staie him: as they had done other captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the shortenes of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedeshe did, in that little time he lived. When he had leyfure, after he was vp in the morning, fift of all he would doe facrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, passing awaical the rest of the daye, in hunting, writing some thinge, taking vp some quarell between soul diers, or els in studying. If he went any journey of no hastie busines, he would exercise him felfe by the waie as he went, shooting in his bowe, or learning to get vp or out of his change fodenly, as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunte the foxe, or ketche birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembraunces for euerie daie. Then when he camend his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and nointe him felfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his supper were ready. He would ener suppelate, and was very curious to fee, that enery man at his bourde were a like ferued, and would fit longe at theu ble, bycause he euer loued to talke, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noblea prince and gracious to waite apon, and as pleasaunt, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelines to adorne a prince, fauing that he would be something ouer bussein glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging fouldier: neither was he contented him selse to please his owne humour that waie, but would also suffer his familliers to soothe him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, not yet durst saye E leffe of the praifes which they gaue him . For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in daunger. After supper, he would washe him selfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next daye following, and oftentimes all daye longe. For him felfe, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes: for when any did send him rare frutes, or fishe, from the contries neere the sea side, he would send them abroad vnto his frendes, and seldom kepe any thinge for him felfe. His table notwithstanding was alwayes very honorably served, and did still increace his fare, as he did enlarge his conquestes: till it came to the summeof tenne thowfand drachmas a daye. But there he stayed, and would not exceede that summe; and moreover commaunded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend about that summe. After this battell of Issvs, he sent vnto the citie of DAMAS, to take all the F gold and filuer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of armes of the Thessalians spedde them full well. For therefore

A didhe fend them thither, by cause he sawe that they had sought valliantly at the daye of the hartell: and so were the reste of his armie also well stored with money. There the MACE nonians having tafted first of the golde, filter, women, and barbarous life; as dogges by cent doe follow the tracke of beaftes, euen so were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the PERSIANS. First Alexander thought it best to winne all the sea coaste. Thether came the kinges of Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and delinered up to him the whole Iland & all Phoe-NICIA, fauing onely the citie of Tyre. That citie he befeeged feuen moneths together by Mexander lande, with great bulwarkes and divers engines of batterie, and by fea, with two hundred gal- cities Type. lies. During this fege, Alexander dreamed one night, that Hercules held out his hand vnto Mexanders him ouer the walles of the citie, and called him by his name; and there were diuers Tyrians drame as the Fallo that dreamed in likewife, that Apollo told them that he would goe vnto Alexander, byranse he was not pleased with their doinges in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image. (which was of a wonderfull bignes) with grat chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base. asifhe had bene a traitour that would have yeelded him felfe vnto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as fauoring Alexander. Alexander had there also an other dreame. Alexanders For he dreamed that he sawe a Satyre a farre of sporting with him, and when he thought to agains as haue commen neere to haue taken him, he still escaped from him; vntill at the length, after Tyre. hehad ronne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his handes. The foothefavers being asked what this dreame should fignifie, aunswered probably, by deuiding Satyros into two, and then it is sarie. which fignifieth, the citie of Tyne shalbe thine. And they of doe vet show vnto this daie, the fountaine where Alexander thought he saw the Satyre. Con- Mexanders tinuing this feege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell apon the moun-iorney against taine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being cast away, onely bycause he heard Intiliban his tutor Lysimachus that followed him, saye bostingly, that he was not inferior, nor older mone. than the Phoenix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went vp a foote: and Alexander was of fo courteous a nature, that he would not leave his tutor Lysimachus behind him (who was so wery that he could goe no further) but bycause it was darke night, & for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encorage his tutor, and in maner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreover it was very colde, and D the waie was very ill. At the length, perceyuing divers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in an other, trusting to his valliantnes, having alwayes prouidedremedie in extremitie, when the MACEDONIANS were distressed, him selfe ever putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of The corage the barbarous people that laye by the firefide, he snatched awaye a fire brand, and ranne of Alexander. with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were for affraid, that they ranne their waye as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and sette vppon him, he flue them enery man, and so lave there that night, him selfe and his men without daunger. Thus Chares reporteth this matter. Now for the feege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most parte of his armie to take rest, being ouerharried and, E wearyed with formany battelles as they had fought: and fent a few of his men onely to gene affault vnto the citie, to kepe the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One daye the foothefayer Aristander facrifycing vnto the goddes, having confidered of the fignes. of the intralles of the beaftes : did affure them that were present, that the citie should be taken by the later ende of the moneth. Euery bodie laughed to heare him: for that days was thevery last daye of the moneth. Alexander seeing him amated, as one that could not tell, what to faie to it, feeking ever to bringe those tokens to effect, which the soothesayers did prognosticate: commaunded them that they should not reckon that daye the thirtie day, but the leuen and ewentie, and immediatly upon it, made the trompet founde the allarme, & geue a hotter affault to the walle, then he had thought to have done before. They fought valliantly Fon both fides, in fo much as they that were left in the campe, could not kepe in, but must needs. The stille of runne to thatfault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS feeing thatfault fo hot on every and taken by side, their hartes began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the selfe same day. Alexander.

tooke the citie

An other time also, when Alexander was before GAZA, the chiefe citie of SYRIA, there fell a a clodde of earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there sewe a birde into the ayer. The birde lightinge apon one of the engines of his battrie, was cought with the nettes made of finewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. Ariftander did prognosticate, that is fignified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstading, that he should yet take the towne. And in deede so it came to passe. When he sent great presentes of spoiles which he wanne at the facke of this citie, vnto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his frendes. among other thinges, he fent vnto Leonidas his gouernor, fiue hundred talentes waighted frankensence, and a hundred talentes waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him in. to when he was a childe. For , as Alexander was vpon a daye facrifycing vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof When his gouernour Leonidas faw him, he faied thus vnto him: When thou hast conque. red the contrie where these sweete thinges grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, spare that litle thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this forte: we do fend thee plenty of frankensence & myrre, bicante thou shouldest no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him alitte coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thinge and the richest, that was got ten of all the spoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of Darius. When he saw it, he asked his familliers that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thinge to be put into it. Some faid one thinge, some faid an other thinge: but he faid, he would put the Ilia. des of Homer into it as the worthiest thinge. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXAND RIANS report vpon Heraclides wordes, be true: then it and peareth that he did profitte him felfe much by Homer in this iorney. For it is reported that The building when he had conquered ÆGYPT, he determined to builde a great citie, and to replenish is of the citie of with a great number of GRECIANS, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certen ground, which he had chosen by thaduise of his enginers and workens. sters: the night before he had a maruelous dreame, that he sawe an olde man standing before him, full of white heares, with an honorable presence, and comming towardes him faid these verses.

Alexandria. Alexanders dreame in E

> VV ithin the foming feathere lyes a certein Iland, right Against the shore of Egypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.

The lie of

Affoone as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Ile of PHAROS, the which at that time was a litle about the mouth of the river of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joyned vnto firme lande, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barteof earth, broade enough, that seperateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on thother the which doeth joyne hard to a great hauen. Then he faid that Homer was wonderfull in all his thinges, but that amongest others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commannded, that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the fituation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driven to take meale, and with that did marke out voon the earth being blacker E the compasse of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equals partes, either of them resembled the skirtes and facion of the MACEDON FAN cloke, Alexander liked this draught paffingly well. But there role apon the fodaine out of the riner or lake, fuch an infinite multitude of great fowle of all forces, that they covered the element as it had bene a clowde, and lighting within this circuite, did cate vp all the meale, and left not a crummer Alexander liked not these fignes. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bad him not be discorted ged, for they told him it was a figne that he should build a circe there, so plentifull of all thinges, that he should mainteine all forces of people. Then he commaunded them, and whom he had gener the charge of the building, that sheyshould goe forward with their worke, and he him felfe in the meane time, tooke his iorney to goe vifite the temple of Jupic R ter Hammon. The Iorney was long, and there were many troubles by the waie, but two dames gers about all the rest most speciall. The first, lacke of water, by cause they had to travell many

A deves iorney through a great defert. The second was, the daunger of the riling of the souther winde by the waie, to blow the fand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is renorted, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew we whole hilles of and, which flue fiftie thowfand men of Cambyfes armie. Euery man in Alexanders traine did Combyfes arknowthese daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to disswade Alexander from any thing in plant to which he had a defire vnto. For , fortune fauoring him in all his attemptes , made him conflant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble corage besides, made him inuincible in all thinges he tooke in hand, in fomuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had nowerallo of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former daungers spoken of he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the goddes, by the oracles I that followed afterwardes. For in a certen forte, they have beleved the oracles that were writrenofhim. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did kenehim from feare of the first daunger, and did quenche their thirst, and moysted the drienes of the fand in such sorte, that there came a swete freshe aver from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the waie, and that they wandred up and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying the ded Alexader before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they in his lange. were behind. But Callisthenes writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right waie which had lost their waie. Thus Alexander in thend, having passed through this wildernes, he came voto. the temple he fought for: where, the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god Hanmon: as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest aunswered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then Alexander againe reherfing that he had fipoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of Philip his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king ouerall the world. The god aunswered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully reuenged. Then did Alexander offer great presentes vnto the gods: and gaue money large to the priefts, & ministers of the temple. This is that the most parte of writers doe declare, touching Alexanders demaund and the oracles genen him . Yet did Ale-D xander him felfe write vnto his mother; that he had fecret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his retorne into MACEDON. Others faie also, that the prophet meaning to falute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would have faid vnto him, O Paidion, as much as deere fonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, by+ cause the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter ende, say, ing, O Pai dios, to wit, O fonne of Iupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking, Whereupon there ranne a rumor straight among his men, that Impirer had called him his fonne. It is faid also, that he heard Pfammon the philosopher in Egypt, and that he liked his The faring of wordes very well, when he faide that god was king of all mortall men: For (o he) he that philosopher of commaundeth all things, must needes be god. But Alexander selfe spake better, and like a phir the losopher, when he faid: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particu- of God. larly he did elect the best forte for him selfe. To conclude, he shewed him selfe more arrogant.

vito the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleved that he had bene begotten of some god: but white GR ECIANS he spake more modestly of diuine generation. Par forth god in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the citie of SAMOS, he said: I gaue ye not, see a some that noble free citie, but it was genen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord & full. father: meaning Philip. Afterwardes also being striken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frendes faid he, This blood which is foilt, is mans blood, and not as Homer faid, No fuch as from the immortall gods doth flow.

And one day also in a maruelous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rethoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou some of Impiter, wilt thou doe as much? no faid he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my frends, as thou wouldest have me: distaining the service of fishe to my borde, by cause thou seest not princes heades served in.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

made playes and feasies.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. 738 And the report goeth also, that Alexander upon a time sending a litle fishe unto Heplesian, a Anaxarchus should saye as it were in mockery, that they which aboue others feeke for fine with great trouble and hazard of life, have either small pleasure in the world, or els as like as others have. By these proofes and reasons alleaged, we maie thinke that Alexander has no vaine nor prefumptuous opinion of him felfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begottened a god, but that he did it in policie to kepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion cos. ceiued of his godhead. Retorning out of Phoenicia into Egypt, he made many facrifices feaftes, and precessions in honor of the goddes, fondry daunces, Tragedies, and such like has ftimes goodly to behold: not onely for the fumptuous fetting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the fetters forth of them, which striued every one to exceede the other, For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the fetters of them forth, as at A THENS they drawn by lot a citizen of enery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of these pastimes. These kinges were very earnest who should doe best, but specially Nicocreon, king of SALAMINAM CYPRVS: and Passerates, Lord of the citie of Soles. For it fell to their lor to fournish two of

the excellentest plaiers, Pasicrates fournished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus : whom 4: lexander loued fingularly well, though he made no thew of it, vntill that Athenodorus was de clared victor, by the judges deputed to geue sentence. For when he went from the plain he told them he did like the judges opinion well, notwithflanding, he would have bene come

tented to have genen the one halfe of his realme, not to have feene Thessalus overcome. Ather modorus being condemned upon a time by the ATHENIANS, bycause he was not in ATHENS arthe feaftes of Bacchus, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine fer of his C head for his absence: he besought Alexader to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would

release his penalty. Alexander would not so doe, but sent thether his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purfe. Also when Lycon S CARPHIAN, an exedlene stage player had pleased Alexander well, and did soiste in a verse in his comedy, comes ning a petition of tenne talents: Alexander laughing at it, gaue it him . Darius at that time

wrote vnto Alexander, and vnto certen of his frendes also, to pray him to take tenne thousand unto Alexan- tallentes for the raumfon of all those prisoners he had in his handes, and for all the contries landes and fignories on this fide the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in ma

riage, that from thence forth he might be his kinfman and frend. Alexander imparted this his counfell. Amongest them Parmenio said vnto him: if I were Alexander, op he, surely I would D accept this offer. So would I in deede, of Alexander againe, if I were Parmenio. In fine hewrone againe vnto Darius, that if he would submit him selfe, he would vie him courteously; if not that then he would prefently marche towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when

Stating, king Darins wife was dead with childe : For without diffimulation it greeued him much other he had loft so noble an occasion to shew his courteste and elemencie. This notwithstanding died in trasel he gaue her body honorable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongest the Eunuches of the of childe. queenes chamber, there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out

of Alexanders campe, taking his horse backe, rode vnto Darius to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then Darius beating of his head, & weping bitterly, cried out alowd: Oh goddes what wretched happe haue the PBRSIANS? that haue not onely had the wife and fifter of their E king taken prisoners euen in his life time, but now that she is dead also in travell of childe; she

hath bene depriued of princely buriall? Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said: For herburiall most gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wisshed her, PERSIA hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene Statira your wife whilest she lined prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any parte or iot of their honor they were wont to have before, fauing onely to fee the light of your honour, the which, god Oromafdet graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maiestie: neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to fet forth her stately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For Alexander is as mercifull in victoric, as

with Tirene

he is vallrant in battell. Darius hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very E griefe: tooke the Eunuche aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persians, becomen 2 Macedonian, but doest in the

A marzeknowledge Darine, for thy foueraine Lord and mafter: I pray thee and double continue there by the reuerence thou bearest vinto this bright light of the funne, and so the right hande of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are these the least euills which I lament in Statistal Wet imprisonment and death? And did the not in her life make vs more miferable by her diffe honor than if we had dishonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemy . Bore what honess communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince have with his enemies wife a prifener: having done her fo much honor as he hath done? Darius going on with the fe freethes? Tiness the cunuch fell downe on his knees, & befought him not to fay fo, neither to bleamish the vertue of Alexander in that force, nor yet fo to diffeonor his fifter and wife deceafed and thereby also to deprive him selfe of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in this calami-I the which was, to be ouercome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could politic bly haue: but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders vertue, who had showed him felfe shafter to the Ladies, than valliant against the Persians, And therewithall, the cunuch con-

firmed the great honesty, chastity, and noble minde of Alexander, by many great and deepe The comments othes. Then Darius comming out among his frendes againe, holding vp his handes vnto the dation of A. heavens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heavenly gods, creators of men, & protectors of chaffire, kings and realmes: first, I beseech you graunt me, that restoring the Parsians againe to their Dains prayer former good frate, I may leave the realme vnto my fuccessors, with that glorie and fame I real vnto the gods. crited it of my predecessors: that obtaining victory, I may vie Alexander with that great ho-

nor and curtefie, which he hath in my mifery shewed vnto those I loued best in the world. Or ... Cotherwife, if the time appointed be come, that the kingdom of Persia must nedes have end, ,, either through divine revenge, or by naturall chaunge of earthly things: Then, good goddes ,; vet graunt, that none but Alexander after me, may fit in Cyrus throne. Divers writers do agree, 35 that these things came even thus to passe, Now Alexander having conquered all As in on this promise of fide of the river of Euphrates, he went to meete with Darius, that came downe with ten hun of time him and dred thowfand fighting men. It was told him by some of his frendes to make him laugh, that theslaues of his army had deutided them selues in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall against Aleof either parte, naming the one Alexander, and the other Darius; and that at the first, they bet xander, at the game to skirmish only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with fiftes, but at the last, they river of En-

grew fo hot, that they came to plaine stones and staues, so that they could not be parted. D xander hearing that would needes have the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the of ther; and Alexander felfe did arme him that was called Alexander, & Philosas the other which was called Darius. All the army thereupon was gathered together to fee this combar between the, as a thing that did betoker good or ill lucke to come. The fight was sharp between them. but in thend, he that was called Alexander our came the other; and Alexander to reward him. gave him twelve villages, with priviledge to goe after the Persian maner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes. The great battell that Alexander fought with Darine, was notes many writers seport) at Arbeles, but at Gausameles, which signifieth in the Parsian tongue, the house of the cammell. For some one of the auncient kings of PERSIA that had scaped from the hands

of his enemies, flying upon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore E appointed the revenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the moone, in the moneth called Boedromion (now August) about the time that the feast of the misteries was celebrated at ATHBNS. The eleuenth night after that both their armies being in fight of the other, Darius kept his men in battell ray, and went him felle by torche light viewing his bandes and companies. Alexander on thother fide whileft his Man CIDONIAN fouldiers slept, was before his tent with Aristander the Soothsayer, and made certaine fecret ceremonies and facrifices vnto Apollo. The auncient Captaines of the MACED &-RIAMS, specially Parmenio, seeing all the vallie between the river of Niphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIETANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people; and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the

F found thereof: they were amazed, and confulted, that in one day it was in maner vnposible to fight a battell with fuch an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vised 24 lexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counfell him to gove battell by night,

shird bastell

bicaule the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the fighast A their enemies would bring them into But then he gaue them this notable aunswere. I will a steale victorie, q he. This aunswere seemed very sonde and arrogant to some, that he was h pleasaunt, being neere so great daunger. Howebeit others thinke that it was a present noble corage, and a deepe confideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to gene Dariss no maner of occasion (if he were ouercomen) to rake hart againe, and to proue ano. ther battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his ouerthrow: as he had dones the first conflict, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea, For favd he. Daring will neuer leave to make wartes with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, has uing so large a realme as he hath, & fuch a world of people befides: but then he will no more hasard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his armen at noone dayes ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to fleepe, and flept all that night more foundly than he was wont to doe before: infomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite apon him at his vprifing, marueled when they found him fo founde a fleepe, and there. fore of them felues they commaunded the fouldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiting that time came fast apon them, Parmenio went into Alexanders chamber, and comming to his beddes fide, called him twife or thrife by his name, till at the last he waked him, and asked him howin chaunced that he flept fo long, like one that had already ouercome, & that did not thinke he should fight as great and daungerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, fayd Alexander laughing on him:doeft thou not thinke we have already ouercomen, being troubled no more C with running after Darius vp and downe a contrie vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue comen to battell, and destroyed the contrie before vs ? Now Alexander did not only thew him felfe before the battell, but even at the very instant of battell, a noble man of corage, and of great judgement. For Parmenioles. ding the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue such a sierce onfer VDOn the MACEDONIANS, that they made them geue backe: and Mazeus also, king Darink Lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to gene charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. Parmenio being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediatly to aductife Alexander, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not fend presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to Alexander D from Parmento, he had already genen the fignall of battell vnto his men for to gene charge. Whereupon he aunswered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell Parmenio he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they should not only saue their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemissi &if it were their chaunce to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their flaues, but only to thinke to dye honorably, valliantly fighting for his life. Having fent this message vnto Parmenio, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he The arms of had put it on before in his tent, which was, a Sicilian cassocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canuas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the spoyles at the battell of Issvs. His head peece was as bright as filuer, made by Theophilm the armorer this E coller futelike to the same, all set full of pretious stones, and he had a sword by his side, matnelous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the CITIBIANS had genen him, * fing commonly to fight with his fword at any let battel. His coate armor was maruelous tiells and of sumptuous workemanshippe, farre about all the rest he ware. It was of the workemanshippe of Hellicon, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did fet his men in battell ray, or made any or m tion vnto them, or did ryde alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes yied to ryde vpon an other horse to spare Bucephal, bicause he was then somewhat olde: notwithstanding; when he ment in deede to fight, then Bucephal was brought vnto him, and as foone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the trompet founded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long ? exhortacions to incorage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS, and the other GRECIANS alfo, and when they had all promised him they would sticke to him like men, and prayed him

A to lead them, and gene charge uppon the enemies the tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding up his right hande unto heaven, befought the goddes (as Callifthenes writeth) that if ir were true, he was begenten of lupiter, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encorage the GRECIANS. The Soothfayer Ariftander was then a horsebacke hard by Ale render, apparelled all in white, & a crowne of gold on his head, who shewed Alexander when hemade his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. An Eagle flee This marueloully encoraged all the armie that faw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of over Mexander that faw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of over dere brad, Alexanders fide, encoraging one an other, did fet spurres to their horse to charge apon the whenhe went enemies. The battell of the footemen of the Pers IANS, beganne a litle to geneway, and be- to fight with fore the foremest could come to geue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs. Rand fled. The chase was great, Alexander driving them that fled uppon the middest of their owne battell, where Darius felfe was in person. He spied him a farre of ouer the foremest ranckes in the middeft of his battel, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a charriot of warre. compassed in rounde with great troupes of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinaunce to receive the enemy. But when they faw Alexander at hand with fo grimme a looke, chaling them that fled through those that yet kept their rancks there fell such a feare among them, that the most name dispersed them selves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valliantest men sought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one apon an other, they did let them that the enemies could not fo well follow Darius. For they lying one by an other on the ground, draws ing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. Daring Cthen feeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had let before him for fafegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheeles were fo hindered and stayed with the heapes ofdead bodies, and that the horse also being fer apon and hidde in maner in this conslict, fell to leapinge and plunginge for feare, so that the charrettiers coulde no lenger guide nor drive them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and so faued him selfe flying apon her. And The flying of yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once againe sent vnto Alexander to pray him Davim. to come and aide him : bicause there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenaunce to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to haug delt but flackely and cowardly, either bicaufe his age had taken his corage from him, or elfe D forthat he enuied Alexanders greatnes and profectity, who against his will became ouer great as Callifthenes fayd. In fine, Alexander was angry with the fecond mellage, and yet told not his men truely the cause why, but faining that he would have them leave killing, and bicause also night came on : he caused the trompet found retreate, and so went rowards his army, whom hethought to be in diffresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had genen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled enery way for life. The battell having this fuccesse, every man thought that the kingdom of the PER SIANS Was Alexanders viterly ouerthrowen, and that Alexander likewife was become only king of all As in: wherethe third viterry pon he made sumptuous facrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houses, lands and liberalise se possessions vnto his frendes and familliars. Furthermore, to shewe his liberalitie also vnto the all men. E GRECIANS, he wrote vinto them, that he would have all tyrannies suppressed through out all GRECE, and that all the GRECIANS should live at libertie under their owne lawest Particular larly also he wrotevnto the PLATBIANS, that he woulde reedifie their citie against, bicause their predeceffors in time past, had genen their contrie vnto the GRECIANS, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common libertie of all G n. a.c. He fenral fo into LEATURE VINTO THE GROTTONIANS, parte of the spoyle, to honor the memory of the valliantics, me good will of Phayllus their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the Muses, (when will the Gracians that dwelt in I tale had for faken their naturall contrie men of Grace it felfe, bicause they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a shippe of his vnto Satamina, which he armed and fet forth at his owne charges, bicause he would be at the battelland partake also of the common daunger with the GRECIANS: fuch honor did Alexan. deboard unto prowes, that he loued to reward & remember the worthy deedes of men. Then Alexander marching with his army into the contry of B any loughly all youlded firstight visco

Napiha, in the contry of

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. him. When he came into the contrie of the ECBAT ANIANS, he marueled when he saw and A pening of the earth, out of the which there came continual sparkes of fire as out of a well & *The Brength that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kinde of *mawnd or chalkie clay somewhat lyouid, of fuch aboundaunce, as it feemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is so easie to be sette a fire, that not touching it with any slame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is fet afire, & doth also fet the aver a fire which is between both. The barbarous people of that contrie, being defirous to theme Alexander the nature of that Naptha, scattered the streete that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being thut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the first droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the streete to the other was of flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. Alexander a being in bath at that time, and waited apon by a page called Steuen: (a hard fauor ed boy, but vet that had an excellent sweete voyce to fing) one Athenophanes an ATHENIAN, that alwayer nointed & bathed the king, & much delighted him with his pleafaunt conceites, asked himif he would fee the triall of this Naptha apon Steuen : for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquencheable. The page was contented m haue it proued apon him. But so soone as they had layed it on him, and did but touche it only. it tooke straight of such a slame, and so fired his body, that Alexander him selfe was in a maruelous perplexitie withall. And fure had it not bene by good happe, that there were many by ready with vessells full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpossible to have faued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sickelone c. after. Now some apply this Naptha vnto the fable of Medea, saying that therwith she rubbed the crowne and lawne the gaue vnto the daughter of Creon at her mariage, fo much spoken of

did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine

aptnes to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride

fate. For the beames which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to

heet and lighten them. But fuch as haue an oyly drie humor, and thereby a simpathy and pro-

fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander lest there his Lieutenaunt & Gouernor of that conny,

in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of them selues, neither

portionable conformitie with the nature of the fire : it eafily enflameth and fetteth a fire, by the forcible impression of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this * In this place naturall force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid fubstance and moyst humor that taketh fire D fo easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceine fire. For this contrie of Bain the Greeke BY LON is very hot, infomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it blowething againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammacion had a strong blast to cast it out: and menin the extreamest heate of the sommer, doe sleepe there, ypon great leather budgets filled full of

No Inie in the contrie

of Babylon.

Sufa. * 10 feemeth that he meamesh of filke dyed in praple whereof the best that was made in the

defiring to fet forth and beawtifie the gardens of the kings pallace & walkes of the fame, with all maner of plantes of GRECE: he brought all the rest to good passe, saving Iuie only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer dyed, bicause the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Iuie of it selfe liketh fresh ayer and a cold ground. This digression is somwhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troublesome, howe hard soeuer he E Tresmesound finde it, so it be not ouer tedious. Alexander having wonne the city of Sv s.a., he found within by Alexander, the castell foure thowsand talentes in ready coyne, gold and filuer, besides other infinite nead fure and inestimable, amongest the which (it is sayd) he found to the value of five therefore talentes weight of * purple HERMIONA filke which they had fafe locked vp & kept the mace of two hundred yeres faue ten, and yet the colour kept as freshe as if it had bene newly in Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with the nie, in filkes which before had bene dyed redde, and with white oyle in white filkes. For, the are filkes seene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. Bild writeth furthermore, that the kinges of Persia made water to be brought from the riners of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did locke vp with their other treasure F for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into Panasia being very hard of paffage, and in maner ynpaffable,

A (both for the illnes of the wayes, as also for the gard that kept them, which were the choisest men of PBRSIA) Darius also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greeke and PBR-SIANtongue (whose father was borne in the contry of Lycia, & his mother a Parsian) that Mexanders guided Alexander into Persia, by some compasse fetched about not very long, according to profits. the Oracles aunswere of Alexander genen by the mouth of Nunne Pythias, when he was a shild: that a Lycian should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great flaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander him selfe wryteth, that he commaunded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serue his turne. It is fayd also, that there he found a maruelous treasure of gold and filuer in readic Mexander money, as he had done before in the citie of Svs A: the which he caried away with all the rest found a mer-Bofthe kinges rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thowsande moyles, and fine thowsande for the percammells. Alexander entring into the castell of the chiefe citie of PBRSIA, faw by chaunce a fia. great image of Xerxe's lye on the ground, the which vnwares was throwen downe by the multinde of the fouldiers that came in, thronging one apon an other. Thereupon he stayed, and bake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, faying: I can not tell whether I should passe by thee, and

let thee lye, for the warre thou madeft somtime against the GR BCIANS: or whether I should

lift thee vp, respecting the noble minde & vertues thou haddest. In thend, when he had stoode

mute a long time, confidering of it, he went his way : and meaning to refresh his weary army,

bicause it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte

goeth, that the first time that Alexander sate vnder the cloth of state of king Darius, all of rich

C golde: Demarathus Corinthian (who first beganne to loue him euen in his father Philippes

time) burst out in teares for ioy, good old man, faying that the GRECIANS long time dead

before, were deprined of this bleffed happe, to fee Alexander fet in king Xerxes princely chaier.

After that, preparing againe to goe against Darius, he would needes make mery one day, and

refresh him selfe with some bancket. It chaunced so, that he with his companions was bidden to a private feast privately, where was affembled some fine curtisans of his familiars who with their frendes taried at the banket. Amongest them was that famous Thais, borne in the contry Theinstein of ATTICA, & then concubine to Ptolomy, king of ÆGYFT after Alexanders death. She finely boldnes of praising Alexander, and partely in sporting wife, began to vtter matter in affection of her contrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: faying, that that day the founder D her felfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines she had take; travelling through all the contries of Asia, following of his armie, now that the had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleafaunt, in the prowde and stately pallace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation, to burne Xerxes house with the fire ofioy, who had burnt the city of ATHENS: and her felfe to geue the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Bicause euer after it might be said, that the women following his campe, had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wronges and injuries they had done vnto GRECE: than all the Captaines of GRECE that ever were had done, either by lande or fea. When she had sayd, Alexanders familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noise for ioy, saying: that it were as good a deede as could be possible, and perswaded Alexan-E der vnto it. Alexander yeelding to their perswasions, rose vp, and putting a garland of flowers prosents see apon his head, went formest him selfe : and all his familliars followed after him, crying and a fireby Aledauncing all about the castell. The other MACED ONIANS hearing of italio, came thicker immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good figne that Alexander ment to return e againe into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the contrie of the barbarous people, fith he did burne and destroy the kings castell. Thus, and in this force it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the counsell. But howsoever it was, all they graunt, that Alexander did presently repenthim, and commaunded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good will and readines to gene, increased with his conquestes: and when he did bestowe giftes of any,

he would besides his gift ener gene them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace

and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. Arifto being Collonell of the P so-

NIANS, having flaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and fayd: fuch a prefent,

with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe gene thee cuppe & all. An other time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was fo weary that the could no lenger cary he burden, the moyleter put it apon his owne backe, and loded him felfe withall, carying it foa good pretie way: howbeit in thende being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the ground. Alexander perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was tolde him well, a he to the movletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I gene it thee, To be short . he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would aske him somewhat. He wrote also vnto Phosion, that he would take him no more for his frend, if he would refuse his giftes. It seemed that he had geuen nothing vnto a young R boy called Serapion (who euer did ferue them the ball that played at tenis) bicaufe he asked him nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others than played with him, and not to him felfe. The king marueling at it, at the length fayd vnto him why, my boy, doeft thou not geue me the ball? Bicaufe your maieftie doth not aske it me, he. Alexander then vnderstanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him after. wards. There was attending on him also one Proteas, a pleasaunt conceited man, & that could flentfinely. It chaunced vpon some occasion that Alexander fell out with him: whereuppon fome of his frends were interceffors to the king for him, & befought him to pardon him; and Proteas him selfe also being present, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. Alexander thereupon forgaue him. Then pleasauntly replied Proteas, I desire it may please your grace, that I may receiue some testimonie to affure me I am in your fauor. Thereuppon the king straight commaunded one to geue him fine talents. The goods and riches he gane vnto his famillians and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother on lympias wrote vnto him, to this effect : I know thou sparest not to gene thy frends large giftes. and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them kings fellowes, they get many frendes, and leaue the poste alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters vnto him, the which Alexander kept very secret, sauing one day when he opened one of them, Hephaltion being present drew neere, and red the letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had red it, he plucked the feale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vie to feale his letters, and put it to Hephaltions mouth. He gave I also vnto the sonne of Mazem, (that was the chiefest man about Darius) a seconde gouenment, besides that which he had before, and greater than the first. This young noble mantefuled it, faying: why, and it please your grace, before there was but one Dariue, but you now make many Alexanders. He gaue vnto Parmenio also, Bagoas house, where (as is reported) he found a thowfand talents worth, of the spoyles and goods of the Svsians. He wrote also vis to Antipater, that he should keepe a gard about his person, for he had many enemies that law in waite for him. He did fend also many goodly presents vnto his mother, but with all he wrote vnto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her theoflice of a Captaine. She storming at it, he paciently did brooke her anger. Antipater an othertime; wryting a long letter vnto him against his mother Olympias, when he had red it ouer: loe, said I he, Antipater knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thowsande fuch letters. Furthermore, Alexander perceiving on a time, that his frendes became very diffolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that Agnon TEIAN had his corked shooes nayled with filter nayles, that Leonatus also caused divers cammells to be loden among est his carriage with powder of EGYPT, to put apon him when he wrestled or vied any other exercise of body: & that also they caried after Philotas, toyles for chase and hunting, of a hundred furlong long and that there were also that vsed pretious perfumes & swete sauors when they bathed them felues, more then there were that rubbed them felues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine

chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes foft and delicate: he wife-

ly and curreously rebuked them and fayd. I maruell, fayd he, that you which have fought in fo F

often and great battells, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe fleepe more sweets

and foundly, than they that take their ease and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

s comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the Persians, to live at pleasure is a vile. thinge, and to trauell is Princely. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dreffe his owne horse, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant, that the type of honor mall our victorie confifteth, in scorning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we have vanquished and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint them selves Alexander, with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard him felfe more enemy to be daungeroufly, then euer he had done before. Whereuppon an Ambaffador of LACED EMON heing present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayd vnto him : truely your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. Graterus after that caused this hunting to be set up in the temple of Apollo in DELPHE s: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogges, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of him felfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by Lysippus, the rest by Leotheres. Thus Alexander did put him felfe vnto all iuberdies, as well to exercise his strength and corage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding, his frendes and familliars having wealth at will, as men exceeding riche, they would needes live delicately and at eafe, and would take no more paines, milliking veterly to goe vp and downe the contries to make warre here and there: and thereuppon beganne a little to finde fault with Alexander, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first Alexander tooke quietly, saying, that it was honor for aking to fuffer him felfe to be flaundered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did vnto his frendes, did shewe his hartie love and honor he bare them. as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that followe. Peucestas being bitten by a beare. didlet his frendes understande it by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto Alexander, A. Alexanders lexander was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Sende me worde at the least yet frendes and how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to thende wonderfull they may be punished. Hepheltion being absent about certaine businesse he had. Alexander currefie towrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beaft called Ichnewmon, Craterus vnfortunatelycroffinge Perdice as darte, was striken through both his thighes. Peucest as being cured of a great difease. Alexander wrote vnto Alexippus his Phisitian that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. Craterus also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine facilities for the recourie of his health, and fent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian Paulanias ment to geue him a drinke of Eelleborum, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what daunger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he received that medicine. He did also put Ephialtes and Ciffus in prison, who brought him the first newes of Harpalus flying, bicause they did wrongfully accuse & slauder him. When he had comaunded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persones that were in his campe, to fende them home againe into their contry: there was one Eurylochus A GEIAN that made his name be billed among the ficke persons, & it was found afterwardes that he was not ficke, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called Telesippa, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewardes towardes the fea fide. Alexander asked him, E whether this woman were free or bond : he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then fayd Alexander vnto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I can not force her to tarie: but feeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his frendes, euen in fuch trifles as he did. As, when he wrote into CILICIA for a feruaunt of Seleucus that was fled from his mafter, fending straight commaundement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by an other letter he commendeth Peucestas, for that he had stayed and taken one Nicon, a flaue of Craterus. And by one other letter also vnto Megabizus, touching an other bondman that had taken fanctuarie in a temple: he commaunded him also to feeke to intife him out of the fanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is sayd also, that at the first when he vsed to sit in judgement Alexander to heare criminall causes, whilest the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he keps one care alwayes vsed to lay his hande uppon one of his cares to keepe that cleane from the matter of direct one danied person. RRR

Alexander reproneth the finenes and curioficie of

prodigalitie

reproved by

Olympias.

Alexander would not par-Boken of him.

Alexanders painefull ior-

The love of to bis fouldiers, and abstinence.

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The punishexecution of Beffis.

The fea Hyr-Caspinon.

acculation, thereby referuing it to heare the purgacion and inflificacion of the performance demned. But afterwardes, the number of accusations that were brought before him, side prouoke and alter him, that he did beleue the falle accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in . But nothinge put him more in rage, then when he vnderflood they had spoken ill of him : and then he was so sierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went against Darius, thinking that he ment to fight againe : but vnderstanding that Besse had taken him then he gaue the THESSALIANS leaue to departe home into their contrie, and gauethen two thowsand talentes, ouer and about their ordinarie pay. Alexander had then a manue. lous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of Darius: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thowsande three hundred furlong, insomuch as the most parte of his men were even wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine Ma. CEDONIANS that caried (vppon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fee. ched from a river. They feeing Alexander in manner deade for thirst, being about noone ranne quickely to him, and in a headpeece brought him water. Alexander asked them, to whom they caried this water. They answered him againe, that they caried it to their children but yet we would have your grace to live : for though we lofe them , we may get more chil. dren. When they had fayd fo, Alexander tooke the helinet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckesso looke voon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had genen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For, fayd he, if I drinke alone, all these men herewill faint. Then they feeing the noble corage and curtefie of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them: and therewithall beganne to fourre their horses, saying, that they were not weare nor a thirst, nor did thinke them selues mortall, so long as they had such a king. Euerieman was a like willing to followe Alexander, yet had he but three score only that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, paffinge ouer much golde and filuer which was scattered a broade in the market place, and going also by many charriottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the spurre vnil they had ouertaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have founde Darius amongest them. But at the length, with much a doe, they founde him layed along in a coche, having many woundes upon his bodie, some of darts and some speares. So, he being almost at the last cast. I called for some drinke, and dranke colde water, which Polystratus gaue him. To whom when he had dronke, he fayd: this is my last mishappe, my frend, that having received this pleasure. I can not requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompence thee, and the goddes, Alexander der, for the liberalitie and curtefie which he hath shewed vnto my wife and children, whom! The death of pray thee embrace for my fake. At these last wordes, he tooke Polystratus by the hande, and fo gaue up the goalt. Alexander came immediatly after, and plainely shewed that he was sone for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he cast it vpon the body of Daring, After that, having by good happe gotten Bessus into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high straight trees which he bowed downewards, and tied his legges to eche of them: so that when the trees were let goe, they gaue a fodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece E of his bodie with it. Then Alexander having genen Darius corfe Princely buriall, and embalned him : he sent it vnto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his frendes. From thence he went into the contric of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he sawe the gulfe of the sea Caspium, which he thought of no lesse greatnesse, then the sea of Pontes, howbeit calmer then the other seas be. He could not then certainly finde out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was fome breakingout of the lake or marrish of Meotin. Yet some auncient naturall Philosophers seemed to know truely what it was . For many yeares before Alexanders voyage and conquest, they wrote, that of the foure chiefest gulses of the sea that commeth from the Ocean, and doe entre within maine land, that which is most northerly, is the sea Caspium, which they call also Hyrca-P nium. As Alexander went through the contrie, certaine barbarous people fodainely fette vppon them that led Bucephal his horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage,

a thathe fent a Heraulde into their contrie to proclaime open warres uppon them, and that he would pur man, woman, and childe to the fword, if they brought him not his horse againe. Whereuppon, when his horse was returned home, and that they weelled up their vities and forces into his handes: he did vie them all very curteously, and moreover did generhem monew for the raunfome of his horfe, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the contrie of Part with. There havinge leafure enough, he beganne to apparell him felle after Mexender the facion of the barbarous people, bicause he thought thereby the bester to winne the harts goth alien of the contriemen, framing him felfe vinto their owne facions: or elfe to trye the harres of the Pri MACEDONIANS, to fee how they would like the maner of the Persians which he ment to fund bring them vnto') in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting. them to allow the alteracion and chaunge of his life. This notwithflanding, he would not at thefirst take vothe apparell of the MEDES, which was verie straunge, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without briches, nor did weare a long gownetrailing on the grounder nora high coptanot hatte, but tooke a meane apparell betweet the MEDES & the REALENS. more modelt then theirs, and more costly than the last: and yet at the first he did not weare ir, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or else prinately amongest his frendes! and familliars. Afterwards not with standing, he showed him selfe openly to the people in that apparel, when he gaue them audience. This fight grieued the MACEDONIANS much!but they! Some faulter had his vertues in fuch admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take, at it be his owner pleasure. I thence he had bene often hurring the warren and no less that he bome this, in his owne pleasure, sithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his amon of great c legge broken with an arrow, and an other time, had fuch a blow with a stone full in his necked promet. that it made him spurre blinde a great while after, and yet neuerthelesse he neuer eschewed any bodely daunger. For he passed ouer the river of Orexartes, which he tooke to be Tanzis, Orexartess. and havinge in battell overthrowen the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chase about a hundred furlong, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosenesse of bodie; Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the AMAZONES, as many wryters doe tellifie: among the which are those, Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Hister, But Chares, Ptolomy, Anticlides, & Philon THEBAN, Philip the historiographer, Hecateus ERBTRIAN, Philip Chalcidian, and Duris Samian, all these doe wryte that it was not true : and it feemeth allo that Alexander selfe doth confirme it. For, wryting all things particularly vnto An-In thater as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in mariage : but there he maketh no mencion at all of any AMAZONI It is also fayd, that Onesicritus long time after that did reade vnto king Lysmachus, the fourth books of his historie, where he did speake of the AMAZON. Lysimachus sinyling, sayd vnto him why, and where was I then ? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, Alexanders estimacion thereby is neither impayred nor aduaunced. Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Man CEDONIANS, being wearie with this long warre; would goe no further: he left all thereft of his armie behinde, and tooke only twentie thow fande footemen, and three thow fand horsemen of the choycest men of his armie, and with them inuaded the contrie of Hyricania There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of As i a had E but feene them as it were in a dreame, and if they should now returne backe into M AC & D'ON; having but onely sturred them, and not altogether subdued As tA: the people offended with Mexender them, woulde sette vppon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. of his month Neuertheleffe, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, protesting therewith against broughs the them that would goe, how they did for fake him, his frends, and those who had so good harts Macedonians towards him, as to follow him in fo noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the Ma-CEDONIANS. This felfe matter is reported thus in a letter which Alexander wrote vinto Antipater: and there he wryteth furthermore, that having made this oration vnto them, they all cried out, and bad him leade them into what parte of the worlds he would. When they had graunted their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the rest of the common force who followed thexample of the chiefest. Thereuppon he did frame him selfe the more to liue after the facion of the contrie there, and enterchaungeable also to bring the men of that contrie vnto the manner of the MACED ONIANS: being perswaded, that by this mixture

Alexander maried Roxane, a Per-

twent He-

phestion and

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. 748 and enterchaunge of manners one with an other, he should by frendshippe more then force. A make them agree louingly together, when that he should be so farre from the contry of Paste. s IA. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirty thowsand of their children of that contry and fer them to learne the Greke tongue, and to be brought voin the discipling of warres, after the MACADONIANS maner : and gaue them schoolemasters and Captaines to traine them in ech facultie. And for the marrying of Roxane, he fancied her, feeing her at a feast where he was which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduite and counfell loued her. For the barbarous people were verie prowde of this matche when they fawe him make alliance with them in this force infomuch as they loued him better then they did before, bicause they law in those things he was alwayes so chast and continent, that notwithstanding he was manuelously in love with her, yet he would not dishonorably touche this young Ladie, before he R was maried vnto her. Furthermore, Alexander confidering that of the two men which he loued best. Hephastion liked well of his matche, and went apparelled as him selfe did, and that Crateres Contrarily did still vie the MACEDONIAN manner: he delt in all affayres with the barbarous people, by Hephaltion, and with the GRECIANS and MACEDONIANS, by Craterus, To

uicd of Alexander.

be (hort, he loued the one, and honored the other : faying, that Hephaltion loued Alexander. Quarell be- and Craterus loued the king. Hereuppon these two persons bare one an other grudge in their harts and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: infomuch as on a time being in IND 1A, they drewe their fwordes and fought together, and divers of their frendes ranne to take part with either fide. Thither came Alexander selfe also, who openly before them all, bitterly tookeyn Hephaltion, and called him foole and bedlem, faying: doeft thou not know, that what focuet he C be that should take Alexander from me, he should never live? Privatly also, he sharply rebuked Craterias, and calling them both before him, he made them frendes together, swearing by Isviter Hammon, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men living, nevertheles if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they should both dye for it, or him at the least that first beganne to quarrell. So ever after that, they say, there was never fowle word nor Why Phile- deede between them, not fo much as in sport only. There was also one Philosas, the sonne of Parmenio, a man of great authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next vnto Alexander was the most valliantest man, the pacientest to abide paine, the liberallest, and one that loued his men & frends better then any noble man in the campe whatfoeuer. Of him it is reported that a frend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commaunded straight one of D his men to let him haue it. His purse bearer aunswered him, that he had none. Why, faydhis master, doest thou tell me so: Hast thou not plate, and apparell to sell or gage to helpe him to fome? Howbeit otherwise, he had such a pride & glory to shew his riches, to apparell himselfe fo sumptuously, and to be more fine and princked then became a private man, that this made him to be hated:bicause he tooke vpo him to be a great man & to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therfore every man through his owne folly fell in milliking with him. Infomuch as his owne father faid one day vnto him: sonne I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This Philotas had long before bene coplained vpon vnto Alexander, bicaule that when the cariage of king Darius armie (which was in the citie of DAMAS) was taken after the battell of CILICIA, among many prisoners that were taken and brought vnto Alexan-E ders campe, there was one Antigona, a passing fayer young curtifan, borne in the citie of Pip-NA. Philot as founde meanes to gette her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondly lette fall braue wordes and boastes of a fouldier, faying, that what notable thinges were done, they were done by him felfe and his father : and called Alexander at euerie worde, young man, and fayd that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This courtifan tolde one of his frendes what he fayd, and that frende tolde an other frende, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Craterus eares. He tooke the courtifan, and brought her vnto Alexander, vnto whom the told as much as the had fayd before. Alexander bad her still make much of Philotas, and to tell him euery word what he fayd of him. Philotas knowing nothing that he was thus circum- F uented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to speake many soolish and vndiscreete words against the king, somtime in anger, & somtime againe in a brauery. Alexander

M. Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse Philos 44. wethe diffembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew Parmenio loued him, or else for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one Limnus Chalastrian a Maced on Innthat layed great and secret waite Limnus redto kill Alexander: and being in loue with a young man called Nicomachus, entitled himsto helpe. Greketh to kill himsto doe this deede. The young man wifely denied it, & told the fame to his brother called Alexander. nations. He went vinto Philotas, and prayed him to bring them both before Alexander, for they; had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. Philotas would not let hills speake with:

the king (but why, no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hande. and was not at leasure. Then they went vnto an other, and he brought them wnto Alexanders Mintowhome first they opened the treason of Limnus conspired against him : and by the way they tolde alfo, how they had bene twife before with Philotas, who would not let their come in nor speake with them. That angred Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended ale fowhen Limnu was flaine by him, whome he fent to apprehende him, refifting him foutlies hewould not be taken : and thought that by his death he had loft a great meanes to dome to the light of this treason and conspiracie. Then Alexander frowning vppon Philothic phrought; all his enemies upon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to speake holdly, that it was time for the kinge to looke about him for it was notto be supposed that this Limnus Chalastrian of him selfe durst have entred into that treason; but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, secon by a greater personage then he : and sherefore C'that it floode Alexander vpon to examine them straightly, which had cause to be peshis treatfonfecret. After Alexander once gaue eare vnto fuch wordes and vehement prefumptions.

there was straight brought in a thowsand accusations against Philosas. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers Lordes and familliars of the king purto the torter. Alexander selfe being behinde a hanginge, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he hearde howe faintly and pitiefully he befought Hephaftion to take pitie of him, he fayd vnto him felfe: alas, poore Philotas, thou that halt fo faint a hart, howe durft thou take vppon thee fo great matters ? In fine, Philoras was put to death, and immediatly after he was Philoras and vppon thee to great matters an nne, romona was putto usating and numerical parties at the personal of the parties of the parti was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had lerued king Philippe his father, in his greatest af-D favers, and who onely of all other the olde feruauntes of his father had procured Alexander totake in hande the conquest of Asia: and who also of three sonnes which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwardes was slaine him selfe with

the third. This crueltie of Alexander made his frendes affrayed of him, and specially Ann Antipater was npater : who secretly sent Ambassadors vnto the Erozrans, to make league with them, bi- firsted of cause they them selves also were affrayed of Alexander, for that they had put the Deniader to death. Alexander hearing that, fayd's that he him felfe, and nor the fonnes of the Orniades, would be reuenged of the ETOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of Clitter, the which to heare it fimplie tolde, would feeme much more cruell than the death of Rhitein. But reportinge the cause and the time together in which it chaunced wit will be sounded E that it was not of fette purpose, but by chaunce, and vnfortunately, that Alexander being ouercome with wine; did valuckely wreake his anger vpon Clitus. The manner of his million. YVV hy Me-

tune was this. There came certaine men of the lowe contries from the feafade, that brought ching. apples of GRECE anto Alexander. Alexander wondering to feethem fo greeno and fayers fent for Clitus to showe him them, and to gene him some of them. Clitus by channee did sacrifice at that time vnto the goddes, and left his facrifice to goe vnto Alexander : howebeit there were three weathers that followed him, on whome the accustomed sprincklinges had bene done alreadie to have facrificed them. Alexander understandinge that; tolde it to his Soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis LACONIAN, who both did aunswere him, that it was an ill figne. Alexander thereuppon gaue order straight, that they shoulde doe facrifice F for the health of Clitin, and speciallie for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that Mexanders

he fawe Clitus in a mourninge gowne, fittinge amongest the sonnes of Parmenie, the which dreame of were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clieus did not make an ende of his facrifice, but

RRR iii

a untill fuch time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely laie fighing.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. 750 came straight to supper to the kinge, who had that day facrificed vnto Castor and Polling A.A. this feast there was olde drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses song and made by a Poet, called Pranichus, (or as others fay, of one Pierion) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people. and only to frame them, and to make the companie laugh. With these verses, auncient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grewe angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that fong them. Alexander on thother side, and his familiars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minstrell to sing still. Clitus therewithall being outer taken with wine, and befides of a churlish nature, provide and arrogant, fell into greater choles ler, and favd : what it was neither well nor honeftlie done in that force to speake ill of these poore Macho ONIAN Captaines (and speciallie amongest the barbarous people their captains mies) whichwere farre better men then they, that laughed them to scorne, although their fortune much worse then theirs. Mexander then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he please ded for him felfe i calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then Clitus standing up, fayd againe but vet this my cowardlynes faued thy life, that calleft thy felfe the forme of the goddes, when thou turnedicthy backe from Spithridates fword: and the blood which these poore Macano NTAN'S did fhedde for thee, and the woundes which they received of their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee fo great, that thou disdainest now to have king Philip for thy father and wilt needes make thy felfe the fonne of Impiter Hammon. Alexander being moved with shele The malapert- words, ftraight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these prowde words of thine, which thou vieft continually against me, making the MACEBONIAN'S rebell against C Alexander: Cliens aunswered againe, too much are we punished, Alexander, for our paines and

nes of Client

feruice to receive fuch reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long sence are dead and gone, not now to fee the MACEDONIANS foourged with roddes of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauor with the PBR SIANS, to have accesse vnto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander againe aunswering and reuiling him : the grayest men fought to pacific this flurre and tumult. Alexander then turning him felfe vnto Xenodochus. CARDIAN, and Artemius COLOPHONIAN : doeyou not thinke (fayd he) that the GRECE A'NS are amongest the MACED ON LANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beastes ? Clie twe for all this would not geue over his impudency and mallapertnesse, but cried out, and bad Alexander speake openlie what he had to say, or else not to bidde free men come to suppe D with him that were wont to speake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaues than honored his PERSIAN girdell, and long white garment. Then coulde Alexander no longer hold his choller, buctooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at Clitter, and looked for his fworde, the which Aristophanes, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when euerie man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the borde, and called his gard vinto him in the Man CEBONIAN tongue, (which was a figne of great trouble to followe after it) and commaunded a trompetor to found the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not found: whereuppon at lexander strake him with his fift. Notwithstanding, the trompetor was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet Clinie, E whereupon his frends with much a doe thrust him out of the halle: but he came in againe at an other dore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearfed this verse of the Poet Euripides, out of Andromaches tragedie:

> Alas for forovo, enill wayes Are into Grace crept novo a dayes.

Then Alexander taking a partifan from one of his gard, as Clittes was comming towardes him, and had life up the hanging before the dore, he ranne him through the body, so that Citi flue clium, & tus fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. Alexanders choller had left him straight, and he became maruelous forowfull: and when he saw his frendes round about him fav neuer a word, he pluckt the partifan out of his body, & would have thrust it into his owne ? throte. Howbeithis gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following,

His frendes hearing his voice no more; were afraid, and came into this chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would heare none of them; fauring And ander the Soothefaver. who remembred him of his dreame he had of Class before, which was a prognoffication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his defteny herore he was borne. This seemed to comfort Alexander Asterwardes they brought in Callisherer the philosopher. akiniman of Ariffotles, and Anuxarchies borne in A BD BRA. Of thefe two Calliffrants fought Calliffrants by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensive to comfort Alexanders forow. But Anaxor and Anaxor thus that from the beginning had taken a way by him felle in the studie of philosophie, being for Alexanaccompted a braine ficke man, and one that despised his companions: he comming into Ale-R xunders chamber allo with him, cryed out arthe dore as he came in: Sec, yondor is Alexander the great whom all the world lookes apon, and is affraid of. Seewhere holies, weeping like a flaucon the ground that is affinid of the lawe, and of the reproche of men; as if he him felle: thould not geue them law, and stablish the boundes of justice or injustice; fithence he harb ouercome to be Lord and mafter, and not to be subject and flaue to a voine opinion, Knoweff thousant that the poets faie, that Imiter hath Themis, to wit, right and inflice placed of either hard on him? what fignifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholy right, and just? These wordes of Anakarchies did corafore the forowfull harre of king Alexander at that times bite therewithall, they made Alexanders maners afterwardes more fierce and diffoline. For as he thereby did marueloufly grow in fauor with the king, euen fo did he make the company of C Gallifthenes, (who of him felfe was not very pleafaunt, bicause of his granery and sowreness). much more hatefull and milliked then before. It is written also that there was certain ralke one night at king Alexanders borde touching the seasons of the yeare, & temperatenes of the ayer, and that Callifthenes was of their opinion which mainteined; that the contry they were inat that time was much colder, and the winter also tharper then in GRECE. Anawarehus. held the contrary opinion , and stilly mainteined it , in fo much as Callifthenes faid vinto him: and yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there, all the winter time thou couldest goe with a fingle cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou must have three or foure garments vponthee when thou are at thy borde. This galled Anaxarchia to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did alfo D hate him, bicause they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued also of oldemen for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his owne. defiring no mans els. Whereby men found, that the reason he alleaged for following of Ale. xander in this voyage, was true: for he faid that he came to be an humble futer to the king to reflore his banished divizens into their contrie againe; and to replenish their citie with inhabitantes. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he him selfe gene The confe his enemies occasion to accuse him . For oftentimes being inuited by the king to supper , ci- why callishether he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and fay nothing, showing by his week gravery and filence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon Alex xander selfe said on a time vnto him:

I can not thinke that person wife, That in his overne tafe bath no eyes.

and mal

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, divers requesting him to make an oration on the fuddein in commendation of the MACEDONYAND he made fuch an eloquent oration your that matter, that all they that heard him rose from the border and clapping their handes for ioy, cast no segaves and sowers vpon him. But yet Alexander at that time faid vnto him that, which the Poet Euripides faid:

It is no maystry to be eloquent, In handling of a plentuous argument.

Nay, but viter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their F faultes, they may learne to amend. Then Callifthenes chaunging coppy; spake boldly many thinges against the MACE DONIANS: Declaring, that the diffention amongest the GRECIANS did increase king Philips power, alleaging these verses

RRR iiij

The Links

VV here discord reiones in Realm or towne.

Euen wwicked folke doe win renowone. But by this occasio he purchased him selfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: in someth as Alexander felfe faid at that time, that he had not fo much shewed his eloquence, as the min lice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. Hermippus the historiographer writeth, that one see bus a clearke of Callifthenes did afterwardes tell it vnto Ariftotle in this forte: and that call lifthenes feeing king Alexander offended with him, did recite these verses of Homer three or foure times as he went. titoring in imakaya a para jaja

Patroclus vuho farre paffed thee.

thought Cal-Lifthenes elo-

VV as flaine as thou art like to be And therefore very wifely faid Ariffotle, that Callifthenes was eloquent , but norwife. For w like a philosopher, he stowtely stood against kneeling to the king, and faid that openly, which the noblest & auncientest men among the Macedonians durst but whisper one in an other eare, though they did all vtterly millike it: whereby he did yet deliver GRECE from oren shame, & Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he vadid him felfe bicause he would seeme rather by presumptioner bringe him to it, then by reason to perswade him. Chares MITYLENIAN hath written the Alexander having dronke are certain feast where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vitto one of his frendes, who after he had taken it of him, role up first on his feete, and dranke also turning him towardes the goddes, and first making folemne reuerence, he went and killed Alexander, and then fate him downe againe. All the reft that were at the feaft, did the like one? after an other, and Callifthenes also, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne, (the kine not looking on him, but talking with Hephalito,) after he had dronke, came to the king to kille him as others had done. How beit one Demetrius called Phido, faid vnto the king kiffe him not I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. Alexander turned his head a fide, and would not kiffe him . Then cryed Callifthenes out alowde: well, whe, then I will goe my waie, with leffe then others, by a kiffe. And thus beganne Alexanders grudge first a gainst Callisthenes, by meanes whereof Hephastion was credited the better, when he said that Callifthenes had promifed him to reverence Alexander, although that he had broken promife; After him also Lysmachus, Agnon, and diners others beganne to plaie their partes against him. faying, that this Sophister went bragging vp and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole we rannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among fo many thowsand fouldiers, neuer a man of them had so noble a harte as he .. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolaus against Alexanders person was discouered, they found the accusation probable; the which some falle detracters had informed against Callifthenes: who had aunswered Hermolaus that asked him, how he could come to be famous about all men, thus: in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to goe forward with this treason, he had told him fire

ther, that he should not be affraid of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was formime ficke and hurte as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was

which had bene tacked and put to the torter, did constantly affirme that they onely had conspired his death, and no man els was privie vnto it. But afterwardes, he sent an other letter vnto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and faid, that his feruauntes had already bene stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he him selfe would afterwardes also punish the master, and those that had sent vnto him, and that had received the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed effended with the ill will he bare vnto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had bene brought vp with him, being his kinsinan, and the sonne of Hero, Aristosles neece. Some faie, that Alexander trussed Callisthenes vp. Others again report, that he died of fickenes in prison. Neuertheles Chares writeth, that F The death of CalliChenes Callif henes, was kept pratoner seuen moneths together, bicause he should have had his judgement in open counfaill euen in the presence of Aristotle him selfe: howbeit, being very fatte, RKK m.

neuer a one of Hermolaus confederates, that would once name Callifthenes, what tormentes

focuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexander felfe also writing E

of this treason immediatly after, vnto Craterius, Attalus, and Alcetas, said, that their servauntes

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

A he was eaten in the ende by lice, and fo died, about the time that Mexander was hire fighting reginft the MALLIANS OXYDRAC TANS, in the conquest of India, but these thinges chaunced agood while after Demaratus Conin Thian being very old, had a great defire to goo fee Alen The immer number: and when he had seene him, he said that the GR ECIANS Which were dead long be; of Demanus fare, were deprinted of that bliffe and happynes; that they could not fee Alexander fitte in the to Alexander mivall fearcothing Darins, Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the kinges goodwill vine him; for and his analy he died of a ficknes toone after he came vnto his campe, & Alexander did honor his funerallist

for all the armie in their armor did cast up a mounte of earth factored like a tomber which was a great compasse about, & foure score cubittes high. His ashes afterwardes were Brought with an honorable conuoye, vnto the fea fide, in a charriot with foure horses richely fer out.

Redexander being ready to take his iorney to goe conquer I work, perceyuing that his armie! Alexander was very heavy & vnwildfom to remove, for the wonderfull carriage and spoiles they had with former into them the cartes one morning being loden, he first burnt his owne cattage, & next his resides; Sethen commanded that they should also set the carriage of the M RCIDONTAN'S affire, which Mexander dounfell feemed more daungerous to be refolued of them the proofe of the execution fell our ringer. difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewish, & the most part of them (asif they had bene fecretly moued by fome god) with lowdecryes of ioy, one of them gaue unto an other fuch necessary things as they had neede of, and afterwardes of them selves did hume and spoile all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous then he was before. besides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or perdon, did sharpely

Counish every man that offended. For having commanded Menander one of his frendes, to The condition kepe him a strong holde: he put him to death, bicause he would not remaine there. Firther of Alexander more, he him selte slue Or sodates (a captaine of the barbarous people) with a darte for that he towardes his rebelled against him. About that time, there was an eawe that had caned a lambe, which had Amonsterous apon her head, the forme and purple culler of the kinges hatte, after the PERSIAN maner, called Tiara, having two stones hanging on ech side of it. Alexander abhorred this monsterous rearms figne, infomuch as he pourged him felfe by certain BABY LONTAN priestes, which he alwayes

his death had predeftined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the handes of fome

necke of that, did take away this feare and discoragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN cal-

of the river felfe of Oxus is very foft, & maketh their skinnes fatte, which wash or bathe them

selues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander selfe wrote vnto Antipater that

was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he had of his men, was for lacke of vittells.

and by the infection of the aver. For he, striuing to ouercome fortune by valiantnes, and her

force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to with-

fland a noble harre. It is reported, that when he went to beliege a strong holde which sissime-

thres kept, being thought vnfaltable, and that his fouldiers were in dispeire of it: he asked one

Oxyarthes, what hart Sissimethres had. Oxyarthes aunswered him, that he was the veriest coward

in the world. O, that is well, o Alexander: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou faiest,

fithence the captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a fodaine, by putting si-

finethres in a great feare. After that also, he did besiege an other peece of as great strength, and

D base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, an other signe and token which chaunced in the

caried about with him for that purpose, and said vnto his frendes: that this monster did not so much moue him for respect of him selfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after

led Proxenus, that had charge of the kinges carriage, as he digged in a certain place by the riuer of Oxus, to fet vp the kinges tent and his lodging, he found a certain fatte and oylie vaine, A fraing of which after they had drawen out the first, there came out also an other cleerer, which differed of for nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor sauor, from naturall oyle, having the glosse and fattnes so one like, as there could be difcerned no difference betwene them: the which was fo much more to be wondred ar, breause that in al that contry there were no olyues. They say also, that the water

E he was very glad of it, putting that amongest the greatest signes which the goddes had sent unto him. The Soothefayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a figne, that he should

haue a noble, but yet a painefull voyage: for the goddes, faid they, haue geuen oyle vnto men oyle refelba to refresh their wearynes. And truly so did he susteine many daungers in those warres, and eth weaphers

A had passed over the river, and was come to the other side, found him selfe in very ill case. for

The citie of

difficulties o affault as the other, and making the young fouldiers of the MACEDONIAN Stogu A to thaffault, he called one of them vinto him, whose name also was Alexander, vinto whoming faid thus, Alexander, this daie thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The yong man did not forget his words, for he fought so valliantly, that he was slaine, for whom de lexander was very fory. An other time when his men were affraid, & durft not come neere van to the citie of Nisa to assaultit, bicause there ranne a very deeperiner hard by the walles he came to the rivers fide, and faid; oh, what a coward am I, that never learned to fwimme? and so prepared him selfe to swimme ouer apon his shielde. After he had caused themeto reind from the affault, there came ambaffadors vnto him from the cities befieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe on other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaier was brought him to fit downer on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongest them called Acuphia, to take it to him, and fit him downe. Acuphis marueling at Alexander ogreat curtefie, asked him : what they should doe for him, thenceforth to be his good frendes. I will, faid Alexander, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador vnto vs, doe make thee their king: and withall that they doe send Acaphia wife me a hundred of their best men for oftages, Acaphia, smiling, aunswered him againe: but I still rule them better, O king, if I fend you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called The

xiles a very wife man, who had a great contrie in INDIA, no leffe in biggenes and circuit then

As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am ready to give thee of myne: and if I have

to thee a thowfand talents in golde. This gifte misliked Alexanders friendes: but in recom-

country. There was a certeine number of fouldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all

pence thereof, he wanne the hartes of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that D

all Æ GY PT, and as full of good pasture and frutes as any country in the world could be: who King Taxibe came on a tyme to falute Alexander, and fayd vnto him. What should we neede, Alexander, to take with A. fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our O necessary commoditie to live by for which thinges, men of judgement must needes fight?

Alexander.

aunswer to Taxiles.

leffe, I will not thinke skorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt give me some of thine. Alexander be ing pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, and sayd vnto him. Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fayre wordes ? no no thou half. wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honeftie and curtefie, bycause thou shalt not exceede me in bowntie and liberalitie. So Alexander taking divers giftes of him, but giving more vnto Taxiles: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke

dishonorably brake the peace be had made.

Alexanders actes againfi king Porus. H) dafpes fl.

that country: who beeing mercenary fouldiers, were euer enterteyned in service of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto Alexander in divers places, Alexander having made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in : when they came abrode apon suertie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sworde. There was but this onely fault, to bleamish the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all thinges els, he shewed mercy and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philosophers and wise men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reproued the kinges and Princes of the Indians for that they yelded vnto Alexander, & procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke divers of their E cities. For king Porus, Alexander selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did against him. For he fayth, that both their campes lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, king Porus fet his Elephants apon the banke of the river with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe them from passing ouer: and that he him selfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, & the choice of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Ilande. When he was come into the Iland, there fel a wonderful shower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders apon his campe, infomuch as he faw many of his men burnt by lightning. in this litle llande. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the F riuer. The riuer being swollen with the great flud of rayne that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: fo that Alexander when he

that he could hardly keepe his feete, bicause the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rape of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on every fide. It is written of him, that then he fayd vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take fuch paines, and put my felfe into fo many daungers, onely to be praifed of you? Thus Oneficeritus reporteth it. But Alexander selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had passed ouer the streame of the mayne riner: and that hey waded thorow the other arme or gutt of the water which had broken the earth, uppe to their breafts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters he rode with his horsemen twenty furlonges before the battell of his footemen: thin-R king that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of armes, that he was the fronger: and if they would also aduawnce their footemen forwarde, that his footemen also thould come tyme enough. One of the twaine fel out as he had geffed. For a thowfand horsemen, and three skore charrets armed with his ennemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & flue foure hundred of the men of armes in the fielde. King Porus then knowing by those signes that Alexander was there in person, and had passed ouer the river: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, fauing a few which he left behinde to refift the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to palle over the river. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of his ennemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not give charge apon the middest of the battell, but being him selfe C in the left winge, gaue charge apon the corner of thenemies left winge, and also commaunded them that were in the right winge to doe the like. So, both the endes of thenemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered them felues together about them. Thus the battell being begon, the conflict continued long, infomuch as the enemies were scantly all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Many writers doe agree, that Porus was foure cubits and a shaft length hier and bigger then The statute of the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that king Porus. the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to saue the king his Maister. For whilest he perceyued his Maister was stronge enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assayle him: but of the Elephia when he found that he began to faint, having many woundes apon his body, and arrowes stic- to save the D king in it: then being afraid left his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softely fell on her his main his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his troncke, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. Porus beeing taken, Alexander asked him, howehe should handle him, princely, aunswered Porus. Alexander asked him agayne, if he would faye any thing els. I comprehend all, fayde he, in this word princely. Thereupon Alexander did not onely leave him his prouinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieferenant: but gaue him many other contries also. When he had subdued Alexanders all the free people, of the which there were fifteene feuerall nations, fine thowfand of no the Indian. fmall cities, befides an infinite number of villages, and thryse as many other contries: he made Philip one of his friendes, his Liefetenant of all those contries: his horse Bucephal dy- The death of E edat this battell, not in the fielde, but afterwardes whilest he was in cure for the woundes he Bucephal Ahad on his body: but as Ovessieritus sayth, he dyed euen worne for very age. Alexander was borse.

as fory for his death, as if he had loft any of his familiar friendes : and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buryed, apon the river of Hydaspes, the Bucephalia, a which he called after his name, Bucephalia. It is reported allo, that having loft a dogge of great citie

his called Peritas, which he had brought vppe of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built built by Alealso a citie, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he heardest reported thus of the river of Potamon LESBIAN. This last battell against king Porus, killed the MACEDONIANS hartes, and Hydaspes: & made them that they had no defire to goe any further to conquer India. For, finding that why so named. Peritas, Ale. they had fuch a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thowfand footemen, xandered agree F and two thowsand horse, they spake yll of Alexander when he went about to compell them

to passe ouer the ryuer of Ganges, vinderstanding by the contry men that it was two and Ganges st. thirty furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the ryuer was

Gangaida, full of fouldiers, horfemen, and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the Ganga-A RIDES, & the PRESIANS were on thother fide with foure fcore thowfand horfemen, two hun-

dred thowfand footemen, eight thowfand charrets or carts of warre wel armed, and fix thowfand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor fryuolous tale. For, a king called Androcottus (who raigned not long after,)gaue vnto Seleucus, fiue hundred Elephants at one time, & conquered all Indiawith fixe hundred thowfand fighting men . Alexander then offended with his mens refusall, kept close in his tent for certeine daies, and lay vpon the ground, saying that he did not thanke them, for all that they had done thithervnto, vnles they paffed ouer the ryuer of Ganges also: And that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he sawe and considered that there was great reason in his friendes perswassons which labored to comfort him, and that his souldiers came to the B

He built great aultars also in honor of the godds, the which the kings of the PRESIANS have

dore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly befeeching him to leade them backe against in thende he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithstanding, before Alexanders he departed from those parties, he put forth many vaine and false denises to make his name India. immortall amonge that people. He made armors of greater proportion then his owne, and Alexanders vaine desifes mangers for horses, higher then the common sort: moreouer, he made bytts also farre heaviso make him er then the common fort, and made them to be throwen and scattered abroadin enery place.

in great veneration at this day: and passing ouer the river, doe make facrifices there, after the King Andre manner of the GRECIANS. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and fawe Alexan-

der him selfe, and sayd afterwards, that Alexander had well neare taken and wonne all the con-C. try, the king which then raigned, was so hated of all his subjectes, for his wicked life, and base

Mallians,

parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to fee the great fea Oceanum, and made diuers botes with ores, in the which he easily went downe the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentymes, and did affaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in affailing the citie of the MALLIANS. (which they say are the warlikest men of all the Indians) he was almost slaine there. For hauing with darts repulsed the ennemies from the wall, he him selfe was the first man that sene the citie of the foote on a ladder to gett vp, the which brake affoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper, Then the barbarous people comming together against the wall, did throwe at him from beneathe, and many tymes lighted upon him. Alexander having fewe of his men about him, D made no more a doe, but leaped downe from the wall in the middest of his ennemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete. His harnes making a great noyfe with the fall, the batbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seene some light or spirite goe before him: so that at the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne scatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to them felues, and fawe that he had but two gentlemen onely about him, they came and fette apon him of all handes, and fought with him at the sworde or pushe of the pyke, and so hurt him very fore through his armor: but one amonge the rest, being somewhat further of, gaue him such a terrible blowe with an arrowe, that he strake him through his curats, and shot him in at the side under his brest. The blow entred so into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereuppon, he that had striken him with his ar- E row, ranne sodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit Peucestas & Limneus stepped before him, and were both hurt: Limneus was slaine presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length, Alexander felfe flew the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many greeuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that fo aftonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking apon his enemies. In the meane time, the MACEDONIANS compaffing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a fownde, and was past knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumor straightin the campe, that Alexander was dead. They had much a doe to cut the arrow afonder that was of wodde: fo his curats being plucked of with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body, which stucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was source F fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he founded so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he ouercame the daunger, and escaped. Being very

heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noyfe about his tent, definous reside him. Then heput on a night gowne, and came out amongelf them all: and after he had done facrifice vnto the godds for recourry of his health, he went on his iorney againe, and in the same did conquer many great contreyes, and tooke divers goodly cities. He did also take tenne of the wife men men of the contry, which men doe all go naked, and therefore are called Grance OPHIST AL (to wit Philosophers of INDIA) who had procured Sabbas to rebell against him and had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And bicause they were taken to be the flarpest and reas dieft of aunswer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions as told them he would put the first man to death, that aunswered him worst, and so the rest in order, and made the el-

dest amonge them ludge of their aunswers. The question he asked the first maniwas this: Whether the dead of the liuing, were the greater number. He aunswered, the liuing, For, sounded to athirt ag folloithicatha ann a gcirir the dead fayd he, are no more men. The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures He: logophers of aunswered, the corth. For the sea sayd he, is but a part of the earth. To the third man: which of all beaftes was the fubtilleft. That (fave he) which man he-

To the fourth: why he did make Sabbas rebell ? bicaufe fayd he, he should live honorably. or dye vilely. To the fift, which he thought was first, the daye, or the night? He auniwered the daye, by A and day. The kinge finding his aunswer ftraunge, added to this speech: ftraunge questions, must

needes haue straunge aunswers. Comming to the fixt man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloved: If he be a good man fayd he, not terrible. To the feuenth, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, faid he impossible for a man.

To the eight, which was the ftroger life or death? life, laid he, that fuffreth lo many troubles. And ynto the ninth and last man; how long a man should live? yntill fayd he he thinke it างและ แม้นวนเด็กระเบีย์ สำหรับสำคัญ เรื่องสำคัญที่สำคัญ better to dye, then to line.

When Alexander had heard these aunswers he turned with the Iudge & bad him give his indeement youn them. The Judge faid they had all auniwered one worker then another. Their n thair thou die first, said Alexander, bicause thou hast given such sentence not so. O king, o he if

thou wilt not be a lier: bicause thou said that thou wouldest kil him first that had auniwered worft, In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewardes. He fent Oneficritus also worto the other Alexander wife men of the Indians, which were of greatest fame among the, & that led a foliary & quice sen wife men. life to pray them to come vnto him. This One fir it us the Philosopher was Diogenes the Cinika and did les scholler. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wise menyery tharply & proudly bad him pur them goe.

of his clothes, to heare his words naked or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though Philosopher. he came from Jupiter him felf, Yet Dandamis aunswered him more gently Ron he having lear Calenti, other ned what maner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were said that they feeried to have wife called bene wife men, & wel borne, notwithstanding that they had renerenced the tawe too much in Dandamis E their life time. Others write notwithstanding that Dandonic faid nothing els but asked why A lexander had take to painful a iorney in hand, as to come into del para For Calange (whose right name otherwise was Sphines king Taxiles perswaded him to go ynto Alexanders who bicause he faluted those he met, in the I wo tan tongue, saying Cale, as much to say as God faueve: the

GRECIANS named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did flew Alexander a figure &d

similarde of his kingdom, which was this He threw down before him a dry feare beece of les will make

fimilitude of his kingdom, which was this rie three wown occurs and the leather being troden down on that there is then being troden down on that the leather being troden down on that the least th fide, rose vp in al partes els, & going vp & down with all still treading vpon the fides of the leas ther he made Alexander fee, that the leather being troden downson the one fide did rife up of bood by al sides els, vntil such time as he put his soote in the middest of the leather, & shenal the whole perce of leas F leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby, was to let Alexader understadithat the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his contry & norto goe farre from it Alexander cotinued seuen moneths travelling upon the rivers to go feethe great sea Occanum. Then he

Alexanders fea Oceanum

armie going in so India.

Sheepe fed

The contry of Gedrosia.

The riot of Souldiers.

The citie of Thapfacus.

The proninred by Mexander,rebel-

tooke ship, se failed into a litle Iland called Scylle sxas, howbeit others call it Psitving There he landed made facrifices vito the gods, & viewed the greatnes & nature of the feet ceanii, & all the lituacion of the coast apon that sea, as farreas he could go. Then he madelin praiers wato the gods that no conqueror living after him thould go beyond the bounds of his iorney & conquest, & so returned homeward. He comaunded his ships should fetch a copale about, & leane In Dra on the right hand: & made Nearebus Admirall of all his fleete, & Ones. critico chiefe Pilote. He him felf in the meane time went by land through the contry of the Q. RLTE's, & there he found great scarsinge of vittels, & lost many of his ments that he caried no out of INDIA the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in align score thowsand footemen. & fifteen thowsand horsmen. Some of the died of greenous differfes, others, by ill diet, others, by extreme heat & drowght, & the most of the by hunger, transit ling through this barren contry, where the poore men lined hardly, & had onely a few sheepe which they fed with fea fifth, that made their flesh sauor very il sauoredly. At the legth, when is three score daies iorney he had painfully trauelled through this contry, he the entred into the cotry called GEDROSIA, where he found great plery of al kind of vittels, which the gouernous kings, & princes, neighbours vnto the same, did sed vnto him. After he had refreshed his army The contry of there a little, he wet through the cotry of CARMANIA, where he continued feue daies together banketing going feil through the contry. For night & day, he was feathing continually within frends apon a scaffold loger then broad, rising vp of height, & drawn with eight goodly horse After that feaffold followed divers other charrets covered over, some with goodly rich arts. & nurple filk, others with trim fresh boughes which they renued at euery fields end: & in those were Alexanders other frends & captaines with garlands of flowers apon their heades, which drank & made mery together. In all this armie, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target feene: but gold & filuer bowles, cups, & flagons in the fouldiers hands, al the way as they went drawing wine out of great pipes severfiels which they caried with them, one drinking to ano ther, some marching in the fields going forward, & cothers also set at the table. About the were the minstrels playing & piping on their states & shalmes, & wome singing & daunting, & soo ling by the way as they wet. In all this diffolute marching through the cotry, & in the middel of their dronkenes, they mingled with it sport that every madid strive to courterfeat all the infolecies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus him felt had ben there in person, & had led the mommer. Whe he came vnto the kings castel of GEDROS IA, he staied there also certein daies to resiell his army with feafting & baketing. It is faid, that one day whe he had dronke hard, he went in fee the games for daunting: & amongst the, the games which a yong man called Bagoon hadden forth, (with who Alexander fel in liking) & bare the bel. This Bagoas being in his daunting gan mets, came through the Theater, & fat him downe by Alexander. The MACEDONIAN SWETCH glad of it, that they showted & clapped their hands for iov, crying out alowde, to kiffe him: 50 that in fine he toke him in his armes, & killed him, before them all. Thither came Nearchin his Admiral vnto him: who made report what he had sene & done in his nauigatio. Alexander was fo glad of that, as he was defirous to faile by fea him felf. & fo, entring into the fea oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great flecte of ships, to copasse in all the coasts of Arabia& A FRICKE, & thece into Mare Mediterranen, by the straights of the pillers of Hercules, To this E inter he built a great nuber of thips in the city of THAP'S AC VS, & fent for mariners, thipmafters, & pilots, our of al parts. But now, the difficultie of the iorney which he tooke apon him for the coquest of India, the daunger he was in whe he fought with the MALLIANS, & the nuber of his me which he loft befides which was very great, al these things cofidered together, making me beleuethauhe (hould neuer return with fafetie:they made all the people(which he had con quered) bold to rife against him, & gaue his governors & Lieuetenants of provinces occasion to comit great infolecies, tobberies, & exactios of people. To be short, it put al his kingdomini broile & fedition: Infomuch as Olympias & Cleopatra rifing against Autipater, they decided his gouernmet between the: Olympias choling for her the kingdo of Epinvs: & Cleopatra, the kingdo of Macenon. Which whe Alexander had heard, he laid his mother was the wifelt for the ! realme of Macan on would never have suffred a woma to raigne over the. Therupon he sent Wearchine back again to the sea determining to fil all the sea coasts with warre. As he transled

A through the cotries farre fro the feashe put his capteines & gouernors to death, which had renolted against him: & of those heslue Oxyarthes, one of Abulites sonnes, by his own had roning him thorow with a pike. And whe Abulites felf also had brought Alexader iii thowsad talets only, without any other prouision made for vittels for his army: he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then sayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpose ferueth this prouisio? & therwithal immediatly comitted him to priso. As he came through the CORTY Of PERSIA, he first renued the old custo there, which was: that as often times as the kings didreturn home fro any far iorney, they gaue vnto euery woma a crown a peece. It is faid therfore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did not returne again into their conv: & that Oshus amogst others did not so much as once returne back again, willingly bani-

R thing him felf out of his cotry, of niggardlines, because he would not be at this charg. After that, Crrss tomb(king of Persia) being foud & broke vp, he put him to death that did it, although hewere a MACEDONIAN of the citye of Pella, (and none of the meaneft) called Polymachus. The death of Whe he had red the inferiptio writte apo it in the Persian togue, he would needes also have it relies in writte in the Greeke togue: & this it was. O ma, what fo thou art, or wihece foeuer thou comelt fro Cyrus Episaph Iknowve thou shalt come. I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia, I pray thee enuy me not for thu litle earth that couereth my body. These words pearced Alexanders hart, whe he cosidered the

a little while, praied that they would make him a stacke of wod, such as they vie to burne dead

bodies on & then rode thither a horse back: & after he had made his praier vnto the godds, he

When he had faid these words he layd him down you the wodstack couered his face, & ne-

ner flurred hand nor foote nor quinched when the fire tooke him, but did facrifice him felf in

this fort, as the maner of his contry was, that the wife men should so facrifice the selues. An o-

ther Indian also, who followed Iulius Cafar, did the like many yeares after in the citye of A-

THENS: & there is his tombe yet to be seene, comonly called the Indians tombe. When Ale-

xander came from feing this facrifice of Calanus, he did bid divers of his frends & Capteines to

extreme cold that tooke the in their dronkennes & wine. When they were in the citie of Sv-

sa he married certain of his frends & him felf also married Statira, one of king Darius Daugh-

vocertainty of worldly things. There also, Calanus the Indian Philosopher, having had a flyxo

c caffthose sprincklings apon him, which were vied to be sprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting of a locke of his heare before he went vp on the woolftacke, he bad althe MACH- Calamus the DONIANS that were there farewel, & shooke them by the hands, praying the that day to be mery and drinke freely with the king, whom he would fee shortly after in the citye of BABYLON. feef aime.

D supper to him: & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that drank best. He that Alexander drank most of all other, was one Promachus, that drank source gallons of wine, & wan the crown, drinke to myn worth a talent: but he lived not aboue three dayes after. And of other also that fell in sport to a game and quaffing, who should drink most, there died of the (as Chares writeth) one & forty persons: of an Price.

ters, disposing also of the other Persian Ladies (according to their estate and birth) vnto his belt frends. He made also a solemne feast of comon mariages amongst the MACED ON IANS, of The Macedo the that had ben maried before: At which feast, it is writte, that nine thowsand persons sitting name maried at the bords, he gaue vnto every one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. Persians E And there also amongst other woderful gifts, he did pay al the dets the MACED ONIANS ought The wondervinto their creditors, the which amounted vinto the fumme of tenne thowfand talents fauing a full gifter of hundred & thirty leffe. Wherupon Antigenes with one eye, falfely putting in his name amon- Mexander gest the number of the detters, & bringing in one that said he had lent him money: Alexander payed the folcaused him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proued to his face, that there was no such

matter: Alexander then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, & depriued Ansigenes him of his captainship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed him self a valiant ma in the with one eye, a warrs. For whe he was but a yong man, he was shot into the eye, before the city of Perinthe, saine, bank which king Philip did befeege: & at that present time they would have pluckt the arrow out of shed the court his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would fuffer the to pul it our, before he had first dri-Fue his enemies within the wals of their citie. He toke this infamy very inwardly, & he was fo fo-

ry for it, that every ma might fee he was like to die for forow. The Alexander fearing he should die, did pardo him, & bad him besides kepe the money which was giue him. Now the 30000.

SSSii

Sand boyes of

Thirty show vouing boyes which Alexander had left to the gouernment of Capteines, to trayne & exercise A them in the discipline of warre: they being growen stronge men, & lusty youthes, excellently the Perjams,
saught the dif well trained & ready in armes: Alexander reloyced when he faw them. This notwithstanding cipline of mars did much discorage the MACEDONIANS, & made them greatly affraid, bicause they though that from thenceforth the king would make leffe accompt of the For when Alexander would haue fent the ficke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low contry, to the fea fide: they aunswered him, that so doing he should do them great wronge, m fend these poore men fro him in that fort, after they had done him all the service they could home to their contry & frends, in worse case then he tooke them from thence. And therefore they faid, if he would fend away fome, let him fend them all away as men vnferuiceable, specially fithence he had now fuch goodly yong daunfers about him, with whom he might go con-R quer the world. Alexander was maruelously offended with their prowd words, insomuch the in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other Persians in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his vishers, heraulds, & ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS feeing Alexander this waited on & them selues so shamefully rejected: they let fall their stoutnes, and after they had comoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare the felues for spite & malice. In fine whethey had laid their heads together, they colented to go vnto his tent & without weapos. naked in their shirts to yeld theselues vnto him, weping & howling, beseching him to do with the what pleased him, & o vse the like wretched vnthankful creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somwhat pacified, did not receive the the first time, neither did they also go (their waies, but remained there 2 daies & nights together, in this pitiful state, before the dore of histent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their foueraine & king: vntill that he came him felf out of his tent the third day, & seing the poore wretches in this greeuous & pitiful state, he him self sel a weeping a long time. So, after he had a little rebuked the, he called the curteoully, & gaue the impoter & fick persons leaue to depart home, rewarding the very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto Antipater his Lieutenant, that he should alwaies give the the highest place in al comon sports & affemblies, & that they should be crowned with garlands of flow ers. Moreouer, he comanded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the warrs, should receive the pay of their fathers. After Alexander was come vnto the citie of ECBATANA, in the kingdő of M EDE A, & that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gaue him self again vno D publike sportes, feasts, & pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of GR & CEA. thowsand excellent masters & deuisers of such sports. About that time it chauced, that Hephe flion fell ficke of an agew. But he beeing a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth ashe should have done, but having spyed oportunitie that his Phisitian Glaucus was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & passimes: He went to dinner, and cate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereuppon his seutr tooke him so sorely, that he lived not long after. Alexander vnwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, & comanded all the heares of his horse & mules to be presently shorn in toke of mourning, & that al the battlemets of the wals of cities should also be ouerthrown, & hong vp pore Glaucus his Philitian vpon a crofle, & comanded that no minstrel should be heard play of any E kind of instrument within his campe: vntil that there was brought him an oracle from Iupiter Hammon, comaiding that Hephaftion should be worshipped & facrificed vnto, as a demy god. In thend, to passe ouer his mourning and sorow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, and there fubdued the people of the Coss EIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and flue man, woman, and childe. And this was called the facrifice of Hephaltions funeralls, Alexander furthermore beeing desirous to bestowe tenne thowsand talents coste vppon his obsequies and funeralls, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenes and excellencie of workemanshippe: amongest all other excellent workemasters, he desired one Stasicrates, for he

to his foldiers

The clemen-

ralitie of A-

lexander un-

The death of Hephastion. Alexanders forom for the death of Hephastion.

had euer passing invention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any newe Staffcrates an thinges he tooke in hande. For he talking one daye with Alexander, tolde him, that of all F the Mountaynes he knewe in the worlde, he thought there was none more excellent to refemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were

A his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should bee in the world, which in his left hand should hold a citie to conteine ten thowsand persons, and out of his right hand, there should ronne a great river into the sea. Yet Alexander would not harken rohim, but then was talking with other workemen of more straunge inuentions, & farre grearercost. Now as he was ready to take his iorney to go vnto BABYLON: Nearchus his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the river of Euphrates, and tolde him. how certaine CHALDEAN Soothfayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he should not goe into BABY LON. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of BABYLON, he faw a great number of crowes fighting & killing one of another, & fome of them fell downe deade hard by him. Afterwards being told him that A-R pollodorus the gouernor of the citie of BABYLON, having facrificed vnto the goddes, to knowe

what should happen to him: he sent for the Soothsayer Pithagoras, to knowe of him if it were mue. The Soothfayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him, what fignes he had in the facrifice. He aunswered, that the lyuer of the beast had no head. O gods, said Alexander then, this is anill figne: notwithstanding he did Pithagor as no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not heleue Nearchus words. For this respect therefore Alexander lay much abroade in the contry from BABYLON, & did take his pleafure rowing up & downe the river of Euphrates. Yet had Divers signed he many other ill signes & tokes one vpo another, that made him afraid. For there was a tame before Alex-

affe that killed one of the greatest & goodliest Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feete. Another time when Alexander had put of his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he c should put on his apparel again, the yong gentlemen that plaied with him, found a man set in his chaier of estate, having the kings diademe on his head, & his gowne on his back, & said neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them aunswer, but at the length comming to him felf, he faid his name was Diony lius, borne in MESSINA: & being accused for certein crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thether, where he had bene a long time prisoner, & also that the god Serapis had appeared vnto him, & vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne & his diademe, and to fit him downe in his chaier of estate, & say neuer a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counfail of his Soothfayers: but then his mind was troubled, & feared that the gods had for saken him, & also grew to suspect his frends. But first of al, Alexander seared Antipater & his Alexander

D fonnes, aboue all other. For one of them called tolas, was his first cupbearer: & his brother cal-ferred Antiled Cassander, was newly come out of GRECE vnto him. The first time that Cassander faw fome of the barbarous people reuerencing Alexander, he having bene brought vp with the libertie of GRECE, & had never feene the like before: fel into a lowd laughing very vnreueretly. Therwith king Alexander was so offended, that he tooke him by the heare of his head with both his hands. & knocked his head & the wal together. Another time also when Cassander did aunswer fomethat accused his father Antipater:king Alexander tooke him vp sharply, & said vnto him. What faiest thou, said he? Doost thou thinke that these men would have gon so long a iorney as this, fallly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? Cassander again replyed vnto Alexander, & faid, that that was a manifest proofe of their false accusatio, for that they did now

E accuse him being so farre of bicause they thought they could not sodainly be disproued. Alexander thereat fel a laughing a good, & faid, lo, these are Aristotles quiddities to argue pro & cotra: but this wil not faue you from punishment, if I find that you have done these men wronge. In fine, they report that Caffander tooke fuch an inward feare & conceit vpon it, that long time after when he was king of MACEDON, and had all GRECE at his commaundement: going vp and downe the citie of Delphes, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander, which put him into fuch a fodaine feare, that the heares of his head floode vpright, and his body quaked in fuch fort, that it was a greattime before he could come to him felfe againe. Nowe after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the goddes, his minde was fo troubled and affraide, that no straunge thinge happened vnto him,

F (how litle fo euer it was) but he tooke it straight for a figne and prediction from the godds: fo that his tent was alwayes full of Priestes and Soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tende vnto divinements. So horrible a thing, is the mistrust and contempt of the

SSS iii

the gilty consciences and searefull hartes like water distilling from aboue: as at that time itsl.

led Alexander with all folly, after that feare had once poffeffed him. This notwithstading, after

to the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that nyght. And the twenty daye also, bathing him felfe againe, and making his ordinary facrifice to the goddes, he did fitte downers eate within his stoone, harkening vnto Nearshus that tolde him straunge thinges he had seenes

that he had received some aunswers touching Hephastion from the oracle of Jupiter Han, mon he left his forow, and returned again to his bankets and feafting. For he did fumptuoufly feaf Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, beeing ready to goe to bed, Medius one of his Capteines befought him to come to a banket to him at his lodging. Alexander went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so thathe Alexander got an agew by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking vppe Hercules cuppe all ata fell ficke of an

drawght: neither for the sodaine paine he felt betweene his showlders, as if he had beene report of the death of Ale-

thrust into the backe with a speare. For all these were thought to be written by some, for lyes R and fables, bicause they would have made the ende of this great tragedie lamentable and pitifull. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extreame seuer and thirst withall, thathe dranke wine, & after that fel a rauing, & arthe legth dyed the thirtie day of the month of lune. In his houshold booke of things passed dayly, it is written, that his feuer beeing apon him he flept in his hottehouse on the eyghtenth day of June. The next morning after he was come out of his hottehouse, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that daye with Me. diss. playing at dyce: and at nyght very late, after he had bathed him felfe and facrificed vn-

The death of Alexander the great.

Ariffotle

in the great sea Oceanum. The one and twenty day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, & felt him felfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be fet vppeby the fifth pondes, where he commoned with his capteines touching certaine roomes that were void in his armie, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twenty day having an extreame feuer vpon him, he was caried vnto the facrifices, and commaunded that his chiefest Capteines onely should remaine in his lodging. and that the other meaner fort, as centiniers or Lieuetenants of bands, that they should watch & ward without. The foure and twenty day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on thother fide of the lake, where he flept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: & when D his Capteines & noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, & to fee him, he lay speechles. So did he the fine and twenty day also: infomuch as the MACED ONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came & knocked at the pallace gate, & cried out vnto his friendes and familiers, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereuppon the gates were opened, & they comming in their gownes went vnto his bed fide to fee him. That felfe day Python & Seleucus were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god Serapis, to knowe if they should bringe king Alexander thither. The god aunswered them, that they should not remoue him from thence. The eight and twenty day at night Alexander dyed. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houshold booke of remembrance. At that present tyme, there was no suspition that he was poyloned. Yet they say, that six yeares after, E there appeared some proofe that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was faid he gaue him poyfon in his drinke. They that thinke it was Ariftotle that counfelled Antipater to do it, by whose meane the poyson was brought: they say that Agnothemis reported it, of Alexander. nauing heard it of king Antigonus owne mouth. The poyfon (as fome fay) was cold as Ife, and falleth from a rocke in the territory of the citie of Nonacris, & it is gathered as they would gather a deawe into the horne of the foote of an affe, for there is no other kinde of thinge that wil keepeit, it is so extreme cold & percing. Others defend it, & say, that the report of his poyfoning is vntrue: & for proofe therof they alleage this reason, which is of no smal importance, that is: That the chiefest Capteines fel at great variance after his death, so that the corps of A-F lexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whot dry contry, & yet there never appeared any figne or token apon his body, that he was poyloned, but was still a cleane and

A faire corps as could be. Alexander left Roxane great with childe, for the which the MACRDO-NI ANS did her great honor: but the did malice Statira extreamely, & did finely deceive her by a counterfeat letter the fent, as if it had comen from Alexander, willing her to come vnto him. But when the was come, Roxane killed her and her fifter, and then threw their bodies into a Stating Stating well, and filled it vp with earth, by Perdice as helpe and confent, Perdice as came to be king, immediatly after Alexanders death, by meanes of Aridaus, whom he kept about him for his gard and fafety. This Aridaus, beeing borne of a common strumper and common woman, called Aridaus, A-Philinna, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chaunce: but, as it is reported, put out of his lexanders ba-

The end of Alexanders life.

wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes, which Olympias caused to be geuen him,

Iulius Cæsar.

and thereby continued franticke.



T what time Sylla was made Lord of all, he would have had Cafar put Cafar igyned away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator : but when he Marine. faw, he could neither with any promife northreate bring him to it, he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cause of Casars ill willvnto Sylla, was by meanes of mariage: for Marius thelder, maried his fathers own fifter, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cafar & he were cosin germaines. Sylla being troubled in waightic matters, putting to

death so many of his enemies, when he came to be coqueror, he made no reckoning of Cafar: but he was not contented to be hidden in fafety, but came and made fute vnto the people for the Priesthoodshippe that was voyde, when he had feant any heare on his face. Howbeit he was repulfed by Syllaes meanes, that fecretly was against him, Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his frendes told him,

that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them againe, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cafar vinderstanding F that, stale out of Rome, and hidde him selfe a long time in the contrie of the Sabines wandring still from place to place. But one day being caried from house to house, he fell into the handes of Syllaes fouldiers, who fearched all those places, and tooke them whom they found SSS iiij

(ea, and wens unto Nicomedes, king of Bubynia. Cafar taken

hidden. Cafar bribed the Captaine, whose name was Cornelius, with two talentes which he A gaue him. After he had escaped them thus, he went vnto the sea side, and tooke shippe, and failed into BITHYNIA to goe unto king Nicomedes. When he had bene with him a while he to fleepe, he fent vnto them to commaunde them to make no noyfe. Thus was he eight and R out of the hauen of MILETVM, to follow those theeues, whom he found yet riding at ancher (pray him to come home againe. But he failed first vnto RHODES, to studie there a time vnder D Apollonius the sonne of Molon, whose scholler also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man. & well before the people, & befides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doutthe degree of perfection to speake well, which his nature coulde have performed in him, bicause he was genen rather to followe warres and to mannage great matters, which in thende brought him to be Lord of all Rome. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the stile of a souldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most parte of his life. E When he was returned againe vnto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill behauior in the gouernment of his province, and he had divers cities of GRECE that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cafar, to requite the good will of the GRECIANS, which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Ma-CEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that Antonius was driven to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he coulde have no inflice in GR ECE against the GRECIANS. Now Casar immediatly wan many mens good willes at Rome, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes: and the people loued him maruelously also, bicause of the curteous manner he had to speake to enery man, and F to vie them gently, being more ceremonious therein, then was looked for in one of his yeres. Furthermore, he euer kept a good bourde, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal

tooke sea againe, and was taken by pyrates about the Ile of Pharmac vsa: for those pyrates kept all vppon that fea coast, with a great fleete of shippes and botes. They asking him at the first twentie talentes for his ransome, Casar laughed them to scorne, as though they knew nor what a man they had taken, & of him felfe promifed them fiftie talents. Then he fent his men vp and downe to get him this money, so that he was left in maner alone among these theenes of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his frends, and two of his flaues only: and yet he made fo litle reckoning of them, that when he was defirous thirtie dayes among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited uppon by them as a Prince. All this time he woulde boldly exercise him selfe in any sporte or pastime they would goeto. And other while also he woulde wryte verses, and make orations, and call them together to fay them before them: and if any of them feemed as though they had not vnderstoode him, or passed not for them, he called them blockeheades, and brute beastes, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merie with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good parte, thinking that this his bold speach came, through the simplicity of his youth. So when his raunsome was come from the citie of MILETVM, they being payed their money, and he againe fet at libertie: he then prefently armed, and manned out certaine ships in the same Iland. So he tooke the most of them, & had the spoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMVM, & there committed the to prison, whilest he him selfe went to speake with Iunius, who had the gouernment of As 1A, 25 vnto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that contrie. But this Prætor having a great fancie to be fingering of the money, bicause there was good store of it : anfivered, that he would confider of these prisoners at better leasure. Casar leaving Junius there. returned againe vnto Pergamym, and there hung vp all these theeues openly vpon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the Ile he would doe, when they thought he didbut ieast. Afterwardes when Syllaes power beganne to decay, Casars frendes wrote vnto him, to an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that Cafar had an excellent naturall gift to speake leffe he was counted the fecond man for eloquence in his time, and gaue place to the first bicause he would be the first and chiefest man of warre and authoritie, being not yet comen to IVLIVS CAESAR.

A befides: the which in deede did aduaunce him forward, and brought him in estimacion with cases a fide the people. His enemies judging that this fauor of the common people would foone quaile, lower of the when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence : suffered him to runne on, till by lide and litle he was growen to be of great strength & power. But in fine, when they had thus geuen him the bridell to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though in dede in fight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and common wealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuaunce of time will foone make it ftrong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnes. Thereuppon, Cicero like a wife shipmaster that feareth the calmnes of the fea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the common R wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habit of outward

curtefie and familliaritie. And yet, fayd he, when I confider howe finely he combeth his faire Ciceroei bulh of heare, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scrat his head with one finger only: "of Casar.

my minde gives me then, that fuch a kinde of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The first shewe and proofe of the love and good will which the people did beare vnto Cafar, was: The love of when he fued to be Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowfand footemen) stand- the people in ding against Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the se-

rius the elder. For being her nephew, he made a folemne oration in the market place in com-C mendacion of her, and at her buriall did boldly venter to shew foorth the images of Marius: Casar made the which was the first time that they were seene after Syllaes victorie, bicause that Marius and the same all all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the common wealth. For death of his when there were some that cried out apon Casar for doing of it: the people on thother side auns Iulia,

kept a sturre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their handes, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembraunce of Marius honor againe into Rome, which had so long time bene obscured & buried. And where it had bene an auncient custom of long casar the strill time, that the ROMANES vsed to make funerall orations in praise of olde Ladies and matrons that praised when they dyed, but not of young women: Cefar was the first that praised his owne wife with nerall oraison. funerall oration when she was deade, the which also did increase the peoples good willes the

D more, seeing him of so kinde & gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Trea- cafe made forer, vnder Antistius Vetus Prætor, whom he honored euer after: so that when him selfe came Quassion. tobe Prætor, he made his sonne to be chosen Treasorer. Afterwardes, when he was come out of that office, he maried his thirde wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, Pompeia, Cawhich was maried vnto Pompey the great. Now for that he was very liberal in expences, bying farithind (as some thought) but a vaine and short glorie of the fauor of the people: (where in deede he

bought good cheape the greatest thinges that coulde be.) Some say, that before he bare any office in the common wealth, he was growen in debt, to the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. Furthermore, bicause he was made ouerseer of the worke, for the high way going vnto Appins; he disbursed a great summe of his owne money towardes the charges of the same.

E And on the other fide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did show the people the pastime of three hundred & twentie cople of fword players, and did befides exceede all other in fumptuousnes in the sportes and common feastes which he made to delight them withall: (and did as it were drowne all the stately shewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so cafars prodict pleased the people, & wan their loue therwith, that they denised daily to give him new offices galing.

for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very strong and of great power, & the other of Marius, which then was vnder foote & durst not shew it selfe. But Cafar, bicause he would renue it again, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest russe: he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that caried triumphes, and those he set vp one

F night within the Capitol. The next morning when euery man faw the gliftering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which Marius had wonne apon the CIMBRES: euery one marueled much at the boldnes

cond & more manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt Iulia, the wife of Ma- Cesar chosen

Cesars elo-

of him that durst fet them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereuppon, it range A Cafar accused straight through all the citie, and euerie man came thither to fee them. Then some cried on to make a rebellion in the apon Cefer, and fayd it was a tyranny which he ment to fet up, by renuing of fuch honorsas before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclama tion: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had fet our in the stately shewes of his comon playes, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide fuch partes to be played, and a new alteracion of things to be made. They of Me. rius faction on thother side, incoraging one an other, shewed them selves straight a great niber gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: infomuch as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very joy. when they sawe the images of Marius, and they extolled Casar to the skies, judging him the R worthiest man of all the kinred of Marius. The Senate being affembled thereuppon, Catalan Luctatius one of the greatest authoritie at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inueved against Casar, and spake that then which ever since hath bene noted much: that Casar did not now couertly go to worke, but by plaine force fought to alter the state of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, Casar at that time aunswered him so that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimacion did grow in better hope then before, & perswaded him, that hardily he should geue place to no man, and that through the good will of the people, he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the citie. At that time, the The death of chiefe Bishoppe Metellus dyed, and two of the notablest men of the citie, and of greatest anthoritie (I fauricus, and Catulus) contended for his roome: Cafar notwithstanding their conten-C. chiefe Bishop of Rome. tion, would geue neither of them both place, but presented him selfe to the people, and made fute for it as they did. The fute being equall betwext either of them, Catulus, bicause he was a man of greater calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election: fent vnto Casar a good summe of money, to make him leave of his sute. But Casar sent him word againe, that he would lend a greater fumme then that, to maintaine the fute against him, When the day of thelection came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his house, celer weeping, kiffed her, and fayd: Mother, this day thou shalt see thy sonne chiefe Bishoppe of Rome, or banished from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated: Casar wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble chiefe Bifliop men all affrayed of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do D what he thought good. Then Catulus and Pifo fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him. Ged to be co. for that he did not bewray Cafar, when he knew that he was of conspiracie with Catiline, and had oportunitie to have done it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth, but veterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he scaped out of the handes of iustice for lacke of sufficient proofe, before his full treason and determination was knowen. Notwithstanding he lest Lentulus and Cethegus in the citie, companions of his conspiracie: vnto whom, whether Casar did geue any secret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowen. Yet this is manifest, that when they were continued in open Senate, Cite-10 being at that time Conful, asking every mans opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Cafar, gave sentence they should dye: Cafar E Cefar nem 4- then rising up to speake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and sayd, that it the configuration was neither lawefull, nor yet their custome did beare it, to put men of such nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawefull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some citie of ITALIE, where Cicero thought best, vntill that Catiline were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleasure quietly take such order therein, as might best appeare vnto their wisedoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speake after him did approue it : but such also as had spoken to the contrarie before, reuoked their opinion and stucke to his, vntil it came to Cato and Catulus to speake. They both did sharpely inuey against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Casar suspected to F be of the conspiracie, and stowtly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put in-

Cefar made

conspiracy.

to the hands of the officers to be put to death. Cafar comming out of the Senate, a company

A of young men which garded Cicero for the fafetie of his person, did fette apon him with theib wordes drawen. But forme fay, that Curio couered Cafar with his gowney and tooke him and of their handes. And Civere felfe, when the young men looked apon him, backened with his headthat they hould not kil him, either fearing the fury of the people, or electron blothoughs imogshamefull and wicked a parte. But if that were true, I maruell why Ciarodid nobputing into his booke he wrote of his Confulthippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for thathe tooke not the oportunitie offered himagainst Cafar, onely for outermuch feare of the headle, that loued him verie dearely. For thortly after, when Cafar went into the Senate; to deere him felfe of certaine prefumptions and falle acculations objected against him and bea ing bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him lenger then the weer to work: the Recoble came about the counsell house, and called out allower for him, bidding them let him ant trate then fearing the infurrection of the poore needle persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cefar, and did also mone the people to stucce: did per swadenhe demande distinguished make a franke distribucion of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribucion did plut the common wealth to a new charge of five hundred & fiftie Myriades. This etanfell quenched apresent great feare, and did in happie time scatter and disperse abroade the bolk parts of Ces far force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect the his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never fought any alteration in the common wealth, but contrarily he him felfe had a great misfortune fell with wow it house which was this. There was a young nobleman of the order of the Paraterans, called Bublish Ochdisse, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as infolent and impudences Berfon, as any was elfe in ROME. He became in loue with Pompeia Cafars wife, who milliked The lane of portion, as any was entern nome. He occament tothe with rempeta Cafari and what have not with all a not with flanding the was to straightly looked to, and that Aurelia (Cafaris mother) 20, children on Pomian honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two louers could not meete as they pola, tashing would, without great perill and difficultie. The ROMANES doenfe to honora goddeffe which wife goodged. they call the good goddeffe, as the GRECIANS have her whom they call Comments to wit, the deliberted goddefle of women. Her, the PHRYGIA is doe claime to be peculiar with themplaying: than was maken the is king Midas mother. Howbeit the ROMANES hold opinion, that it is a mimphe of woddel famples. maried vitto god Faunus. The GRECIANS, they fay also, that the was one of the mother tof the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on hier field davethe won D men make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaves of vine branches; and allothese make as the tale goeth, a holie dragon for this goddeffe, and doe ferit by hear belides it is not lawful for any man to be prefent at their facrifices, no norwichin the houle it fulle where their are made. Furthermore, they fay that the women in the fo facrifices do many things among the the felues, much like voto the ceremonies of Orphemi. Now when the time of this feath change the husband, (whether he were Przetor or Conful) and all his men & the boyers in the homes doccome out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasured for there the facrifices and ceremonies are done the most parte of the night, and they live belides passe the night away, in fonges and musicke: Pompeia, Cafars wife, being that peared dosclebrate this feath. Clodius who had yet no heare on his face, & therby thought he mould not be bewrayed E disquised him selfe in a singing wenches apparell, bicause sis face was verie like wito ayoung wenche. He finding the gates open being fecretly brought in by her chamber made that was made privie vnto it : fhe left him , and faime to Pompeix her miffres y to telline that he made conc. The chamber maide raried long before the came againe, infomura har chiatica licing wearie waiting for her where the left him; he tooke his pleafure, and wear trouvene slide no another in the house, which had very large roomed in it, still shunning the higher shad was by change mer withall by one of Aureliaes maides, who raking him for a woman prelyed hereto play. Cloding refufing to play, the maide pulled him forward; and asked him what he was to his disthen answered her, that he taried for Abra one of Pompeiaes women. Sofulnesties maids knowing him by his voyce; ranne straight where the lightes and Ladies were and colled and I that there was a main difguifed in womans apparell! The women there with livere for amaketh that Aurelia caused them presently to leave of the vetembries of the familie, and to inde

their fecret thinges, and having feene the gares fail locked, went immediately upland down

evedieor and

Cefanfont-

in the factigood god-

Clodine accuphaning the facrifices of she good goddesse.

C.efar puteth

Clodius quis good god-deffe.

for Cefar 10 his creditors.

Cafars order creditor and

Cefars fouldiers called

cleding taken the house with torche light to seeke out this man; who at the last was found out in the charge ber of Pombeines maide, with whom he hidde him felfe. Thus Cloding being found out, wen of the women a they thrust him out of the dores by the shoulders. The same nighting women tolde their husbandes of this chaunce as soone as they came home. The nextune ning, there ranne a great rumor through the citie, how Glodius had attempted a great william and that he descrued not only to be punished of them whom he had slaunds ed, but also offer common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that diding him. & accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefel of the nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with man horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne fister, which was maried vnso Lucillus. Notwithstanding, the people stowtly defended Clodius against their acculations; and this did helpe him much against the Judges, which were amazed, & affini so firre the people. This notwithstanding, Cafar presently put his wife away, and thereuping being brought by Clodins accuser to be a witnes against him, he aunswered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This aunswere being cleane contrarie to their expense cion that heard it. the accuser asked Cafar, why then he had put away his wife: bicause I will not, fayd he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that Cafar spake trucks he thought. But others thinke that he did it to please the common people, who were very defirous to fauo Clodina. So Clodina was discharged of this accusation, bicause the most parted the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the seare they stoode one way of the daungers the common people if they condemned him; and for the ill opinion of thother fide of the no-0 the common people is they condemned infinitely the policy of the province of Spayne being fallen with critical fitters, if they did quit him. The gouernment of the province of Spayne being fallen with critical fitters and were important to the province of Spayne being fallen with the common people in the common people is the common people in the common people in the common people is the common people in the common people in the common people is the common people in the common people in the common people is the common people in t Cefar for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out apon him, and were imported Cafar Praise nate of him to be payed. Cafar being vnable to fatisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto Crist. fine who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stoode in neede of Cafars boldnes and to craffu firety rage to withfland Pompeys greatnes in the common wealth. Craffus became his furctie vinohis greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirtie talentes : whereupponther fuffered Cefanto departe to the government of his province. In his iorney it is reported, that passinge ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a little poore village that had not many householdes, and yet poore cotages. There, his frendes that did accompanie him; asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there I were any fittie there amongest the noblemen for honor. Cafar speaking in good earnest anne fwered: I can not tell that faid he but for my parte, I had rather be the chiefest man hereuther the fecond person in Rome. An other time also when he was in Spayne, reading the history of Alexanders actes, when he had red it, he was forowfull a good while after & then burfling in weeping. His frends feeing that, manueled what should be the cause of his sorow. He auni fwered them doese not thinke layd he, that I have good cause to be heavie, when king alo stander being no older than my felfe is now, had in old time wonne fo many nations and contries; and that I hithervnto have done nothing worthy of my felfe? Therefore when he was come into Sparrie the was very carefull of his busines, and had in few dayes joyned tenner enlignes more of footemen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marchinesis !! ward against the Call's Clans and Lyair anians, he conquered all, &went as faire as the great fea Oceanium of bubduing all the people which before knew nor the ROMANBS for their Lordes. There he tooke order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wifely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them frendes one with an other but specially he pacified all futes of law & strife, between the detters and credis tors, which grewe by reason of vierie. For he ordained that the creditors shoulde take yearsh two partes of the renemie of their detters, vntill fuch time as they had payed them felues and that the detters should have the third parte to them selves to live withall. He having would great estimacion by this good order taken, returned from his government very riche, and his fouldiers also full of rich spoyles, who called him Imperator, to say soueraine Captaine: Now I she Ro want a having a custome, that such as demaunded honor of triumphe, should remain a while without the eins, and that they on thother fide which fued for the Confulthip, thould

A of necessitie be there in person : Cafar comming vnhappely at that very time when the Confuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that sauor, that being absent, he might by his frendes fue for the Confulfhippe, Cato at the first did vehemently inuey against it vowching an expresse law forbidding the contrarie. But afterwards, perceining that not withstanding the reasons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by Casar) favored his request: yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time; dilating his oration vntill night. Cafar thereupon determined rather to gene over the fute of his triumphe. and to make fute for the Confulthippe: and so came into the citie, and had such a denise with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato only. His deuise was this, Fompey and Crassing, two of Cafareconthe greatest personages of the city of Rome, being at iarre together, Casar made them frends, per and Craft B and by that meanes got vnto him felfe the power of them both : for, by colour of that gentle fin together. acte and frendshippe of his, he subtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter and chaunge the state of the common wealth. For it was not the private discord betwene Pompey and Cafar, as many men thought, that caused the civil warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers first to ouerthrowe the state of the Senate and nobilitie, and afterwardes they fell at larre one with an other. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophecied many times what woulde followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwardes they found him a wifer man, then happie in his counsell. Thus Cafar being brought vnto the Catoes Forteaffemblie of the election, in the middest of these two noble persons, whom he had before re- fight and proconciled together: he was there chosen Consul, with Calphurnius Bibalus, without gaine Cafar first C faving or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to confulhip put foorth lawes meeter for a feditious Tribune of the people, than for a Confull: bicaufe by with Calphan them he preferred the diuision of landes, and distributing of corne to euerie citizen, Gratis, Cefar land. to please them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were against his deuise, he de- Lex agraria. firing no better occasion, beganne to crie out, and to protest, that by the ouethardnesse and austeritie of the Senate, they draue him against his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon having Crassus on thone side of him, and Pompey on thother, he asked them openly in thaffemblie, if they did gene their confent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both aunswered, they did. Then he prayed them to stande by him against those that threatned him with force of fworde to let him. Craffus gaue him his worde, he would. Pompey also did the D like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his fword and target both, against them that would withstand him with their swords. These wordes offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauetie, and vndecent for the maiestie and honor he caried, and most of all vincomely for the presence of the Senate whome he should have reverenced; and were speaches fitter for a rash light headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on thother fide, they rejoyced. Then Cafar bicause he would be more affured of Pompeis power and frendshippe, he gaue him his daughter Iulia in mariage, which was made fure be: who was made fure be fore vnto Seruilius Capio, and promised him in exchaunge Pompeis wife, the which was fure all his designed fo vnto Faustin the some of Sylla. And shortly after also, Cafar selfe did marie Calphurnia the pomper to daughter of Pilo, whom he caused to be made Consulto succeede him the next year's follows called maked E ing, Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that it was a shame? full matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that forte make hauoke of the Empire of Pigo of ROME, by fuch horrible bawdie matches, distributing among them selues through those wicked mariages, the gouernments of the prouinces, and of great armies. Calpharnius Bibalus, fellow Conful with Cefar, perceiving that he did contend in vaine, making all the reliftaunce he could to withstand this lawe, and that oftentimes he was in daunger to be flaine with Cate, in the market place and affemblie: he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulthippe. When Pompey had maried Iulia, he filled all the market place with fouldiers, & by open force Pompey by authorifed the lawes which Cafer made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procu-

F gions graunted him for fine yeares. Then Cato standing up to speake against it : Cafar bad his

red that Cafar had GAVLE on this fide, and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRYA, with foure les Cafars lanes,

officers lay holde of him, and carie him to prison, thinking he would have appealed vnto the cefar sens Tribunes. But Cato fayd neuer a worde, when he went his way. Cafar perceining then, that Cato to priform

Cefar by Clo-dim , drane Cicero out of Isaly. Cafar, a val-

mes of Acili-

Cefers foul-

not onely the Senators and nobilitie were offended, but that the common people also for the A reuerence they bare vnto Catoes vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence . he him felfe fecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this parte, there were few Senators that would be Prefident of the Senate vnder him, but left the citie, bicause they could not away with his doinges. And of them, there was an old man called Confidius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to counsel bicause they were afrayed of his souldiers. Casar aunswered him againe: and why then, does not thou kepe thee at home, for the same feare? Consider replied, bicause my age taketh away feare from me : for having fo short a time to live, I have no care to prolonge it further. The shamefullest parte that Cafar played while he was Consul, seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offred his wife fuch dishonor, and profaned the ho-R ly auncient misteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: & Casar selse also departed not from Rome to his army, before he had fet them together by the eares, and driven Cicero out of ITALY, All these things they say he did before the warres with the GAVLES. But the time of the great armies & coquests he made afterwards, & of the warre in the which he subdued al the GAVIRE (entring into an other course of life farre contrarie vnto the first) made him to be knowen for as valliant a fouldier & as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as those that afore him had bene counted the wifest and most valliantest Generalles that ever were, and that by their valliant deedes had atchieued great honor. For whofoeuer would compare the house of the Fabiant. of the Scipioes, of the Metellians, yea those also of his owne time, or long before him, as Sylla, C Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey felfe,

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens: It will appeare that Cafars prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard contries where he made warres: an other, in enlarging the realmes and contries which he iouned unto the Empire of Rome: an other, in the multitude and power of his enemies whome he ouercame: an other, in the rudenesse and austere nature of men with whom he had to doe, whose maners afterwardes he softned and made civill: an other, in curtesie and clemencie which he vsed vnto them whome he had conquered: an other in great bountie and liberality bestowed upon them that served under him in those warres: and in fine. he excelled them all in the number of battells he had fought, and in the multitude of his ene-D mies he had flaine in battell. For in leffe then tenne yeares warre in GAVLE he tooke by force and affault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred feuerall nations; and having before him in battell thirty hundred thowfand fouldiers, at fundrie times he flue tenne hudred thowfand of them, & tooke as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloued of his fouldiers, that to doe him feruice (where otherwise they were no more then o-The love and ther men in any private quarrell) if Cafars honor were touched, they were invincible, & would fo desperatly venter them selues, & with such furie, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the exaple of Acilius: who in a battell by sea before the city of Man-SELLES, bording one of his enemies shippes, one cut of his right hand with a fword, but yet he The wonderforfooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, & made E them flie fo that he wanne their shippe from them. And Casina Scana also in a conflict before Scana, & dithe city of DYRRACHIVM, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder striken through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and having received thirty arrowes upon his thield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their (houlders from his bodie with his fword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, & at the length saued him felfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITAYNE alfo, when the Captaines of the bandes were driven into a marrifle or bogge full of mire and durt, and that the enemies did fiercelie affaile them there : Cafar then standinge to viewe the battell, he fawe a private fouldier of his thrust in among the Captaines, and fought so valliant-F lie in their defence, that at the length he draue the barbarous people to flye, and by his meanes faued the Captaines, which otherwife were in great daunger to have bene cast away.

A Then this fouldier being the hindemost man of all the Captaines, marching with great maine through the myte & durt, halfe fwithming, and halfe a foote: in the end got to the other fide of but left his shield behinde him. Cafar wondring at his noble corage, range to him with iou to imbrace him. But the poore fouldier hanging downe his head, the water standing in his eyes. fell downe at Cafars foete; and befought him to pardon him, for that he had left his targette behinde him. And in A FRICKE also, Scipio having taken one of Cafars thippess and Granius Feed Petronius abourde on her amongest other, not long before chosen Treasorer; he put all the promue reft to the fword but him, and layd he would gene him his life. But Petronim auniwered him againe : that Cafars fouldiers did not vie to have their lives geven them, but to generothers. their lives : and with those wordes he drewe his sworde, and thrust him selfe through Nowe,

R Cafars felfe did breede this noble corage and life in them. First, for that he gaue them bounrifully, & did honor them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heape up riches in the wartes to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonnesse and pleasure, but that he did keepe it in store, honorably to reward their valliant service : and that by so much he thought him selferiche, by howe much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deferued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder to much at his valliantneffe in putting him felfe at enery instant in such manifelt daunger, and in taking so extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedie defire of honor that fet him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it : but that he alwayes continued all labour and hardnesse, more then his bodie could beare, that filled them all with ad. miration. For, concerning the constitucion of his bodie, he was leane, white, and fost skin-C ned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickenes: (the which tooke, Cefer had the

him the first time, as it is reported, in CORDVBA, a citie of SPAYNE) but yet therefore yeel-falling sicks. ded not to the disease of his bodie, to make it a cloke to cherishe him withall, but contrarilie, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his licke bodie fighting alwayes with his difease, trauelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroade in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coch or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwayes able to do fome thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the contricto fee townes, castels, and strong places. He had alwayes a secretarie with him in his coche, who did fill wryte as he went by the way, and a fouldier behinde him that carried his fword. He made fuch speede the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office; that in eight dayes. D he came to the river of Rhone. He was fo excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that hol-

ding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horse vpon the spurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exercise him selfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupie two fecretaries at once with as much as they could wryte: and as Oppius wryterbamore. then two at a time. And it is reported, that Cafar was the first that deuised frendes might talke together by wryting ciphers in letters, when he had no leafure to speake with them for his vrgent busines, and for the great distaunce besides from Ro ME. How little accompt Cafar made, The sempeof his dyer, this example doth proue it. Cafar supping one night in MILANE with his frende rance of Ca-Valerius Leo, there was served sparrage to his bourde, and oyle of persume put into it in stead don. of fallet oyle. He simplie eate it, and found no fault, blaming his frendes that were offended: Cafaracinity,

E and told them, that it had bene enough for them to have absteyned to eate of that they milliked, and notto shame their frend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with frend. his frend. An other time as he trauelled through the contrie, he was driven by fowle weather on the fodgine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was fo narrowe, that one man could but scarce lye in it. Then he sayd to his frendes that were about him: greatest roomes are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessarie roomes, for the fickeft persons. And thereuppon he caused Oppins that was ficke to lye there all night: and he him felfe, with the rest of his frendes, lay with out dores, under the easing of the house. The first warre that Cafar made with the GAVLES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGVAL-NIANS, who having fette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hun-F dred villages besides, came to inuade that parte of GAVLE which was subject to the Ro-

MANES, as the CIMBRI and TEVT ONS had done before: vnto whome for valliantneffe they gaue no place, & they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thowf-

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men, Of those, it was not Cafar him selfe that ouercame the Tig v Rinian's, but Labienne his

Lieutenaunt, that ouerthrewe them by the river of Arax, But the Helver IANs them felice

came fodainly with their armie to fet apon him, as he was going towardes a citie of his con-

federates, Cafar perceiving that, made haft to get him fome place of strength, and there did

fette his men in battell raye. When one brought him his horse to gette vp on which heve

fed in battell, he fayd vnto them: when I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get up on

him to followe the chafe, but nowe lette vs geue them charge. Therewith he marched for-

ward a foote, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he coulde make

them flie that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe.

and to breake their strength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that be a

fore had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them felues in force, and valliantly fought

The Tiguri-nians flame Arax fl.

Cafarrefufed he fought a banell. The Heluetians flaine by Cafar.

Rheynus fl. Cafar made warre with king Ario-

they did foresell shinges to come.

it out: but their wines and children also fighting for their lines to the death, were all flame: and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Nowe if the act of this victorie was famous, vn. to that he also added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people than had escaped from this battell, he gathered together against about a hundred thowsandeof them, and compelled them to returne home into their contrie which they had for faken, and vnto their townes also which they had burntibicause he feared the GERMAINES would come oper the river of Rheyne, and occupie that contrie lying voyde. The fecond warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES against the GERMAINES: although before, he him selfehad caused Arionistus their king, to be received for a confederate of the Romanes. Notwithstan- C ding, they were growen very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their owne, but ment to inuade and possesse the rest of GAVLE. Cafer perceiving that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleafure and gaine : he called them to counfell, and commaunded them that were affrayed, that they should depart home, and not put them felues in daunger against their willes, fith they had such womanishe faint hartes to thrinke when he had neede of them. And for him felfe, he fayd, he would fet apon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, faying, that the enemies were no vallianter than the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine infe p rior vnto Marius. This oration being made, the fouldiers of the tenth legion fent their Lieutenauntes vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iorney with good will to ferue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlonges of the campe of the enemies. Arionistus corage was well cooled, when he sawe Casar was come. and that the ROMANES came to feeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durft not have abidden them : and therefore nothinge mistrustingeit woulde have come so to passe, he wondered much at Cafars corage, and the more when he fave his owne armie in a maze withall. But muche more did their corages fall, by reason of the foolishe women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell thinges to come R who, consideringe the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible novie they made runninge downe the streame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the newe moone. Cafar havinge intelligence thereof, and perceivinge that the barbarous people thereuppon flurred not: thought it best then to sette vppon them, being discoraged with this supersticious feare, rather then losinge time, he shoulde tarie their leasure. So he did skirmishe with them even to their fortes, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them fo, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them king Arioni in battell, and followed them in chase, with great flaughter, three hundred furlonge, eflus outritire- uen vinto the river of Rheyn: and he filled all the fieldes thitherto with deade bodies and spoyles. Howebeit Arionifus flyinge with speede, gotte ouer the river of Rheyn, and esca-p ped with a fewe of his men. It is fayd that there were flaine foure score thow sande persons at this battel. After this exployte, Cafar left his armie amongest the SEQVANES to winter there:

A & he him felfe in the meane time, thinking of thatfayres at Rome, went ouer the mountaines into GAVLE about the river of Po, being parte of his province which he had in charge, For there, the river called Rubico, devideth the rest of ITALIE from GAVLE on this side the Alpes. Cafar lying there, did practife to make frendes in Rows, bicause many came thither. to fee him: vnto whom he graunted their futes they demaunded, and fent them home alfo. partely with liberall rewards, and partely with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the GAVLES, Pompey did not consider how Casar enterchaungeable did conquer the GAVLES with the weapons of the Romanes, and wanne the Romanes againe with the money of the GAVLES. Cafar being advertised that the BELGE (which were the warlikest men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third parte of GAVLE) were all vp in armes.

R and had raifed a great power of men together : he straight made towardes them with all possible speede, and founde them spoyling and ouerrunninge the contrie of the GANTER, their neighbours, and confederates of the ROMANES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting, The Belee .. cowardly, he ouerthrew the most parte of them which were in a troupe together, & flue such were me by a number of them, that the Romanus passed ouer deepe rivers and lakes a soote, whon their Casar. dead bodies, the rivers were fo full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt neerest vnto the sea fide, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them selues without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the NERVIANS, the stowtest warriers weren the

of all the BELGE. They dwelling in the worde contrie, had conveyed their wives, children flower from and goods, into a maruelous great forrest, as farre from their enemies as they could; and bec ing about the number of fixe fcore thowfand fighting men and more, they came one day and fet apon Cafar, when his armie was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romanias, and compassing in the twelfth & seventh legion, they slue all the Centurions & Captaines of the bands. And had not Cafar felfe taken his shield on his arme, and flying in amongest the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: & the tenth legion also feeing him in daunger, ronne vnto him from the toppe of the hill where they stoode in battell, and broken the ranckes of their chemies: there had not a Romani escaped a line that day But taking example of Cafars valliantnes, they foughed esperatly beyond their power, and vet could not make the NERVIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner The Nerwi

D flaine in the field. It is wrytten that of three skore thowfand fighting men, there escaped only flaine by cabut five hundred and of foure hundred gentlemen and counfellers of the Roman as but three, for faued. The Senate understanding it at Round; ordained that they shoulde doe facrifice unto the goddes, and keepe feastes and solemne processions fifteene dayes together withour intermission, having neuer made the like ordinaunce at Rome, for any victorie that ever was obteined. Bicause they saw the damager had bene maruelous great so many nations rising as they did in armes together against him: and further, the love of the people wnto him made his vi-Cory much more famous. For when Cafar had fee his affaires at a fear in GAV union the other fide of the Albes: he alwayes yied to lye about the river of Po in the winter time, to gene direction for the establishing of thinges at Roma, at his pleasure. For, not only they that made E fute for offices at Rome were chosen Magistrate, by meanes of Cafars money which he gaue;

them, withithe which, bribing the people, they bought their wayces, and when they were in a count make office, did althat they could to increase Cafara power and greatnes: but the greatest eachiefest, The great out men also of the noblitie, went vnto Lvx a vnto him. As Pompey, thraffed, Appine, Pragtor of SAR, Rome, come DINIA, and Weper, Proconfull in SPAYNE. Infomuch that there were at one time, fixe fore to Luca to forgeaunts carving roddes and axes before the Magistrats; and about two hundred Sepators. Cefa. belides. There they fell in confolizacion, and determined that Fompey & Graffus hould again a be thosen Confuls the next yere following. Burthermore, they did appoint that Gefar should have money againe delivered him to pay his armie, and belides, did proroge the time of his gouernment, fine yeares further. This was thought a very straunge & an yncasonable matter

P vnto wife moni For they the felues that had taken fo much money of 64/2r, perferaded the Senate to let him hane money of the comon treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate into it, sighing & lamitting to see the decrees

they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Carnets at Howbeit Faonius that followed Catoes steppes, when he fawe that he could not preuaile, non withstande them : he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongest the people. that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him : some for the reuerence the bare vnto Pomper, and Crassiu, and others fauoring Casars proceedinges, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet them selues, and sturred not. Then Cafar returning into GAVLE beyonde the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a greate warre in the contrie.

flight.

The Ipes and

Tenterider Plaine by Ca-Sicambri. a people of the Cefar made bridge oner the river of Rheyn.

For two great nations of GERMANIE had not long before passed ouer the river of Rheyn, to ipes, & Ten. Conquer newe landes: and the one of these people were called IPES, and the other TENTEterides, people RIDES. Now touching the battell which Cefar fought with them, he him felfe doth describe it in his commentaries, in this forte. That the barbarous people having fent Ambassadours R vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time: they not with flanding, against lawe of armes. came and fette apon him as he trauelled by the way, infomuch as eight hundred of their Cefas horse- men of armes ouerthrewe fine thowsande of his horsemen, who nothinge at all mistrusted their comming. Againe, that they fent him other Ambaffadours to mocke him once more but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole armie to marche against them. thinking it a follie, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutina wryteth, that the Senate appointing againe to doe newe factifice, procefs fions, and feastes, to gene thankes to the goddes for this victorie: Cato was of contrarie opinion, that Cefar thould be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to pourge their city and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curfe apon him, that G was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thowsand persons) they were all in maner slaine, sauing a very fewe of them, that flying from the battell got oner the riner of Rheyn againe, who werereceined by the SICAMBRIANS, an other people of the GERMAINES. Cafar taking this occafion against them, lacking no good will of him selfe besides, to have the honor to be counted the first Roman a that ever passed over the river of Rheyn with an armie: he built a bridge of uer it. This river is maruelous broade, and runneth with great furie. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great bredth from one fide to thother, and it hath fostrong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees in to the river (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force n thereof maruelously shake the postes of the bridge he had set up. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame : he made a pile of great wodde as bone the bridge a good way, and did forciblie ramme them in to the bottome of the riner, for that in ten dayes space, he had set up and finishe his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke. and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possiblie thought or devised. Then pass fing ouer his army vponit, he found none that durft any more fight with him. For the S vv 80 VIANS, which were the warlikest people of all GERMANY, had gotten them selves with their goodes into wonderfull great valleis and bogges, full of woddes and forrestes. Nowe when he had burnt all the contrie of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederats of the ROMANES: he returned backe againe into GAVIL Bafter he had taried eighteene dayes at p the most in Germany, on thother side of the Rheyn. The iorney he made also into England was a noble enterprise; and very commendable; For he was the first that failed the west Ocean with an army by fea, & that paffed through the fea Atlanticum with his army, comake warres in that fo great & famous Ilande: (which many auncient wryters would not beleue that it was fo in deede, and did make them vary about it, faying that it was but a fable & alve) and was the first that enlarged the Romane Empire, beyonde the earth inhabitable. For twife he passed ouer the narrowe lea against the firme lande of G AVLE, and fighting many battell othere; did! hurt his enemies more, then enriche his come men : bicaufe, of men hardlie broughevp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten: Whereuppoil his warre had not fuch fuccesses as he looked for, and therefore takinge pledges onely of the kinge, and impoling a yearely E tribute apon him, to be payed vnto the people of Rome : he returned again into GAVERO There he was no fooner landed but he founde letters ready to be fent over the fea vnto him?

IVELVS CESAR. is elewhich he was advertised from Rome, of the death of his Daughter, that the was dead The death of with thild by Pompey. For the which, Pompey & Caldr both, were martielous forowfull: & their India, Cafars fiends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which mainteined the common wealth that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed, and broken a forder. and the rather likely bicause the childe lived not long after the mother. So the common peopleat Rome tooke the corps of Iulia, in dispite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the fielde of Mart Now Cefar being driven to devide his armie (that was very great) into funding garrilons for the winter time, and returning againe into I TALY as he was wont: all GAYLE rebelled apaine, and had rayled great armies in every quarter to fet apon the Romanes, and to affay if The rebellion they could dittreffe their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most war- of the Gaules likemen of thefe GAV LE sithat entred into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambioria; and And did fet yoon the parrisons of Cotta, and Titarias, whom they flue, and all the foundiers they coun, and Tie had about them. Then they went with three score thowsand fighting men to beseege the gar-turing, with filon which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, bidding all same the fouldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were fo valiant and courageons; that they did more then men (as they fay) in defending of them felues. These newes being come to ? far who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speede ; and lettying Gren thow fand fouldiers, made hafte to helpe Cicero that was in fuch diffresse. The GAVI is that did befeege Cicero, understanding of Cafars comming, rayled their feege incontinently to goe and meete him: making accompt that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were Ofosewe, Cafar to deceive them, still drewe backe, and made as though he fled from them, Todging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wife to flurre out to skirmish with them, but comdelle them to ray fe vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were atraid bicaufé the enemies should the lesse esteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke oppolytimitie, by their diforderly coming to affaile the trenches of his campe, they were growen in flich a prefumptious boldness and brauery) and then falving out apon them, he put them Cafer the the all to flight with flavighter of a great number of them. This did suppresse all the rebellions of Gaules led by the GAV LES in those parties, and furthermore, he him selfe in person went in the middlest of winter thether. Where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a newe supply out of Direct of three whole legions in their roome, which he had loft: of the which, two of them fimper lent him, and the other legion, he him felfe had leauved in Gaves about the ritter of Po During these sturres, brake forth the beginning of the greatest & most daungerous warre that he had in all Gavier, the which had bene fecretly practifed of long time by the chiefelf & most warlike people of that contry, who had leaused a wonderfull great power. For every where they leavied multitudes of men, & great riches befides, to fortefie their stronge holdes, Fuffhermore the contry where they rofe, was very ill to come vnto, and specially at that time The second being winter, when the rivers were frolen, the woodes and fortells covered with flowe. The the Gaules as metadowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes so deepe of snow, that no wayes were to be gamp coffee with meither the marifles nor rivers to be decerned, all was fo overflowed and drowned with water all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe Calar from ferring vion the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the ARVERNIANS and CARNVIES: who had chosen Vercingentifix for their Lieuete- Vercingents-Bailt generall whole father the GAVLES before had put to death, bicavile they thought he af rix Captains. plied to make him felfe king. This Vercingentorix deniding his armie into divers partes, and of the rebells appointing diners Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part; all the people and contiles thereabourted as farre as they that dwell towards the *fea Adriatick, having further de- * tertimed winderstanding that Rome did cofpire against Cafar) to make all Gave tife it armes place is to against him? So that if he had but taried a litle lenger, untill Cafar had entred into his chuilf beredde in Warres: he had put all I rally in as great feare and daunger, as it was when the Cimeki did the Greeke come and invade le? But Calar, that was very valiant in all affairs and daungers of warre, and problems dist was very skilfull to take time and oportunitie; fo foone as he viderfloode the newes of the river Sas-

the rebellion the departed with speede, and returned backe the selfe same way which he had

which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speede he had made with the

fame, in fo sharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly have beleeved, that

poste or currer could have come in so short a time from the place where he was, vnto them

they wondred when they faw him burning and destroying the contry, the townes and stronge

forts where he came with his armie, taking all to mercy that yelded vnto him: vntil fuchting

as the Henvi tooke armes against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the

that they had joyned with the rebells, they were maruelous fory, and halfe difcouraged. There

VDDON. Cafar departing from those parties, went through the contry of the Lingone store

ter the contry of the *Byrgonians, who were confederats of the Romanis, and the nearth a

vnto I TALY on that fide, in respect of all the rest of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came tofe

apon him, and to enuironne him of all fides, with an infinit number of thowfands of fighting

let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thinge. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had

out. For if those two armies had joyned together, Cafar had bene veterly vindone. And there,

honor and fame, then any other. For there, in that instant and extreame daunger, he shewed

more valiantnes and wildom, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonder-

full thing was this? that they of the citie neuer heard any thing of them that came to ayde

fore, this seege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wanne before it, did deservedly winne him more D

A fland that if should not come to passe, but bicause he did not first out come Casar, whom one. The discord ly he feared For till then, Pamper had not long feared him, but alwayes before feelight by him, and Pomper, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him downe when he would, fithe he had brought and the cause

rebell against reben agamp the Romanes. Rom and s, and were greatly honored of them. Wherfore Cafars men when they vindershoode

men. Cefar on thother fide taried their comming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them to affraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the first if fee rir ouera meth notwithstanding, that he had receyued some ouerthrowe: for the ARY#RNIANE Shew. Cafar. ed a sworde hanged vppe in one of their temples, which they sayde they had wonne from Co. far. Infomuch as Cafar felfe comming that way by occasion, sawe it, and fell a laughing att. But some of his friendes going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bad them

faued them selues by seeing the most of them were gotten with their king into the citie of A-0 The seege of LEXIA, the which Casar went and beseeged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both sorthe height of the wals, as also for the multitude of souldiers they had to defend it. But now during this seege, he fell into a maruelous great daunger without, almost incredible. For an armiest

three hundred thowfand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came against him, being at the seege of ALEXIA, besides them that were within the

citie, which amounted to the number of three score and tenne thowsand fighting men at the least; so that perceiuing he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to soulle him felfe with two walls, the one against them of the citie; and the other against them with-

Alexia.

them, vntill Cafar had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMANES them felues, which kept watch vpon the wall that was built against the citie, knew also no more of it, then they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cryes and lamentacions of men & women in ALBXIA, when they perceived on thother fide of the citie fuch a nuber of gliftering shields of gold and filuer, such store of bloody corfelets and armors, such a deale of plate and mouse ables, and such a number of tents and paullyons after the facion of the GAVEES, which the ROMANES had gotten of their spoyles in their campe. Thus sodainely was this great armie van nished as a dreame or vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in battell Fur thermore, after that they within the citie of ALBXIA had done great hurt to Cafar, and them felues also : in the ende, they all yelded them selues. And Vercingentorix (he that was their king and Capteine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horsefurnished with riche capparison accordingly, and rode round about Casar, who sage in his chayer of effate. Then lighting from his horse, he tooke of his capparison and furniture, and vnarmed him selfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and sate downeat Casar secte, and sayd never a word. So Cafar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in his triumphe at Rome. Nowe Cafar had of long time derermined to destroy Page pey, and Pompey him also. For Craffus being killed amongest the PARTHIANS, who onely didse, that one of them two must needes fall: nothing kept Cefar from being the greatest person but bicaule he destroied not Pompey, that was the greater neither did any thing let Pampey to with

him to that greatnes he was come vnto But Cafar contrarily, having had that drift in his head of the civil from the beginning, like a wreftler that studieth for trickes to ouerthrowe his adversary! he cases craftiwent farre from Rom B, to exercise him selfe in the warres of Gavis, where he did trayne his new annie, and prefernly by his valiant deedes did increase his fame and honor. By these meanes became Cefar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution but fome occasions of culler, which Pompey partly gaue him, and partly also the ryme deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernment at that tyme of the com-Emon wealth at ROME. For they that made fute for honor and offices, bought the voyces of the The beadle people with ready money, which they gaue out opely to viury, without hame or feare. Therewon, the common people that had fold their voyces for money, came to the market place at at Rome for the day of election, to fight for him that had hivered them:not with their voices, but with their

place, the citie remayning all that tyme without gouernment of Magistrate, like ashippe left

howes flings, and fwordes. So that the affembly feldom tyme brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinckled with the bloode of them that were slavne in the market

without a Pilote. Infomuch, as men of deepe judgement & discression seing such furie & madnes of the people, thought the felues happy if the comon wealth were no worfetroubled, the with the absolut state of a Monarchy & soueraine Lord to gouerne them. Furthermore, there C were many that were not affraid to speake it opely, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the comon wealth, but by the authority of one man only that should command the all & that this medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the getlest Phisition, meaning couertly Fompey. Now Pompey vied many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly under hand did lay all the yrons in the fire he could, to bring it to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, & searing leaft in the end the people thould be compelled to make him Dictator: he perswaded the Senatrather to make him fole Conful, that contenting him felf with that more just & lawful gouernment the should not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counsel, did not only make him Conful, but further did protoge his government of the provinces he had. For Pompo go

ped with roddes, who came to ROME about those matters: & faid, he gaue him those markes,

Cefar a fuccessor: and moreover, he sent vnto Cafar for his two legions of men of warre which

he had lent him, for the conquest of GAVLE. Casar sent him them againe, and gaucemery pri-

Dhe had two provinces, all Spayne, & Africk, the which he governed by his Lieuetenants: & and spick further, he received yearely of the common treasure to pay his fouldiers a thowsand talents. Hereuppon Cafar tooke occasion also to fend his men to make sute in his name for the Con- Cafar such fullhip, & also to have the government of his provinces proroged. Pompey at the first held his the second peace. But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Casar) withstood them, and to shame sul, and to and dishonor him, had much needeles speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke have his goaway the fredom from the COLONYES which Cafar had lately brought vnto the citie of No-YVM COMV M in GAV LE towards ITALY, where Cafar not long before had lodged them. And moreouer, when Marcellus was Conful he made one of the Senators in that citie to be whip-

E that he should know he was no Romane Citizen, and bad him goe his way, and tel Cefar of it. After Marcellus Confulship, Cafar setting open his cofers of the treasure he had gotte among the GAVLES, did franckely give it out amongest the Magistrates at Rome, without restrainte or spare. First, he set Curio, the Tribune cleare out of debt : and gaue also vnto Paule the Consul fines at

a thowfand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the mar- Rome. ket place, called Paules Basilicke, in the place of Fuluius Basilicke. Then Pompey being affraid of this practife, began openly to procure, both by him felfe and his friends, that they thould fend

uate fouldier, two hundred and fiftie filuer drachmas. Now, they that brought thefe two legi-F ons backe from Cafar, gaue out ill and feditious wordes against him amonge the people, and pomper atm. did also abuse Pompey with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was sed by flantmaruelously defired and wished for in Casars campe: and that though in Rome, for the ma-

Antonius &

bunes of the

lice and fecret spite which the gonernours there did beare him, he could hardly obteyneshing he desired : yet in Gav LE he might assure him selfe, that all the armie was at his commanned ment. They added further alfo, that if the fouldiers there did once returne ouer the mounts taines againe into I TALY, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Gafar: bicause he wearied them with too much labor and continuall fight, and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding securitie in Pompey, & a vaine conceit of him selfemade him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparatio for warre as though he had no occasion to be affraid : but onely studied to thwart Cafar in speech, & to crosse the sutes he made. Howbeit Cafar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Cafars Captaines which was fent to Rome to profecute his fure, being at the Senate dore, and hearing that they denied to proroge Celars time of gouernment which he fued for: clapping his hand vpon his a fword, he faid, fith you wil not graut it him, this shal give it him. Notwithstanding, the requests that Cafar propownded, caried great femblance of reason with them. For he faid, that he was contented to lav downe armes, to that Pompey did the like: & that both of them as privat perfons should come & make sute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, & graunting them vnto Pompey, they did wrongefully, accuse him in going about to make him selfe a tyranne, & in the meane time to graunt the de ther meanes to be a tyranne. Curio making these offers & persuasions opely before the people, in the name of Cafar: he was heard with great reloycing & clapping of hands, and there were fome that cast flowers and no legayes woon him when he went his way, as they commonly vie to doe vnto any man, when he hath obteined victorye, and wonne any games. Then Antonius O one of the Tribunes, brought a letter fent from Cafar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Confuls. But Scipio in the Senate, Pompeys father in law, made this motion: that if Celar. did not dismisse his armie by a certaine day appoynted him, the Romanes should proclayme him an enemie vnto Rome. Then the Confuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismisse his armie: But few agreed to that demaund, After that againe they asked, if they liked that Cafar should dismisse his armie: thereto they all in manner aunswered, yea, yea. But when Antonius requested agayne that bothe of them should lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithstanding, bicause Scipio did insolently behaue him selfe, and Marcellus also, who cryed that they must vie force of armes, & not mens opinions against a theefe: the Senate rose straight upon it without D further determination, & men chaunged apparel through the citie bicause of this diffention, as they vie to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cafar, which femed much more reasonable in the which he requested that they would graunt him GAVIE, that lyeth betwene the Mountaines of the Alpes & ITALY, & ILLYRIA, with two legions only, & then that he would request nothing els, vntil he made sute for the second Consulfhip. Cite-70 the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernment of CILICIA, trauelled to reconcile them together, & pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him, he would yeld to any thing he would have him, so he did let him alone with his armie. So Cicero perswaded Casars friends to be contented, to take those two prouinces, and fix thowsand men onely, that they might be friends & at peace together. Pompey very willingly yelded vnto it, & graunted them. But Lentu- E lus the Conful would not agree to it, but shamefully draue Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they them felues gaue Cafar a happy occasion & culler, as could be, stirring vp his fouldiers the more against them, whe he spewed them these two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were drium to flie, difguifed like flaues, in a cariers cart. For, they were driuen for feare to steale out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Nowe at that time, Casar had not in all about him, aboue fine thowfand footemen, and three thowfand horsemen; for the rest of people, fly from his armie, he left on thother fide of the Mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieuetenants.So, confidering that for the eccution of his enterprife, he should not neede so many men of warre at the first, but rather sodainly stealing vpon them, to make them affraid with his valiantnes, taking benefit of the oportunitie of tyme, bicause he should more easily make his e- F nemies affraid of him, comming so sodainly when they looked not for him, then he should otherwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole armie, in giving them leysure to pro-

A midefurther for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieuetenants to go before without any other armor then their fwords, to take the citie of ARIMINVIN, (a great citie of GAVIR. being the first citie men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as little bloodshed and tumult. as they could possible. Then committing that force and armie he had with him, vnto Hortensian one of his friends: he remey ned a whole day together, openly in the fight of energy man, to see the sworde players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongest them, and made mery with them a while, whome he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forwarde night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to flurre, for he would ftraight come to them againe: howebeit he had fecretly before comn maunded a fewe of his trustiest friendes to followe him, not altogether, but some one way, and some an other way. He him selfe in the meane tyme tooke a coche he had hyered, and made as though he woulde have gonne fome other waye at the first, but sodainely he turned backe againe towardes the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle ryuer of Rubicon, which deuideth GAV LE on this fide the Alpes from ITALY: he stayed yppon a sodaine. For the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his consci- casars doubtence, to thinke what an enterprise he tooke in hand: & his thoughts also fell out more doubt- full shoughts full, when he entred into confideration of the desperatnes of his attempt. So he fell into many Rubicon thoughts with him felfe, and spake neuer a word, wauing sometime one way, sometime an other way, and often times chaunged his determination, contrary to him felfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongest whom was Asinius Pollio, telling them what mischieues the beginning of this passage ouer that river would breede in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that lived after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, & speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt daungerous and desperat enterprises, A desperat man feareth no daunger, come on : he passed ouer the river, and when The Greeke he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer staied, so that before day light he was phrase of within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is faid, that the night before he passed ouer this perspect river, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMI- the dye. NVM being taken, and the rumor thereof dispersed through all ITALY, euen as if it had bene o- the citie of A. pen warre both by sea & land, & as if all the lawes of Rome, together with thextreme bounds riminum and confines of the fame had bene broken vp: a man would have fayd, that not onely the men Cafari dam and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities them felues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it felfe Rome in the allows immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours therea- require cebouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer for comming. nor Magistrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perswafton of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Roma had in maner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were daungerous sturres and tumults every where: bicause they that were glad of this E trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running up and downe the citie, when they met with others in divers places, that seemed either to be affraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. Pompey him selfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproued him, and sayd that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Casar so great and stronge against him & the common wealth. And other againe did blame him, bicause he had refused the honest offers and reasonable condicions of peace, which Cafar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On thother fide, Phaonius spake vnto him, and bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: For Pompey beeing one day in a brauerie in the Senate, fayd openly: let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he lysted, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with fouldiers. This notwithstanding, Pompey at that tyme had

left following of Pompeys Lieuetenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in:

before his enemies, and pursued them not. Thus spending time with this talke, the fouldiers

fill marching on, by small iorneys came at length vnto the citie of BRVNDVSTVM. But when

they were come, & found that Cafar had already passed ouer the sea, then they straight chaun-

Captaines, bicause they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting vpon

the rockes and clyffes of the sea, they looked ouer the mayne sea, towards the Realme of Epi-

E ged their complaints and mindes. For they blamed them selues, and tooke on also with their

A When he had spokenthus vnto Metellus, he went to the temple dore where the treasure Celeraketh laye: and finding no keyes there, he caused Smythes to be fent for, and made them breake the temple of open the lockes. Metellus thereuppon beganne agayne to withftande him, and certen men Saisene. that stoode by prayled him in his doing: but Cafar at length speaking biggely to him, threatned him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore,

vounge man, o he, thow knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to doe it. That word made Metellus quake for feare, that he gotte him away roundly: and ever after that, Cafar had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into Spayne, to make Cafactoring

warre with Petreius and Varro, Pompeys Lieuetenants: first to gette their armies and prouin- against Pomces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwardes he might follow Pompey the better, por Liente-B leauing neuer an enemie behinde him. In this iorney he was oftentymes him felfe in daunger, through the ambushes that were layde for him in divers straunge forces and places, and likely also to haue lost all his armie for lacke of vittells. All this notwithstanding, he neuer

untill he had gotten their campe & armies into his handes, albeit that the Lieuetenants them selves fled vnto Pompey. When Casar returned agayne to Rome, Piso his father in lawe gaue him counsell to sende Ambassadors vnto Pompey, to treate of peace. But Isaurieus, to slatter Cafar, was against it. Cafar beeing then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honor, whose fathers before had beene flavne in Syllaes tyme: and did somewhat cutte of the viuries that did oppressethem, and be-C sides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very sewe. For he was Dictator but Casta Dista-

eleuen dayes onely, and then did yeld it vppe of him felfe, and made him felfe Conful, with tor. Seruilius Ifauricus, and after that determined to followe the warres. All the rest of his armie feericus conhe left comming on the way behind him, and went him felfe before with fix hundred horses, fulls. and fine legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuary,

which after the ATHENIANS, is called Postdeon. Then having past over the sea Ionium, cefargouth and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he fent his into the king.

shippes backe againe vnto BRVNDV SIVM, to transport the rest of his souldiers that could not come with that speede he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of bo- complaints of dy, & lufty youth, was decayed) being wearied with fo many fundry battells as they had fought the olde foul D with their enemies: complayned of Cafar in this force. To what ende and purpose doth this direct against

man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vling vs like flaues and drudges? It is not our armor, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, shall we never be without our

harnes of our backes, and our shieldes on our armes? should not Cefar thinke, at the least when he feeth our blood and woundes, that we are all mortall men, and that we feelethe miferie and paynes that other men doe feele? And now even in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercie of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods them selues can not withstand: as if he sed

RVs, to fee if they could discerne the shippes returning backe, to transport them ouer. Cefar in the meane time being in the citie of APOLLONIA, having but a small armie to fight with Pomper, it greued him for that the rest of his armie was so long a comming, not knowing what way to take. In the ende he followed a daungerous determinacion, to imbarke vnknowen in a little pynnase of twelue ores onely, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDV \$1 VM : the which he Agree ad-

could not doe without great daunger, confidering that all that fea was full of Pompeys thippes mention of and armies. So he tooke shippe in the night apparelled like a slaue, and went aborde vpon this cafe. F litle pynnase, & said neuer a word, as if he had bene some poore man of meane condicion. The

pynnase laye in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very

calme & quiet, by reason of a litle wind that came from the shore, which every morning draue

greater number of fouldiers then Cafar: but they would neuer let him follow his ownedcur-

mination. For they brought him so many lyes, and put so many examples of feare before him. as if Cafar had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: fo that in the ende he yelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madnes, determining (feeing all thinges in fuch tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forfake the citie, and thereuppon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, vnles he loued tyrannie, more then his owne libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Confuls them felues, before they had done their common facrifices accustomed at their going out of the citie, fled every man of them. So did likewise the moste parte of the Senators, taking their owne thinges in haste. fuch as came first to hande, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were fome of them also that alwayes loued Casar, whose witts were then so troubled and besides a them selues, with the seare they had conceyued: that they also sled, and followed the streams of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessitie. But aboue all thinges, it was a lamentable

fight to see the citie it selfe, that in this seare and trouble was left at all adventure, as a shippe

toffed in storme of sea, for faken of her Pilots, and dispairing of her safetie. This their departure

being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the loue they bare vnto Pom-

per) to bee their naturall contry, and reckoned Rome no better then Cafars campe. Atthe

poylon. The Philition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But short-

ly after, Domitius hearing them reporte what clemencie and wonderfull curtefie Cafar vied

vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had dronke this drinke, and beganne to la-

Lebienius for- tyme also Labienus, who was one of Cafars greatest friendes, and had bene alwayes vied as his Lieuetenant in the warres of GAVLE, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise fooke Cafar, and fled to for fooke him then, and fled vnto Pompey. But Cafar fent his money and carriage after him, and Pompey. then went and encamped before the citie of Confinium, the which Domitius kept, with C thirty cohorts or ensignes. When Domitius fawe he was befeeged, he straight thought him felfe but vndone, and dispayring of his successe, he bad a Phissition, a slaue of his, giue him

ment and bewayle his desperate resolucion taken to dye. The Phisition did comfort him againe, and tolde him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him fleepe, but not to deftroy him. Then Domitius rejoyced, and went straight and yelded him felfe vnto Cafar: who gaue him his life, but he notwithstanding stale away immediatly, and sled vnto Pomper, When these newes were brought to Rome, they did maruelously rejoyce and comfort them that n still remayned there: and moreouer there were of them that had for faken Rome, which returned thither againe. In the meane time, Cafar did put all Domitius men in paye, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leavied men for Pom-

pey. Now Cafar having affembled a great and dreadfull power together, went straight where he thought to finde Pompey him felfe. But Pompey taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of BRUNDVSIVM, from whence he had fent the two Confuls before with that armiche had, vnto Dyrrachivm: and he him felfe also went thither afterwards, when he vnderstoode that Cafar was come, as you shall heare more amply hereafter in his life. Cafar lacked no good

bicause they feared Pompey for that they had forsaken him, or els for that they thought Casar ment not as he spake, but that they were wordes of course, to culler his purpose withall. And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturne, but tolde him that it was against the lawe: Tushe, sayd he, tyme of warre and lawe are two thinges. If this that I doe, o he, doe offende thee, then get thee hence for this tyme: for warre can not abyde this francke and bolde speeche. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet agayne, then thou shalt speake in the pulpit p what thou wilt: and yet I doe tell thee this of fauor, impaying so much my right, for thou art myne, both thou, and all them that have rifen against me, and whom I have in my hands.

will to follow him, but wanting shippes to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome: So

that in leffe then three skore dayes, he was Lord of all I TALY, without any blood shed. Who p

when he was come to Rome, and found it much quietter then he looked for, and many Sena-

tours there also: he curteously intreated them, and prayed them to fend vnto Pompey, to paci-

fie all matters betweene them, apon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either

backe the waves farre into the maine sea. But that night, by il fortune, there came a great wind A

from the fea that ouercame the land wind, infomuch as the force & strength of the river field.

Realme of E-

ting against the violence of the rage & waves of the sea, the encownter was maruailous dawn gerous, the water of the river being driven backe, and rebounding vpward, with great novie and daunger in turning of the water. Thereuppon the Maister of the pynnase seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bad the Maryners to cast about againe, and to returne against the streame. Cafar hearing that, straight discouered him selfe vnto the Maister of the pynnase, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but Casar then taking him by the hand favd vnto him good fellow be of good cheere and forwardes hardily feare not for thou hast Casar and his fortune with thee. Then the Maryners forgetting the daunger of the storme they were in laid on lode with ores, and labored for life what they could against the winde to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they labored in vaine, and that the pynnase tooke in aboundance of water, and was ready to sincke: Casar then to his great griefe was driven to returne backe again. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his fouldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very fory, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in daunger, to goe fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time Antonius artined, and brought with him the rest of his armie from BRYNDVSIVM, Then Casar finding him felfe ftrong enough, went & offered Pompey battel, who was paffingly well lodged for vittelling of his campe both by sea & land. Casar on thother side, who had no great plenty of vittels at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered rootes, & mingled the with milke, C. & eate them. Furthermore, they did make breade of it also, & sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, & came alongest by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and fayd: that as longe as the earth brought forth fuch frutes, they would neuer leave befeeging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commaunded them, that they should neither cary those words nor bread into their campe, fearing least his mens hartes would faile them, and that they would be affraid, when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whome they had to fight, fithe they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beaftes. Cafars men did daily skirmishe hard to the trenches of Pompeys campe in the which Cafar had euer the better fauing once only at what tyme his men fled with fuch feare that all his campe that daye was in greate hazarde to have beene caste awaye. For Pompey came on with his D battell apon them, and they were not able to abyde it, but were fought with, and dryuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with deade bodyes, which were flavne within the very gate and bullwarkes of their campe, they were fo valiantly purfued. Cafar stoods before them that fledde, to make them to turne heade agayne: but he coulde not preuayle, For when he woulde have taken the enfignes to have flayed them, the enfigne bearers threw them downe on the grounde: fo that the enemyes tooke two and thirtye of them, and Cafars selfe also scaped hardely with lyse. For stryking a greate bigge souldier that fledde by him, commaunding him to staye, and turne his face to his enemie: the fouldier beeing affrayde, lift uppe his fworde to stryke at Cafar. But one of Cafars Pages preuenting him, gaue him suche a blowe with his sworde, that he strake of his showlder. Cesar that daye E was brought vnto fo greate extremitie, that (if Pompey had not eyther for feare, or fpytefull fortune, left of to followe his victorie, and retyred into his campe, beeing contented to have dryuen his enemyes into their campe) returning to his campe with his friendes he cesar worder savde vnto them: the victorie this daye had beene our enemies, if they had had a Captayne, that coulde have tolde howe to have overcome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bedde, and that nyght troubled him more, then any nyght that ever he had. For still his mynde ranne with great forowe of the fowle faulte he had committed in leading of his armie, of felfe will to remaine there so longe by the sea side, his enemies beafter bis loffe. ing the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly contrie, riche and plentifull of all thinges, and goodly cities of MACEDON and THESSALY, and had not the F witte to bringe the warre from thence, but to lose his tyme in a place, where he was rather befeeged of his enemyes for lacke of vittells, then that he did befeege them by

A force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to fee him felfe fo strayghted with vittells, and to thinke of his yll lucke, he rayled his campe, intending to goe fette vppon Scipio, making accompt, that either he should drawe Pompey to battell against his will, when he had not the fea at his backe to furnish him with plentye of vittells: or els that he should easily ouercome scipio finding him alone, vnles he were ayded. This remoue of Cafars campe, did much encourage Pompeys armie and his captaines, who would needes in any case have followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled . But for Pompey him felfe, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding him selfe wel pro- for the ware. nided of all thinges necessary to tary tyme, he thought it better to drawethis warre out in length by tract of time, the rather to confume this litle strength that remayned in Cafars arn mie: of the which, the best men were marueilous well trayned and good souldiers, and for valiantnes at one daies battell, were incomparable. But on thother fide againe, to remoue here and there so ofte, and to fortifie their campe where they came, and to beseege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armor the most part of them could not doe it, by reason of their age, beeing then vnable to away with that paynes, so that the weakenes of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hartes. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease amonge them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worst. For besides, he had no store of money neither could tell how to come by vittells: so that it semed in all likelihood, that in very short tyme he would come to nothing. For these respectes, Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato onely of his minde in that, who stucke in it the rather, bicause he would anoyde sheding of his contry mens bloode. For when Cato had viewed the deade bodies flayne in the campe of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was betweene them, the which were no leffe then a thowfand perfons: he concred his face, and went away weeping . All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, bycause Pompey calhe fo long refrayned from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamem- led Agamemnon, and king of kinges, faying, that he delayed this warre in this fort, bicaufe he would not of kinges leaue his authoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwaies to fee fo many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honor him, and waite vpon him. And Faonius also, a harebrayed fellowe, frantykly counterfeating the round and playne speeche of Cato, made as though he was maruailous angry, and fayd: is it not great pitie, that we shall D not eate this yeare of Tusculum figges, and all for Pompeys ambicious minde to raigne alone? and Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAYNE, (where bis cause he had but ill successe, he was accused of treason, that for money he had solde his armie vnto Cafar:) he went bufily asking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they sayde he had solde the province of SPAYNE? So that Pompey with these kinds of specches, against his will, was driven to followe Casar, to fight with him. Then was Casar at the first, maruailously perplexed, and troubled by the waye: bicause he founde none that would giue him any vittells, beeing despised of euery man, for the late losse and ouerthrowe he had receyued. But after that he had taken the citie of Gomphes in Thessaly, he did not one. The citie of Gomphes in ly meete with plentie of vittells to relieue his armie with: but he straungely also did ridde Thessay. E them of their disease. For the souldiers meeting with plentie of wyne, drinking harde, and making mery: draue awaye the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed them selues unto dauncing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the waye: infomuch that drinking droncke they ouercame their disease, and made their bodies newe agayne. When they both came into the contry of PHARSALIA, and both campes laye before thother: Pompey returned agayne to his former determination, and the rather, bicause he had ill signes and tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe that when he entred into the Pompers Theater, all the ROMANES received him with great clapping of handes. Whereuppon, dreame in they that were about him grewe to suche boldnes and securitie, assuring them selues of via Thomselia. ctorie: that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, in a brauery contended betweene them selues, for of the Pom-

Rome to hyre the nearest houses vnto the market place, as beeing the fittest places for Pra-

F the chiefe Bishoppricke which Cafar had. Furthermore, there were divers that fent vnto Peiano

tors, and Confuls: making their accompt already, that those offices could not scape them,

A wonder

feene in the

element,be-

fore the bate

sell in Phar-

of bastell,in

the fieldes of

Pharfalia.

incontinently after the warres. But belides those, the younge gentlemen, and ROMANE A knightes were maruelous defirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with eliftering gilt armors, their horses fat and very finely kept, and them selues goodly young men to the number of feuen thowfand, where the gentlemen of Cafars fide, were but one thowfand onely. The number of his footemen also were much after the same reckoning. Forher had fine and forty thowsand against two and twenty thowsand . Wherefore Casar called his fouldiers together, & told the how Cornificius was at hande, who brought two whole legions. and that he had fifteene enfignes led by Calenus, the which he made to ftay about M B G A R A & ATHENS. Then he asked them if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would rather them felues alone venter battell. The fouldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to deferre battell but rather to deuise some fetche to make the enemy fight assoone as he could, a Then as he facrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his armie: the first beast was no fooner facrificed, but his Soothfayer affured him that he should fight within three dayes, Cafar asked him againe, if he faw in the facrifices, any lucky figne, or token of good lucke. The Soothfaver auniwered, for that, thou shalt auniwer thy selfe, better then I can doe: for the gods doe promife vs a maruelous great chaunge, and alteracion of thinges that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou beeft well now doeft thou thinke to have worse fortune hereafter and if thou be ill, affure thy felf thou shalt have better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to visite the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer Cafars campe, and fell downe in Pompeys, In the morning also when they relecued the watche, they heard a false alarom in the enemies campe, without any apparant cause. which they commonly call, a fodaine feare, that makes men befides them felues. This notwithstading, Casar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the citie of Scoty sa; and his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowen when his skowtes came in with great speede, to bringe him newes that his enemies were preparing them selues to fight. Then he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he fet his men in battell ray, & denided them into three squadrons: giuing the middle battell vnto Domitius Caluinus, and the left wingevnto Antonius, and placed him felfe in the right winge, choosing his place to fight in the tenthlegion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen: he was halfe affraid when he saw the great number of them, and so braue besides. Wherefore he closely madesix n enfignes to come from the rerewarde of his battell, whom he had layd as an ambushe behind his right winge, having first appointed his fouldiers what they should do, when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge. On thother fide, Pompey placed him felf in the right winge of his battell, gaue the left winge vnto Domitius, and the middle battell vnto Scipio his order of bassel father in law. Now all the Romane knightes (as we have told you before) were placed in the left winge, of purpose to enuyrone Casars right wing behinde, and to give their hottest charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their accompt, that there was no foundron of footemen how thicke focuer they were, that could receive the charge of fo great a trowpe of horsemen, and that at the first onset, they should ouerthrow them all, and marche vpon their bellies. When the trompets on either fide did found the alarom to the battell, Pom- E per commaunded his footemen that they should stande still without sturring, to receive the An ill counfet charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Calar afterwardes fayde, that Pompey had committed a fowle faulte, not to confider that the charge which is given ronning with furie, befides that it giveth the more strength also vnto their blowes, doth fette mens hartes also a fire: for the common hurling of all the souldiers that, ronne together, is vnto them as a boxe of the eare that settes men a fire. Then Casar making his battell marche forwarde to give the onfette, fawe one of his Captaines avaliant man, and very skillfull in warre, in whome he had also greate confidence) speaking to his fouldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight lyke men that daye. So he called him alowde by his name, and fayde vnto him: well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall A we have to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then Crastinius casting vp his hand, aunswered him alowd: this day, O Cafar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise

IVLIVS CESAR.

A thee ere night thou shalt prayse me alyue or dead. When he had told him so, he was him selfe the bestell in the foremost man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, beeing Phaglatia. about fix foore men, and making a lane through the foremost ranckes, with great slaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this fort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth with a sworde, that the poynt of it came out against a his necke. Nowe the footemen of both battells being come to the fworde, the horsemen of the left winge of Pompey, did marche as fiercely also, ipreading out their trowpes, to compaffe in the right winge of Cefars battell. But before they beganne to give charge, the fix enfignes of footemen which Cafar had layed in ambushe behinde him, they beganne to runne full apon them, not throwing away their dartes farre of as they were wont to doe, neyther striking B their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to seeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to calde trade hurt them in the face, as Cafar had taught them. For he hoped that thefe lufty younge gentle: general men that had not bene often in the warres, nor were yied to fee them felues hurt & the which. beeing in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of those hurtes, aswell for the feare of the present daunger to be slayne, as also for that their faces should not for ever bedeformed. As in deede it came to passe, for they could never abyde that they shoulde come so neare their faces, with the poyntes of their dartes, but honge downe their heades for feare to be hitte with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, bicause they shoulde not be hurt. Then, breaking of them selves, they beganneat length cos wardly to flye, and were occasion also of the losse of all the rest of Pompeys armie. For they C that had broken them, ranne immediatly to fette vpon the fquadron of the footemen behind, cala merand flue them . Then Pompey feeing his horsemen from the other winge of his barrell fo feat Pompey. sered and dispersed, flying away: forgate that he was any more Pompey the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whose wittes the goddes had taken from him, being affrayde and amazed with the flaughter fent from aboue, and so retyred into his tent speaking neuer a worde, and fate there to fee the ende of this battell. Vntill at length all his army beeing ouerthrowen, and put to flight; the enemies came, and gotte vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hande to hande with them that stoode to defende the same. Then as a man come to him selfe agayne, he spake but this onely worde: What, emen into our campe? So in haste, casting of his coate armor and apparell of a generall, he pomera D shifted him, and put on such, as became his miserable fortune, and so stale out of his campe, flight. Furthermore, whathe did after this ouerthrowe, and howe he had put him felfe into the handes of the AGYPTIANS, by whome he was miserably flayne: we have sette it for the at large in his life. Then Cafar entring into Pompeys campe, and feeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were flayne, and others also that were a killing, fayde, fetching a great figher it was their owne doing, and against my will. For Cains Cafar, after he had wonne so many famous conquests, and ouercomeso many great battells, had been exterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his armie. Asimius Pollio writeth, that he spake these wordes then in Latyn, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and layeth furthermore, that the moste parte of them which were put to the sworde in the campe, were slaves and bond-E men, and that there were not flayne in all at this battell, aboue fix thow fand fouldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, Cafar did put many of them amongest his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, amonge whome Brutus was one, that afterwardes flue Brutus the Cefar him felfe: and it is reported, that Cefar was very fory for him, when he could not imme - flue Cefar was diatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knewe he was alyue, and that he reioyced againe, when he knewe he was alyue, and that he came to yeelde him felie vinto him . Cafar had many fignes and tokens of victorie of Phatfatta. before this battell : but the notablest of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of Trans- Signes on 10-LES. For in the temple of victorie, within the same citie, there was an image of Cafer, and the for victory. earth all about it very hard of it felfe, and was patied belides with hard flone; and yet some say that there sprange vppe a palme hard by the base of the same image. In the citie of PAD yA, Astronge F Caius Cornelius an excellent Soothiayer, (a contry man and friende of Titus Linius the Historiographer) was by chaunce at that time let to beholde the flying of birdes . He (as Linie re- lem Progne-

porteth) knewe the very tyme when the battell beganne, and tolde them that were prefent, ficator.

VVV iii

etten now they gate the onfet on both fides, and both armies do meete at this instant. Then a fitting downe against confider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the fignes: fodainely rose up on his feete, and cryed out as a man possessed with some spirit, oh, Calmithe victory is thine. Every man wondring to fee him, he tooke the crowne he had on his heade and made an other than he would never put it on againe, till the event of his prediction has proved his arte true. Linie testifieth, that it so came to passe. Cafar afterwards giving freedom ento the THESSALIANS, in respect of the victory which he wanne in their contry, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gaue freedom also vnto the Guidians for Theo. pempus fake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release A six also, the thirde part of the tribute which the inhabitants payd vnto the ROMANES. Then he came into ALEXAN-DRIA, after Pompey was flaine: and detefted Theodorn, that prefented him Pompeys heade, and n turned his head at toe fide bicaufe he would not fee it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his sealer and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteoutly vsed all Pompeys friendes and familiers. who wandring up and downe the contry were taken of the king of Æ G YPT, and wanne them all to be at his commaundement. Continuing these curtesies, he wrote vinto his friendes at

Czfarsware in Alexan-Pothinus the Europe com who bearing the greatest swaye of all the kinges fermants, after he had caused Pomper to be r fed Pompey to be flayne.

Rome, that the greatest pleasure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he dayly saued the lines of fome of his contry men that bare armes against him. And for the warre he made in ALEXAN. DRIA. Come fay he needed not have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleaner gra: Wherein he wanne litle honor, and befides did put his person in great daunger. Others doe lay the faulty pon the king of EGYPT's Ministers, but specially on Pothinus the Europike. flaine, and driven Cleopatra from the Court, secretly layd waite all the wayes he could, how he might likewife kill Cafar. Wherefore Cafar hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforthe spend all the night long in feathing and bancketing, that his person might be in the better fafetie. But befides all this, Pothinus the Euenuke spake many thinges openly not to be borne, onely to thame Cafar, and to ftirre vp the people to enuichim. For he made his fouldiers have the worst and oldest wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complayne of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eate at anothers mans coste. And he would serue them

Cleopetra came to Ca-Cleopatra trus sed up in a

fo brought to

uer for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vinto him : which was a thowfand feuen hundred and fiftie Miriades, whereof Cafar had before forgiuen feuen hundred & D. fiftie thowsand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to paye his fouldiours withall. Thereto Pothinus aunswered him, that at that tyme he should doe better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwardes that he should at more levsure recount his dette, with the kinges good will and fauor. Cafar replyed vnto him, and favo, that he would not aske counsell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his affayres, but would be payd: and thereupon fecretly fent for Cleopatra which was in the contry to come vnto him. She onely taking Apollodo-FM SICILIAN Of all her friendes, tooke a little bote, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the castell. Then having no other meane to come in to the court, without being knowen, the laid her felfe downe vpon a mattreffe or flockbed; which Apollodorus her frend tied & bound up together like a buddel with a great leather thong. E and so tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardell vnto Cafar, in at the castell gate. This was the first occasion, (as it is reported) that made Casar to lone her. but afterwards, when he fawe her fweete conversation and pleasaunt entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her again vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two loyntly should raigne together. Apon this newe reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a flaue of Cafars that was his barber, the fearefullest wretch that lived, still bufily prying and liftening abroad in every corner, being miftruftfull by nature: found that Pothinus and Achellas did lie in waite to kill his Maister Cafar. This beeing proued vnto Cafar, he did fette fuch fure watch about the hall, where the feafte was made, that in fine, he flue the Euenuke Pothinus him selfe. Achillas on thother side, faued him selfe, and fled vnto the kinges F campe, where he rayled a maruelous daugerous & difficult warre for Cafar: bicause he having then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great & strong city. The first

also at the table in treene and earthen dishes, saying, that Casar had away all their gold and sil-

A danneer he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had a for that his enemies had flopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the watervine one caffell. The good deidainget be had, was, that feeling his enemies came to take his (hippes from him the was driven to republic that daunger with fire, the which burne the arfenall where the this ped lay, and that notable The met it. librarie of A LEXAND RIA withall. The third dawnger was in the baited by feat, the was fought bray of the by the tower of Phar : where meaning to helpe his men that fought by lead shedops from the neere, into a boate. Then the Ac you rank thaterowardes him with their others on eueric fide: but he leaping into the fea, with great hazard faued him felfe by fiviniming dris fayd, cafer false that then holding divers bookes in his hand, he did never levelem go, buckepethem alwayes ming with woon his head about water, & fwamme with the other hand, notwithflanding that they thor hone a marrielously at him, and was driven formittee to ducke into the water : howbeigthe boate was

drowned presently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with Cafer he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great saughter, and essuant blood. Bur for the king, no man could enertell what became of him after. Thereippon Cafar made Cafar made Chepatra his fifter, Queene of Acres, who being great with childe by him; was floorly Chepara brought to bedde of a fonne, whom the ALEXANDRIANS named Cafarion. From thence he Alegypt went into Syri 14, and for going into Asta, there it was told him that Domisius was operthros caldion, cawon in battell, by Pharmaces, the fonne of king Mithridates, and was fled out of the realme of gote of clos-Powre, with a few men with him and that this king Pharnaces greedily following his victor para. fie was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA, & CAPPAD OCIA, but further would O needes attempt to winne ARMENTA the leffe, procuring all those kinges, Princes, and Go-

vernors of the prominces thereabouts, to rebell against the Romanes. Thereupon Cafar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king Phioristes, by the citie of Zera, where he flue his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of Powrz. And bicaufe Cafer ville. he would advertise one of his frendes of the sodainnes of this victorie, he onely wrote three the of hing words into Anitau at Rome: Veni, Vidi, Vici: to wit, I came, I faw, I ouercame, Thefethree Cela writin wordes ending all with like found and letters in the Latin, have a certaint Thotogrape, more three modes pleafaunt to the care, then can be well exprelled in any other tongue. After this, he returned without againg into I raise, and came to Rome, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictas tor the seconde time, which office before was never graunted for one whellesteare; but your D him, Then he was chosen Consul for the yeare following. Afterwardes he was very ill spoken of for that his fouldiers in a mutine having flaine two Prestors, Cofcenius, and Galbs, he gave then no other punishment for it, but in Reade of calling them fouldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto cuery one of them, a thow and Drachmas a man, and great possessions in ITALIE, He was much milliked also for the desperate parts and madnes of Dolabella, for the couctoufnes of Antim, for the dronkennes of Antonius and Cornificius, which made Pumpeys house be pulled downe and builded up againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, wherewith the ROMANES were maruelously offended. Cafer knew all this well enough; and would have bene contented to have redreffed them; but to bring his matters to paile he pretended. he was driven to ferue his turne by fuch influmentes. After the battell of Pharfalia, Cate and

E scipio being fled into AFRICKE, king Iuba ioyned with them, & leavied a great puilant armis. Wherefore Cefar determined to make warre with them. & in the midden of winter he tooke his iorney into Store 1. 1. There, bicaufe he would take all hope from his Captaines and foul cafes tome diers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged voor the very fandes by the fea fide. Mile Afficks. and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the fea with three thowland footemen, and Sciple. and a few horfemen. Then having out them a land, vhwares to them, he hoyfed fayle againe, to goe fetche the rest of his armie, being afrayed least they should meete with some davinger in passing ouer, and meeting them middle way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was rolde him that his enemies trufted in an anneient Oracle, which fayd, that it was

predestined vinto the family of the Scipioss to be conquerors in A PRICKE: either of purpose I to mocke Scipio the Generall of his enemies, or otherwife in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (genen by the Oracle) vnto him felfe, in all the skirmilhes & bartells he fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto a man of meane quality and accompt, called Scipio Sal-

A and others allowing the other for Catoes fake, Cafar being now returned out of A PRICKE, first

Alga, and dogges sooth, genen to the Cefars dom-

lution, who came of the race of Sopia, ATRICAN, and made him alwayes his Generall when A he fought. For he was effloories compelled to weary and harrie his enemies; for that neither his men in his campe had come enough, nor his beafts forrage, but the fouldiers were driven to take fea weedes, called Alga: and washing away the brackishnes thereof with fresh water putting to it a little crbe called doggestooth) to call it for their horse to cate. For the Nymi DIANS (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together would be on a fodgine in every place, and ipred all the fieldes over thereabout, so that no man durft peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were flaging to beholde an African doing notable thinges in dauncing, and playing with the flush they being fet downe quietly to take their pleasure of the viewe thereof, having in the means time geuen their flaues their horfes to hold, the enemies ftealing fodainly vpon them, come passed them in round about, and slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the otheral To that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not Cafar him felfe in person, and Asinius Pollio with him gone out of the campe to the rescue, and stayed them that fled : the warre that day had bene ended. There was also an other skirmish where his ene mies had the upper hande, in the which it is reported, that Cafar taking the enlighe bearer by the coller that carried the Eagle in his hande, stayed him by force, and turning his face, tolde him: fee, there be thy enemies. These advantages did lift vp Scipioes hartalost, and gave him corage to hazard battell: and leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Juba on the other hande, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie him felfe by the citie of THAP SAC VS, about the lake to be a fafe refuge for them all in this battell. But whileft he was f bufie intrenching of him felfe, Cafer having marticlous speedily passed through a great contrie full of wod, by bypathes which men would never have miftrufted he stale youn some behinde, and fodamly affailed the other before, fo that he overthrewe them all, and made them flie. Then following this first good bappe he had, he went forthwith to set apon the camped Afranius, the which he tooke at the first onset, and the campe of the NVMIDIANS also, king Tubs being fled. Thus in a little peece of the day only be tooke three campes & flue fifty thom. fand of his enemies, and loft but fifty of his fouldiers. In this forte is fet downe theffect of this battell by some wryters. Yet others doe wryte also, that Casar selfe was not there in person at thexecution of this battell. For as he did fet his men in battell ray, the falling fickeneffe tooke him, whereunto he was geuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome D withall, he was carried into a castell not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his rest till thextremity of his disease had left him. Now, for the Prætors & Confulls that scaped from this battell, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill them selves, and others also Cefar did put to death; but he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cate aliue in his hands, he went with all possible speede vnto the citie of V TICA, whereof Cato was Gouernor, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certi-Cefer was for fied by the way that Cato had flaine him felfe with his owne handes, he then made open flow that he was very fory for it, but why or wherfore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Cafe fayd at that prefent time: O Cato, I entry thy death, bicause thou diddest entry my glory, to saus thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote afterwardes against Cato being dead, E did shew no very great affection nor pitiefull hart towardes him. For how could be have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his handes; that being dead did speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the elemencie he shewed vnto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne armes against him. Some reporte, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any private macitero prote lice he had to his death, as for a civil ambition, apon this occasion, Cicero had written a books in praise of Cato, which he intituled, Cato. This booke in likely hoode was very well liked of by prayed at the print dead, reason of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Celer therewith was maruelously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was even as much as to accuse him self: & therfore he wrote a letter against him, & hea- F ped vp a number of accusations against Cato, and intituled the booke Anticaton. Both these

bookes have favorers vnto this day, some desending the one for the love they bare to Cafar,

of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praifed and commended this his last victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered fo many contries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he coulde furnishe the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thowsande buffhells of wheate, & twenty hundred thowfand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three miumphes, the one for AGYPT, the other for the kingdom of PONTE, and the third for A-FRICKE: not bicause he had ouercome Scipia there, but king Iuba. Whose some being likewife called Iuba, being then a young boy, was led captine in the showe of this triumphe. But this his imprisonment fel out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous NVMIDIAN, by the study he fell vnto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the Inba, the B wifest historiographers of the GRECIANS. After these three triumphes ended, he very libe, some of king rally rewarded his fouldiers: and to curry fauor with the people, he made great feafts & common sportes. For he feasted all the ROMANES at one time, at two and twenty thowsand tables, graphe and gaue them the pleasure to see divers sword players to fight at the sharpe, and battells also casars feaby fea, for the remembraunce of his daughter Iulia, which was dead long afore. Then after Romanes all these sportes, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered : and where there The minster were at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thowsande citizens, at this muster taken of the only there were but a hundred and fifty thowfand. Such mifery and destruction had this civill warre brought vnto the common wealth of Rome, and had confumed fuch a number of Ro-MANES not speaking at all of the mischieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of C. ITALIE, and to the other provinces pertaining to ROME. After all these thinges were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spayne to make warre with the sonnes cafer consult of Pompey: who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a maruelous great the fourth army together, and shewed to have had manhoode and corage worthie to commaunde such an armie, infomuch as they put Cafar him felfe in great daunger of his life. The greatest bat- Bastell fought tell that was fought between them in all this warre, was by the citie of MVND A. For then Cat between Catfar and the far feeing his men forely diffressed, and having their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them : what, are ye not ashamed poor, by the to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your owne handes to these young city of Munboyes? And fo, with all the force he could make, having with much a doe put his enemies to D flight: he flue about thirty thowfand of them in the fielde, and loft of his owne men a thow - cafar vittofand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his frends, that he had my of the often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his Proper. ownelife. He wanne this battell on the very feast day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men say, that Pompey the great went out of Rome, about four eyeares before, to beginne this civill warre. For his fonnes, the younger fcaped from the battell: but within few dayes after, Diddius brought the heade of the elder. This was the last warre that Cafar made. But the triumphe he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romanes, and more, then sample of any thing that euer he had done before: bicause he had not ouercome Captaines that were Per straungers, nor barbarous kinges, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in Rome, E whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And bicause he had plucked up his race by the rootes men did not thinke it meete for him to triumphe fo, for the calamities of his contrie, reioycing:at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, bicause he had neuer before fent letters nor messengers vnto the common wealth at: Rome, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the civill warres: but did alwayes for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the ROMANES inclining to Cafars prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breth a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these civill warres: they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this ab- casa Dista-

F folute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraied to be deposed. Cisero propouri- sor perpensal.

ded before the Senate, that they should geue him such honors, as were meete for a man how-

beit others afterwardes added to, honors beyonde all reason. For, men striuing who shoulde

by for the death of Cate.

Cafar wrote

correfie. Caffins and Brutus Pra-

best gard and

most honor him, they made him hatefull and troublesome to them selves that most favor him, by reason of the vnmeasurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereupper it is reported, that even they that most hated him, were no lesse favorers and furtherers of him. honors, then they that most flattered him: bicause they might have greater occasions to risk and that it might appeare they had just cause and colour to attempt that they did against him And now for him felfe, after he had ended his civill warres, he did so honorably behave him felfe, that there was no fault to be founde in him: and therefore me thinkes, amongest other The temple of honors they gave him, he rightly deserved this, that they should builde him a temple of the clemency, de mency, to thanke him for his curtefie he had vied vnto them in his victorie. For he pardond Cefar, for his many of them that had borne armes against him, and furthermore, did preferre some of them to honor and office in the common wealth: as amongest others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And where Pompeys images had bene throwen downe, he caused them to be fet vp againe: whereupon Cicero fayd then that Cafar fetting vp Pompeys images & gaine, he made his owne to stand the furer. And when some of his frends did counsell himm haue a gard for the fafety of his person, and some also did offer them selues to serue him; he cefar sying would neuer consent to it, but sayd, it was better to dye once, then alwayes to be affrayed of good will of death. But to win him felfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorablest gard and Subjectes, the best safety he could have the made common feasts againe, & generall distributions of come; Furthermore, to gratifie the fouldiers also, he replenished many cities againe with inhabitantes, which before had bene deftroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire VINTO: of the which the nobleft & chiefest cities were these two, CARTHAGE, & CORINTHE C and it chaunced fo, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and destroyed together. euen so were they both set a soote againe, and replenished with people, at one selfetime. And as for great personages, he wanne them also, promising some of them, to make them Prætors and Confulls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferrements, but to all menges nerally good hope, feeking all the wayes he coulde to make euerie man contented with his raigne. Infomuch as one of the Confulls called Maximus, chauncing to dye a day before his Caninius Re- Confulfhippe ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Confull onely for the day that remained, So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, & to congratulate with him of his calling and preferrement, being newly chosen officer: Cicero pleasauntly sayd, come, let vs make halt, and be gone thither, before his Confulshippe come out. Furthermore, Ca. D. far being borne to attempt all great enterprises, & having an ambitious desire besides to couet great honors: the prosperous good successe he had of his former conquestes bred no defire in him quietly to enjoy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of thinges to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and defire of new glory, as if that which he had present, were stale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with him felfe as with an other man, and a certaine contencionto ouercome the thinges he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, & made preparacion alfo, to make warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had ouercome them, to paffe through HYRCANIA (compaffing in the sea Caspium, and mount Caucasus) into the realme of Pon-TVS, and so to inuade Scythia: and outrrunning all the contries and people adjoyning E unto high GERMANY, and GERMANY it felfe, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALIE, and so to enlarge the Romane Empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great fea Oceanum. But whileft he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of Peloponnes.vs, in the place where the city of Corinthe standeth. Then he was mit. ded to bring the rivers of Anienes and Tiber, straight from Rome, vnto the citie of CLACERS, with a deepe channell and high banckes cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the marchants that came to Rome to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and seawe all the water of the marifles between the cities of Nomentym and Setium, to make it firme land, for the benefit of many thowfandes of people : and on the fea coast next vnto Rome, to cast great F high bankes, and to clense all the hauen about Osria, of rockes and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impedimentes that made the harborough daungerous

A his thippes, and to make new hauens and artenalls meete to harbor fuch thippes. 2s did conmually trafficke thither. All these thinges were purposed to be done, but tookeno effecte. But, the ordinaunce of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion cafe refor oftime, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a medite me great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMANES vling then the auncient computation of the yeare, had not only such incertainty and alteracion of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearely feasts came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the sunne (which is called Annus Solaris) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the Romanes them selues, only the priests underfood it. And therefore when they lifted, they fodainly (no man being able to controll them) R did thrust in a moneth, about their ordinary number, which they called in old time. * Merce- "Mercedodonius. Some fay, that Numa Pompilius was the first, that deuised this way, to put a moneth interculorie hetwene: but it was a weake remedy, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But Cafar committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set foorth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMANES doe vie vntill this present day, and doe nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnes, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As Cicero the Orator, when one fayd, to morow the starre Lyra will rife: wea, layd he, at the commaundement of Cafar, as if men were compelled to to fay and thinke, VVhy Cafa C by Cafars edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honor & dignity, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, how the ROMANES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold belides, that Cafar returning to ROME from the citie of ALBA, when they came to falute him. they called him king. But the people being offended, and Calar also angry, he faid he was not called king, but Cafar. Then every man keeping filence, he went his way heavy and forowfull. When they had decreed divers honors for him in the Senate, the Consults and Prætors acn companied with the whole affembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was fet by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his ablence. But he fitting still in his maiesty, disdaining to rife vp vito them when they came in, as if they had bene private men, aunswered them : that his honors had more neede to be cut of then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euery man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very forrowfully. Thereupon also Cefar rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doblet coller, making his necko bare, he cried out alowde to his frendes, that his throte was readie to offer to any man than would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwardes to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, faying, that their wittes are not perfit which have his disease of the falling euil, when standing of their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their body, and a fodaine dimnes and guidines. But that was nor true. For he would haue risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his frendes i but rather a flatterer) would not let him, faying : what, doe you not remember that you are Cafar,

and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their dueties? Besides these occasions and

offences, therefollowed also his shame and reproache, abusing the Tribunes of the people

ANS in ARCADIA, But howefocuer it is, that day there are divers noblement formes, young

Fmen (and some of them Magistrats them selves that governe then) which run naked through

the city, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thonges, heare and all on,

to make them geue place. And many noble women, and gentle women also, goe of purpose

in this forte. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men The feast

lay was the feast of the apheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feast of the Lyc & t- Impresalisa

ing Confull, Lupercalians fented the Diademe to

792 to stand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be striken, as schollers hold theman to their schoolemaster, to be striken with the ferula: perswading them selues that being childe, they shall have good deliverie, and also being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child, Cafar fate to beholde that sport apon the pulpit for orations, in a chaver of gold, apparelled in triumphing manner. Antonius, who was Confull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to Cafar, and presented him a Diadeame wrea. thed about with laurell. Whereuppon there rose a certaine crie of reioycing, not very great done onely by a few, appointed for the purpole, But when Cafar refused the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then Antonism offering it him againe, there was a second shoute of ioy, but yet of a few. But whe Cafar refused it agains the second time, then all the whole people thowted. Cafar having made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereuppon rose out of his chayer, and commaunded the crowne to becaried vnto Impiter in the Capitoll. After that, there were fet vp images of Cafar in the city with Diadeames vpon their heades, like kinges. Those, the two Tribunes, Flavius and Marulla. went and pulled downe : and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Casar as king they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioyeing at it, and called them Brutes: bicause of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, & that brought the kingdom of one person, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. Casar was soof fended withall, that he depriued Marullus and Flauius of their Tribuneshippes, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti, and Cumani, to witte, beaftes, and fooles. Hereuppon the people went straight vnto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother, of the house of the Seruilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and sonne in law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honors and fauor Cafar thewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him felfe alone, he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Casar did not onely sauchis life, after the battell of Pharfalia when Pompey fled, and did at his request also faue many moe of his frendes besides: but furthermore, he put 2 maruelous considence in him. For he had the barrel of already preferred him to the Prætorshippe for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Conful, the fourth yeare after that, having through Cafars frendshippe, obtained it before

Cassim, who likewise made sute for the same: and Casar also, as it is reported, sayd in this con-

fake, he woulde not shewe him selfe vnthankefull nor dishonorable. Nowe they that defired

this effect. Thou fleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus in deede. Cassus finding Brutus ambition

tention, in deede Castius hath alleaged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus. Some one day accusing Brutus while he practifed this conspiracy, Cafar would not heate of it, but clapping his hande on his bodie, told them, Brutus will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that Brutus for his vertue, descrued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions

chaunge, and wished Brutus only their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durst not come to him them selves to tell him what they woulde have him to doe, but in the night did cast fundrie papers into the Prætors seate where he gaue audience, and the most of them to

cassim streets sturred up the more by these seditious billes, did pricke him forwarde, and egge him on the s

more, for a private quarrell he had conceived against Cafar: the circumstance whereof, we haue sette downe more at large in Brutus life. Casar also had Cassius in great gelouzie, and suspected him much : whereuppon he sayed on a time to his frendes, what will Cassius doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. An other time when Calars frendes complained ynto him of Antonius, and Dolabella, that they pretended fome mischiefe towardes him: he aunswered them againe, as for those fatte men and smooth comed heades, o he, I neuer reckon of them: but these pale visaged and carian leane people, I feare them most, meaning Brutus and Cassius. Certainly, destenie may easier be foreseene, then anoyded: considering the straunge & wonderfull fignes that were fayd to be seene before Cafars death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirites running vp and downe in the night, and also these solitarie birdes to be F seene at noone dayes fittinge in the great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But Strabe the Philosopher

IVLIVS CESAR

A wryteth, that divers men were seene going vp and downe in fire : and surthermore, that there was a flaue of the fouldiers, that did cast a maruelous burning slame out of his hande_infomuch as they that faw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cafar felfe also doing facrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beaftes which was facrificed had no hart: and that was a straunge thing in nature, how a Beast could line without a hart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothfayer that had geuen Cafar war- cafaridar of ning long time affore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth his death proof the moneth) for on that day he shoulde be in great daunger. That day beng come, Cafar a southly on going vnto the Senate house, and speaking merily to the Soothsayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come : fo be they, foftly aunswered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past, And B the very day before, Cafar fupping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: fo talke falling out amongest them, reasoning what death was best: he prenenting their opinions, cried out alowde, death vnlooked for. Then going to bedde the fame

night as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windowes and dores of his

chamber flying open, the noyfe awooke him, and made him affrayed when he faw fuch light

but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast a sleepe, weepe and figh, and put forth The dreame many fumbling lamentable speaches. For she dreamed that Cafar was slaine, and that she cafar wife. had him in her armes. Others also doe denie that she had any suche dreame, as amongest other, Titus Linius wryteth, that it was in this forte. The Senate hauing fet vpon the toppe of Cafars house, for an ornament and setting foorth of the same, a certaine pinnacle: Calpurnia C dreamed that the fawe it broken downe, and that the thought the lamented and wept for it. Infomuch that Cafar rifing in the morning, the prayed him if it were possible, not to goe out of the dores that day, but to adjorne the session of the Senate, untill an other day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he woulde fearche further of the Soothfayers by their facrifices, to knowe what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cafar likewise did feare and suspect somewhat, bicause his wife Calpurnia vntill that time, was neuer geuen to any feare or supersticion: and then, for that he saw her so troubled in minde with this dreame she had. But much more afterwardes, when the Soothsayers having sacrificed many beaftes one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to fende Antonius to adiorne the session of the Senate. But in the meane time came Decius Bru-D tus, furnamed Albinus, in whom Cafar put fuch confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracie with Cassus and Decim Bris-Brutus: he fearing that if Cafar did adiorne the session that day, the conspiracie woulde out, laughed the Soothfayers to scorne, and reproued Casar, saying: that he gaue the Senate occafion to mislike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, considering that by his commaundement they were affembled, and that they were readie willingly to graunt him all thinges, and to proclaime him king of all the provinces of the Empire of Rome out of I-TALIE, and that he should weare his Diadeame in all other places, both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should departe for that present time, and returne againe when Calpurnia shoulde haue better dreames: what would his ene-E mies and ill willers fay, and how could they like of his frendes wordes? And who could perfwade them otherwise, but that they would thinke his dominion a slauerie vnto them, and tirannicall in him felfe? And yet if it be so, sayd he, that you veterly mislike of this day, it is better that you goe your selfe in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismisse them till another time. Therewithall he tooke Cafar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Cafar was Decim Brunot gone farre from his house, but a bondman, a straunger, did what he could to speake with tue brought him: and when he sawe he was put backe by the great prease and multitude of people that Senate house. followed him, he went straight vnto his house, and put him selfe into Calpurniaes handes to be The sokins of kept, till Casar came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to imparte vnto him. And one Artemidorus also borne in the Te of GNIDOS, a Doctor of Rethoricke in the Greeke Cafe. F tongue, who by meanes of his profession was verie familliar with certaine of Brutus confederates, and therefore knew the most parte of all their practises against Cafar: came & brought him a little bill wrytten with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking howe

The place

Antonius. Cafars faith

casca, the first behinde him strake him in the necke with his sword, howbeit the wounde was not great nor

his gowne ouer his heade, and made no more refistaunce, and was driven either casually, or purposedly, by the counsell of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompeys image. stoode, which ranneall of a goare bloude, till he was slaine. Thus it seemed, that the image tooke just reuenge of Pompeys enemie, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yelding up his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported that he had three and twenty wounds apon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt them felues, striking one body with so many blowes. When Cafar was slaine, the Senate (though Brutus flood in the middest amongest them as though he would have fayd somwhat touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with maruelous seare and E tumult. Infomuch as fome did shut to their dores, others for sooke their shops & warehouses, and others ranne to the place to see what the matter was : and others also that had feene it,

Cafar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gauethem straightm. his men that were about him, pressed neerer to him, and sayed : Cafar, reade this memorial to your felfe, and that quickely, for they be matters of great waight and touche you nectely Cafar tooke it of him, but could never reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did falute him : but holding it still in his hande, keeping it to him felfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was former man else that gaue him that memoriall, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to geue it Casar, but he was alwayes repulsed by the people. For these things they may seeme to come by chaunce : but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were affembled, and where also there stoode vp an image of Pompey dedicas ted by him felfe amongest other ornamentes which he gaue vnto the Theater: all these were R manifest proofes that it was the ordinaunce of some god, that made this treason to be exe cuted, specially in that verie place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did fauour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterprise : he did softely call vponit, to aide him. But the inflame dauger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides him selse. Now Antonius, that was a faithfull frende to Cafar, and a valliant man besides of his handes, him, Decius Brutus Albinus enten tained out of the Senate house, having begon a long tale of set purpose. So Casar comming into the house, all the Senate stoode vp on their feete to doe him honor. Then parte of Bratus companie and confederates stoode rounde about Cesars chayer, and parte of themalie (came towardes him, as though they made fute with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother againe from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their sute, they followed Casar, till he was fet in his chayer. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, bicause the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnester with him : Metellus at length, taking his gowne with both his handes, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the figne genen the confederates to fette apon him. Then Calca mortall, bicause it seemed, the feare of such a deuelishe attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blowe. But Casar turning straight vnto him, caught hold of his fword, and held it hard : and they both cried out, Cafar in Latin: O D vile traitor Casea, what doest thou? And Casea in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe me. At the beginning of this sturre, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracie were fo amazed with the horrible fight they fawe: that they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not so much, as once to make any outcrie. They on thother side that had conspired his death, compassed him in on eueric side with their swordes drawen in their handes, that Cafer turned him no where, but he was striken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangeled amonge them, as a wilde beafte taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them, that every man should geve him a wound, bicause all their partes should be in this murther: and then Brutus him felfe gaue him one wounde about his privities. Men reporte also, that Cafar did still defende him selfe against the rest, running euerie waye with E his bodie: but when he fawe Brutus with his fworde drawen in his hande, then he bulled

is ran home to their houses againe. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two office line chiefest frends, secretly conveying them selves away, fled titto other mens houses, and for sooke their owne. Brutus and his confederats on thother fide, being yet hotte with this hauther they had The market committed, having their fwordes drawen in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of resoft after the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made dountenaunce to flie, but Com otherwise boldly holding up their heades like men of corage, and called to the people to defende their libertie, and stayed to speake with enery great personage who met he their way. Of them, fome followed this troupe, and went amongest them, as if they had bene of the conspiracie, and fallely chalenged parte of the honor with them among them was care Offauius, and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their value R couctouines of honor, by Antonius, and Octavius Cafar the younger: and yet had no parte of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beloue that they were

any of the confederates, or of councell with them. For they that did put them to death tooke reuenge rather of the will they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market place to speake visto the people. who gave them fuch audience, that it feemed they neither greatly reproued morallowed the fact : for by their great filence they showed, that they were fory for Cafars death and also that they did reuerence Brutus. Nowethe Senate graunted generall pardonne for all that was paste, and to pacific every man; ordained besides, that Cafars suneralls shoulde bee honored as a god, and established all thinges that he had done: and gaug certaine provinces also and O convenient honors vnto Britte and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace & quietnes againe. But when they had opened en testamet. Cefarfuneand found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto enery citizen of Ro iest and that they faw his body (which was brought into the market place) al bemangled with galhes of fwords:

then there was no order to keepe the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and stooles, and layed them all about the body, & setting them a fire burnt the corfe. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrandes, and went vnto their houses that hadslaine Cesar, to set them a fire. Other also rannevp and downe the citie to fee if they could meete with any of them, to cut them in peeces: how beit they could meete with neuer a man of them, bicause they had tocked them selues vp safely in their houses. D There was one of Cafars frends called Cinna, that had a maruelous straunge & terrible dreame cinnaes the night before. He dreamed that Cefar bad him to supper, & that he resused, and would not cefar. goe: then that Cafar tooke him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cafars body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared

his dreame, and had an agew on him befides: he went into the market place to honor his funeralls. When he came thither, one of the meane forte asked what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to an other, and that other vnto an other, so that it ranne straight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered Cafar: (for in deede one of the traitors to Cafar, was also called Cinna as him selfe) wherefore taking him for The musher Cinna the murderer, they fell vpon him with such furie, that they presently dispatched him in of Cinna. E the market place. This sturre and furie made Brutus and Cassius more affrayed, then of all that was past, and therefore within fewe dayes after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deathes, we have wrytten it at large, in the life of Brutus. Cafar dyed at fix and fifty yeres of age: and Pompey also lived not Cafar 56 years passing source yeares more then he. So he reaped no other frute of all his raigne & dominion, death, which he had so vehemently defired all his life, and pursued with such extreame daunger:but a vaine name only, and a superficiall glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his contrie. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that fauored him all his leetime, did continue The remente

F spiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to Cassius about all other, is most to be wondred at. For he being outcome Cassius being in battell at the iorney of Philippes, flue him felfe with the fame sworde, with the which he

afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea & land, till they of Cofar had not left a man more to be executed, of al them that were actors or counsellers in the con-

with the Celf feene in the element after Cefars death. Agrees Co-

peared unto

The fecond

strake Calar. Againe, of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nightes together A was seene very bright after Cafars death, the eight night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnes of the funne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and this ned not out, whereby it gaue but small heate: therefore the ayer being very clowdy & darke. by the weakenes of the heate that could not come foorth, did cause the earth to bring foorth but raw and vnrype frute, which rotted before it could rype. But aboue all, the ghost that anpeared vnto Brutus shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murther of Cafar. The vision was thus. Brutus being ready to passe ouer his army from the citie of ABYDOS, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by reporte he was as carefull a Captaine, and lived with as little fleepe, as ever man did) he thought he heard a noyfe at his tent dore, & look, R ing towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he faw a horrible vision of a man. of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruelously afraid. But when he fawe that it did him no hurt, but stoode by his bedde side, and sayd nothing ; at length he asked him what he was. The image aunswered him: I am thy ill angell, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Then Brutus replied againe, and sayd: well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time Brutus being in battell neere vnto the citic of PHILIPPES, against Antonius and Octavius Cafar, at the first battell he wan the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstoode him, he draue them into young Cafars campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared again vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereuppon Brutus knowing he

should dye, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be flaine. So feeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre of, and there fetting his fwordes point to his breft, fell vpon it, and flue him selfe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his frend, that dispatched him.

The end of Cafars life.

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A Destination of the Common of

HE LIFE



He Orator Demades on a time florished in ATHENS, bicause in all his doings and fayings in the administration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIAN'S and Antipater: in respect whereof he was efficiences compelled, both in his counsell. and lawes, to preferre many things to the diffionor of his city, laying, that they must pardon him bicaule he gouerned the shippewrackes of Demade are his contrie. This was an arrogant speache : but yet referring it to the rogat faying. gouernment of Phocion he fayd truely. For in deede Demades felfe was the (hippewracke of the common weale, bicause he lined so insolently,

and gouerned so lewdly. Insomuch as Antipater sayd of him, after he was very old : that there B was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaft facrificed, but the tongue and belly, But the vertues of Phocton, which had to fight against the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were lo obscured by the calamities of GR E CEthat his fame was nothing so great as he described. For we must not credit Sophoeles words, making vertue of it selfe but weake, in these verses, When stormes of fore aduersities (o king) doe men affaile,

It dauntes their corage, cuts their combs, and makes their harts to quails. But we must onely geue place to fortune, who when the frowneth vppon any good and The power of

vertuous men, her force is so great, that where they deserve honor, and favor, the violently former. heapeth falle & malicious accusations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, & not of that credit which in dede it descrueth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free cities are most C cruel vnto their good citizens in time of prosperity: bicause they flow in wealth & line at case, which maketh them of hauty mindes. But it is cleane contrary. For adjustify commonly many maketh mens maners fower, chollericke, and very hafty: besides, slow to heare, churlish, and of maketh mens fended with enery litle (harpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend seemeth to call their advertitie in their teeth : and he that telleth them plainly of their faultes, feemeth alfo to despise them. For like as honnie sweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both fmart and paine; even so, harpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with discretion & curtesie. And therefore Homer the Poet calleth swete.

ing of Caso, & wealth at Rome. Caroes plaine maner, became not the cerrupt and

fattle time.

and pleasaunt thinges usroless, as yeelding and not striuing with contrariety, against that parte A of the minde, whereby we be angrie and froward. For euen as fore eyes doe like to looke on blacke and darke colours, and can not abide the bright and glaring: fo in a city, where for want of forefight and gouernment, things goe not well, men be so divers and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and estate, that they had rather continue in their follie and daunger, then by sharpnes of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a greater, that common wealth must be in great daunger, that when it hath most nede of helpe, is lothest to receive any: and he also hazardeth him selfe, that plainly telleth them their faultes. Like as therefore the Mathematician fayth, that the funne doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest heaven, nor yet is moved directly contrary, but setching a compase a little ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing pre- R ferueth all things, & kepeth the world in good temperature. Euen fo, too feuere gouernment, contrarying the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as also it is maruelous daungerous, not to correct offendors when they offend, for feare of the peoples displeasure. But the meane. fometime to yeelde vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to graunt them things of pleasure, to demaund of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to doe many profitable things, when they seeke it not of them, by rigor & authority. In deede this meane is very hard to be observed, bicause authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more muficall, nor concordance more perfit then that and therfore it is faid, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced C obediece in men. But this fault of seuerenes was in Cato the younger, for he could not fashion him felfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his:neither did he win his estimacion in the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore Cicero fayd, that he was put by the Confulthip, for that he behaued him felfe as though he liued in the common wealth deuised by Plato, & not amongest the disordered and corrupt posterity of Romalus. Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely frute: the which though men doe take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen fo, the auncient fimplicity of Catoes maner (hauing fo long time bene out of vie, & comming then to shew it selfe in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was in deede much praiseworthy: but yet not the conuenientest, nor the fittest for him, bicause it aunswered nor respected not the vie and maners of his time. For he found not I his contry (as Phocion did) vtterly destroyed, but to fied in a daungerous tempest: & being not of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand, & gouerne the shippe: he tooke him selse to tricking the failes, and preparing the tacle, so to affilt men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he fo thwarted fortune (which feemed to have fworne the ouerthrowe of the estate of Rome) that with much a doe, with great difficulty, & a long time after, the executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by meanes of Cato & his vertue: with whom I doe compare the vertue of Phocion, who yet in my opinion, were not in all thinges alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is difference between manhood & manhood, as there was between that of Alcibiades, and that of Epaminondas: between wisedom & wisedom, as between that of Aristides, & that of Themisto- E cles: & betwext iustice & iustice, as betwext that of Numa, & that of Agesilans. But the vertues of these men(to him that shall superficially regard, & slightly consider them) seeme all one in quality, in maner, & vse, both alike in temperance of curtesie with seuerity. & manhood with wisdom: a vigilant care for others, with presence of corage & security of mind for them selues, abhorring all filthines & corruption, & imbraling coltancy & loue of iuftice: that for any man to discerne the difference between the, it requireth an excellent good wit & judgement. Now touching Cato, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we wil shew you hereafter The pariese in his life; but for Phocion, I geffe he came of no base parentage. For if he had bene the sonne of aspoonemaker, as Idomeneus testifieth: Glaucippus the sonne of Hyperides, having in an invective he wrote against him, rehersed all the mischieses he could of him, he would not have forgotte p to haue vpbraid him with his base paretage, neither he him self also (if that had bene true) had bene fo well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a young man, he was Platoes scholler,

N and afterwards Xenocrates scholler, in the schoole of Academia: and so, even from his first beginning, he gauchim selse to followe them that were learned. For as Duris writeth, neuer A- Phochen ne-THENIAN faw him weepe nor laugh, nor washe him selfe in any common bathe, nor his hands wer weeps, nor out of his sleenes when he ware a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwaies goe afoote, and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreame cold: and then the fouldiers to mocke him withall, would fay it was a figne of a sharpe winter, when they sawe Phocion in his gowne. Nowe, though in deede he was very curteous and gentle of nature, yet he had Photions mafuch a grymme looke withall, that no man had any defire to talke with him . but fuch as were of his familliar acquaintance. And therefore when Chares the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My Maifters, p. Phocion, the bending of my browes have done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers, haue made ye oftentymes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of speech was very profitable, for the good fentences and counfells he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnes. For as Zeno the Philosopher sayeth, that the wise man should temper his wordes with witte and reason, before he vtter them: euen so was Phocions freech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it feemeth that Polyeuctus SPHETTIAN fayd, that Demosthenes was an excellent Orator, but in speech, Phocion was very wittie. For like as coynes of gold or filuer, the lighter they waye, the finer they be of goodnes: even so the excellencie of speeche consisteth in signifying much, by fewe wordes. Prhenimen. And touching this matter, it is reported, that the Theater being full of people, Phoeion walked cellmin of all alone vpon the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with him selfe: such. whereuppon, one of his friendes feeing him fo in his muses, said vnto him, Surely Phocion, thy minde is occupied about somewhat. In deede so is it, sayd he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I have to fay to the people. For Demosthenes selfe little esteming all other Orators, when Photion rose vp to speake, he would round his friendes in their eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my wordes rifeth. Peraduenture he ment it by his maners also: For when a good man speaketh, not a word onely, but a wincke of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words & speeches of Rethoritians, Furthermore, Phocion first when he was a young man, he went to the warres vnder Captaine Chabrias, and followed him: fouldier fare. of whom he learned to be a perfit fouldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of D his Captaines imperfections, and made him wifer then he was. For Chabrias otherwise beeing very dull and flothfull of him selse, when he came to fight, he was so hotte and corageous, that he would thrust himselse into daunger, with the desperatest persons: & therefore for his rashnes, it afterwards cost him his life, in the citie of CH10, where launching out with his gally before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But Phocion being wise to loke to him felfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one fide quickned Chabrias flownes, and on the other fide alfo, by wifedom cooled his heateand furie. Chabrias therefore, being a good man & curteous, loued Phocion very well, and did preferre him in matters of feruice, making him famous amongest the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardiest enterprises. For by his meanes he atchieued great same and honor in a battell by sea, which he wanne by the Ileof Naxos, E giuing him the left winge of his armie: on which fide the fight was sharpest of all the battell, The wifter, guing nim the left winge of its at the color of which the citie of A- of Chabrids and there he foonest put the enemies to flight. This battel being the first which the citie of A- and Phoeism, THEN'S Wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cause to in the He of loue Chabrias, and made them also to make accompt of Phoeion, as of a noble fouldier, & wor- Nexus. thy to have charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the great misteries, in memory whereof, Chabrias did yearly, on the fixtenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called August) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time, Chabrias sending Phocion to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederats, and the shippes which they should fend him: he gaue him twenty gallies to bringe him thither, But Photion then (as it is reported) faid vnto him: if he fent him to fight with his enemies, he had neede to have moe shippes: but if he F sent him as an Ambassador vnto his friendes, then, that one shippe would serue his turne. So he went with one gallie onely: and after he had spoken with the cities, and curteously dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their confederats, XXX iii

with a great fleete of shipper and money to cary vnto ATHENS. So Phocion did not onely in A uerence Chabrias while he lived, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friendes and kinfmen, and fought to make his fonne Ctelippus, an honest man; whom, though he fawe year. wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is fayde also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous questions, serving then you der him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counsell, to reproue him, and to teache him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but fay, O Chabrias, Chabrias: now doe! paye for the loue thou dideft beare me when thou wert alue, in bearing with the folly of the fonne. But when he saw that the heads of the citie of A THEN'S had as it were by lot deuided an monge them selves the offices of warre and peace, and that some of them, as Eubulus, Ariffo. phon, Demost thenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were common speakers and preferrers of matters in R counfells and Senate: and that others, as Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of gouernment, of Pericles, Ariftides, & Solon, as being mingled of both. For either of them. seemed (as the Poet Archilocus fayth)

To bee both Champions stouvt, of Marsis warlyke band, And of the Muses eke, the artes to understand.

He knew also, that Pallas the goddesse and protector of ATHENS, was called Polemica, and Politica: to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, having thus disposed of him felfein gouernment, he alwaies perswaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often chosen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his C time, did neuer fue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serue the common wealth. It is certen that he was chosen fine and forty times Prator, and was alwaies absent at the elections, but yet sent for . Whereuppon all the wife men wondred to see the manner of the people towards him, confidering that Phocion had never done nor fayd any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene against their desires: and how they ve fed other gouernours notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightfull in their orations, like men to sport at, as it is fayd of kings, who after they have washed their handes to goe to their meate doe vie to have Ieilers and flatterers to make them mery: but on thother lide when they had occasion of warres in deede, how then like wife men they could bethinke them felues, and choose the wifest and stowtest man of the citie, & that most would withstand their II Photions no- mindes and defires. For on a time an oracle of Apollo Delphias, beeing openly red before them, table fayings. which fayd, that all the other Athenians being agreed, yet there was one amonge them that was contrary to all the rest of the citie: Phocion stepping forth before them all, bad them neuer feeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he chaunced to fay his opinion before all the people, the which they all praifed and approued but he faw they were to fodeinly become of his minde, he turned backe to his friendes, and asked them: alas, hath not some euill thing slipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a generall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towardes the folemnizing of a factifice: other men of his estate having payd their part, he was often also called vpon to pay his! But he aunswered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a shame for me to give your E any thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to Callieles the Vierer, who had lent him mos ney. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out apon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the Rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for at ill figne, he put of his harnes, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnes againe, & went on his way towards the campe: the Rauens beganne againe to make a goodlier cry beg hind him. But thereuppon he staied straight, and at length fayd: ye shall crooke as lowd as ye lift, before ye feede of my carkas. An other time the ATHENIANS being in warre under his charge, would needes have him to leade them to give charge vppon their enemies, but he would not: thereuppon they called him coward, and layd he durft not. Well fayd he agains? I it is not you can make me valiant, no more then my felfe can make you cowards: and yet one of vs know an other. Another time in a maruelous daungerous time, the people handled him

A very churlifhly, and would needes have him prefently deliver accompt of his charge: but he aunswered them, O my friendes, first saue your selues . Furthermore, the people beeing very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and presently in peace againe waxing braue in wordes against Phocion, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their handes: he onely fayd this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, els you would finge a new fonge. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOBOTIANS, and them, ahour their bounds and fronters: the which they would not try by lawe, but by battel. But Phacion told them, they did they wift not what, & counselled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the stronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they so much misliked his opinion in the assembly, that they woulde not abide to heare B him, nor fuffer him to speake. Wel, my Maisters, op he then, you may make me doe that which is not to be done: but you shall neuer compell me, against my minde, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his aduersaries, when they were but fie with him. As on a time he aunswered Demosthenes, that fayd vnto him: the people, Phocion, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heades. Yea thee, o he, if they be wife. Agayne, when Polyeuctus Sphettian, in a hotte day perswaded the people of Athens to make warre with king Philip, sweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he was driven oftentymes to drinke water, to ende his oration: furely fayd Phocion, ye shall doe maruelous wifely, to make warre at such a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he doe, when he hath his curats and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that onowin making an oration onely before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also whe Lycurgus in his oration had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the rest, for that Alexander demaunding tenne Citizens of A-THEN S to do with them what he thought good, that he had counselled them to deliuer them: Phocion aunswered him, I have often times counselled them for the best, but they would never follow my councell. There was one Archibiades at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeated the LACED & MONIAN, with a maruelous long beard, a beggerly cloke, and a fower looke. Phot cion being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto Archibiades for a witnes, to confirme that he spake. But he rising vp, counselled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall, Phocion perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and fayd vnto him: alas Archibiades, why diddelt D thou not then clippe thy beard, seeing thou wouldest needes flatter? There was another great Arifogion, a pleader, one Ariflogiton, that in all affemblies of the citie, did nothing but buffe warres contin nually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and mustered, and their names entred that should goe to the warres: Aristogiton came halting into the market place with a staffe in his hand, and both his legges bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was sicke and diffeafed. Phocion fpying Arifogiton farre of, cryed out to the Clearke that wrote the bills: put in Ariftogiton, lame, and impudent. So that oftentymes it makes me mule, howe, or where, fore so sharpe and seuere a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the furname of good. Notwithstanding, in the ende I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that Photien calnumame of good. Notwithitanding, in the cities I minite a natu timing, out of the contra; led by fire-aman should be like wine, both sweete and sharpe together: as there are others to the contra; name, good. E ry, that at the first fight, seeme very curteous and gentle of conuersation, and apon better acquaintance, proue churlishe and dogged. It is reported also, that Hyperides the Orator one day should fay to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my sharpenes, but confider if my sharpenes be without profit. As who should say, men were not trouble som, but for couetouines onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of infolencie & malice did abuse & contemne their authority. Phoeion on thother side; heneuer did Citizen hurt, for any private malice he bare him : but was ever sharpe and cruell to them, which was against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the commonwealth. For in all other things. he shewedhim self matuelous lowly and cutteous to enery body, and would be familiar with his aduerfaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwise in datinger of displeasing F with the state. Infomuch as his friendes therefore reproued him on a time, when he spake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O, fayd he, honest men needeno helpe. An other time, Ariffogiton the Sycophant, beeing clapped up in prison, sent vitto Phocian to pray him to

come and speake with him, after he was condemned. Phocion went into the prison to him.

though his friendes perswaded him the contrary, and aunswered them: O let me alone saw he for where could I fee Ariflogiton more gladly then in prison? Furthermore, when there went any army to fea out of ATHENS, if there were any other chosen generall but Phocion : the townes and Handes all alongest the sea coast, (which were friendes and confederats of the A. THENIANS) fortified their walls, filled up their hauens, and brought their wives, flaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open warre proclaimed, Contrarily also, if Phocion had bene Capteine and generall: they would fend out their shippes to the seato meete him farre of, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and so would bringe him to their cities. King Philip secretly seking to winne the Ile of Ev-BOEA, sent an armie thither out of MACEDON, and intised the townes by tyrannes to rebell: R whereuppon, Platarke ERETRIAN praied in ayde of the ATHENIANS, to take this Lland from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not presently to Phocion ior ayde them So Phocion was fent general thither, but with a fewe men onely, bicaufe they made account the men of that contry would straight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebells, and brybed with kine Philippes money, which he lauished out amonge them: so that he was brought into great daunger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is feuered from the fieldes of Tamynes, with a great large valley, and there fortified him felfe with that litle armie he had. Then he perswaded his Captaines notto care for all those rebels, pratiers, and cowards which fled out of their Phocien perfradeth bis tents, and for fooke their enfignes and Captaines, but that they should let them goe out of the c campe where they would. For, fayd he, fuch disobedient souldiers here will doe vs no service. imous fauldiand moreouer will hinder them that have good will to ferue well: and at home also knowing them selves in faulte, for that they for sooke the campe without licence, they dare not comto depart the playne apon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to fet apon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put them selues in readines, and not to sturre, vntill he had done sacrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either bicause he could have no lucky signes of the sacrifices, or els for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereuppon Plutarke ERETRIAN supposing he deserred to marche for seare, went him selfe first into the field, with certen light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes seeing them give charge, could hold no lenger, but followed him also, stragling out of the campe one after an other disorderly, and so did D fet apon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowen, all the other dispersed them selves, and Plutarke him felf fled. Then certen bandes of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time. Phoeion having ended his facrifice, the ATHENTANS came out of their campe, and fer apon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them also they flue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then Phocion commaunded that the battell should stand still, to receive their men that were feattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane space, he him felie, with the choycest men of his armie, gaue charge apon the enemies. The fight was cruell betwene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, ventring their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their generall, (Glaucus, the fonne of Polymedes, and Thallus, the E

fonne of Cineas) caried the praise away. And so did Cleophanes that daye also shewe him selfe

very valiant. For he crying out still apon the horsemen that fled, & perswading them to come

and helpe their generall that was in daunger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte

the footemen the victorie. After this battell he draue Platarke out of ERETRIA, and tookethe

caffell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the He draw-

eth to a straightness enuyronned on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his mento

take any GRZ CIANS prisoners, fearing least the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people

fodeinly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these thinges were done, Phocion returned

backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederats of the ATHENIANS straight wishe for his in-

stice and curtefie: and the ATHENIANS them selves also knewe his skilfulnes and marihood.

For his fucceffor Moloffus, that was generall for the rest of the warre, delt so vndiscreezely that

he him felfe was taken prisoner there. Then king Philip beeing put in maruailous great hope;

Phocians vi-

went with all his armie into Hallespont, perfivading him felfe, that he should straight take all CHERRONES VS, the cities of Perintheand Bazantivm. The Athenians thereuppone determining to fend ayde, to preuent king Philips commings the Orators made great fate, that chares might be chosen Captaine. But he being fent thither with a good number of thippes, did no feruice worthy commendacion, neither would the cities receiue his natife into their hauens: but being suspected of every man, and despised of his enemies, he was driven to sayle vn and downe, and to get money of the allyes. The people being incenfed by the Orators, were marueloully offended, & repented them selues that they had sentayde vnto the BIZANTINES. Then Photion rifing vp, spake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reason that mistrufling their confederats they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Capa raines that deserued to be mistrusted. For they, said he, doe make your consederats affraide of you, who without you notwithstanding can not saue themselves. The people chaunging their mindes by his oration, made Phocion againe their Captaine, and fent him with an armie into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederate there, which was of great importance to faue the citie of BYZANTIVM. Furthermore, Phocions same was so great, that Cleon, the greatest man of vertue and authoritie in BIZANTIVM, and had before bene Phocions companion and familiar in the Academy: he made fute for him vnto the citie. Then the BYZANTINES would not fuffer Photion fahim (though he desired it) to campe without the walls of their citie, but opening their gates, we the citie received him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongest them. Who, perceiving how much the Citizens trusted them, did so honestly behave them selves in their conversation amongest o them, that they gaue them no maner of cause to complaine of them; and shewed them selves to valiant befides in all battells and conflicts, that Philip (which before was hought dreadfull and inuincible, every man beeing affraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HBL- Phoció drave LESPONT without anything done, and to his great discredit: where Phocion wanne some of Philip out of his shippes, and recoursed agains the strong holdes, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Hellespons. Furthermore, making divers invalions into his contries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was fore hurt there, and so driven to returne home againe, by meanes of a great armie that came against him, to defend the contry : Shortly after, the MEGARIANS Secretly sent vnto him, to deliuer their citie into his hands. Phoesion fearing if the Bos o Tians vnderstoodit, vnto Athen. that they would preuent him: he called a common affembly earely in the morning, & told the D people what message the MAGARIANS had sent vnto him. The people apon his motion being determined to ayde them: Phocion straight founding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the aifembly, gaue them no further leyfure, but to take their weapons, and so led them incontinents ly to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiving him, Phocion thut vp the hauen of NISEA, and brought two long walls from the citie vnto it, and so ioyned it vnto the sea: Whereby he stood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the fea, the ATHENIANS were Lordes of its Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open warre against king Philip, and had chosens other Captaines in his absence, and that he was returned from the lles: about all thinges, he perswaded the people (king Philip requiring peace, and greatly searing the daunger) to accept the condicions of peace. Then one of these busy Orators that was still accusing one or others E faid vnto him:why, Phocio, how darest thou attept to turne the ATHENIANS frowarre; having now their swordes in their hands? yes truely, said Phocion: though in warre I know I thal commaund thee, &cin peace thou wilt commaund me . But when the people would not harken to him, and that Demosthenes caried them away with his perswasions, who counselled them to fight with king Philip, as farre from ATTIC A as they could: I pray thee friend, o Photion vnto him, let vs nor diffpute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall ouercome, the which if we can so bring to passe, be sure we shall put the warre faree enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, becuer in feare and daunger, wherefocuer they be. When the ATHENTANS had lolt a battell against Philip, the seditious Orators that hunted after innouacion, preferred Charidemus to be chosen generall of the ATHENIANS: whereuppon, the Magistrates & Senatours F being affraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the Arboragirs, they made such earnest sute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at last (but with much a doe) they obteyined that the affaires of the citie might be put into Phocions handes & government.

Hethought good to accept the articles and gentle condicions of peace which Philip offered them. But after that the Orator Demades moued that the citie of ATHEN SWOULD enter into the common treatie of peace, & common affembly of the states of GRECE, procured at king Phi. lips request: Phocion would not agree to it, vntill they might understand what demaunds Phi. lip would make at the affembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the peruerfies of time could not be liked of them, & that he faw the Athenians foone after repented them that they did not followe his counsell, when they heard they should furnish king Philip with shippes and horsemen; then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made meto withstand that, which now ye have consented vnto. But fithence it is so that you have nowe past your consents, you must be contented, and not be discoraged at it: remembring that your auncestors in times past have sometyme commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and b yet haue fo wifely and discreetely gouerned them selues in both fortunes, that they hauenor onely faued their citie, but all GRECE besides. When newes came of king Philips death, the people for ion would straight haue made bonfires and facrifices to the goddes for the good To relegie as newes: but Phosion would not fuffer them, and fayd, that it was a token of a base minde, to reioyce at any mans death, & befides that, the armie which ouerthrew you at CHERONEA, hath not yet lost but one man. And when Demosthenes also would commonly speake ill of Alexander, and specially when he was so neare THEBBS with his armie: Phocion rehearsed vnto him thefe veries of Homer

Houve great a folly is it for to stand Against a cruell king, Which beeing armd and having foword in hand,

Seekes fame of every thing?

What, when there is such a great fire kindled, will thou cast the citie into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not fuffer them to cast them selues away: forto that ende haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards also, when Ale-

C

pacified with

a base mind, & vile na-

xander had rased the citie of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him Demosthenes, Lycurque, Hyperides, and Caridemus, and that the whole assembly and counsell not knowing what aunswer to make, did all cast their eyes vppon Phosion, and cryed vnto him to fay his opinion: he then rose vppe, and taking one of his friendes vnto him called Nicotles. whome he loued and trusted about all men els, he sayd thus openly vnto them. These men n whome Alexander requireth, have brought this citie to this extremitie, that if he required Nicocles here, I would give my confent to deliver him: For I would thinke my felfe happy to lose my life, for all your safetie. Furthermore, though I am right hartely sory (sayd he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the citie for succour: yet I affure ye, it is better one citie mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is best to intreate the Conqueror for both, rather then to our certeine destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is favd also that Alexander refused the first decree which the people offered him vppon Phocionstequest, and sent awaye the Ambassadors, and would not speake with them. But the second, which Phocion him felfe brought, he tooke: beeing tolde by his fathers olde feruaunts, that king Philip made great accompt of him. Whereuppon, Mexander did not onely giue him au- E dience, and graunt his request, but further followed his counsell. For Phocion perswaded him, an, by Phoei. if he loued quietnes, to leave warre: if he defired fame, then, that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRECIANS. So Phoeion feeding Alexanders humor with fuch talke and discourse as he thought would like him best: he so altered and softened Alexanders disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS should looke to their affayres, for if he should dye, he knewe no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, bicause he would be better acquainted with Phocion, and make him his friend: he made so much of him, that he more honored him, then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, Duris the historiographer writeth, that when Alexander was growen very great, and had ouercome king Darius: he left out of his letters this worde Chærin (to wit, joy, and p health) which he vsed-commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that maner of falutacion, but Phocion, & Antipater. Chares also writeth the fame. And

A they all doe confesse, that Alexander Sent Phocion a great gift out of Asia, of a hundred filuer relents. This money being brought to ATHENS, Photion asked them that brought it why brander gaue him fuch a great reward, about all the other Citizens of ATHERS. Bigaufe, favd they, he onely esteemeth thee to be a good, and honest man. Phocion replied agains, then let him give me leave to be that I feeme, & am, whileft I live. The Meffengers would not fo leave him but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandrie. & thriftines: For they found his wife her felfe baking, and he him felfe drewe water before them, out of the well to wash his feete. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings present, and were offended with him, saying it was a shame for Alexanders friend to live fo miferably and beggerly as he did. Then Phoeion feeing a poore old man goe by, in a threedebare gowne, asked them, whether they thought him worse then her No. God forbid, aunswered they againe. Then replied he againe, he lines with leffe then I do. and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, faid he, it I should take this summe of mo.: Photion yer ney and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on thother side, if I occupy it, I shall make: we and integrity flow all the citie speake ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent backe from A: of Mexam. THENS, whereby he shewed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that needed not such golde & ders money. filter, then he that gaue it him. But when Alexander wrote again vnto Phocion, that he did not reckon them his friendes, that would take nothing of him: Photion notwithstanding would! not take the money, but onely requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at libertie, which were kept prisoners in the citie of SARDIS, for certeine accusations lavde against them: Echecratides the Rhetorician, Athenodorus borne in the citie of IMBROS, and two Co-RINTHIANS, Demaratus and Spartus, Alexander presently set them at libertie, and sent Craterius into MACEDO Recommaunding him to give Phocion the choyce of one of these four ecities of ASIA, which he liked best: CIOS, GERGITHA, MYLASSIS, ELEA: sending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse this offer, then he was at the first. But Phosion would neuer accept any one of them: and Alexander shortly after dyed. Phosions house is seene yet at this day in the village of Marita fet forth with plates of copper, but on Photions therwise very meane, and without curiositie. For his wives he maryed, there is no mention boule and made of the first, saving that Cephisodotus the image graver was her brother. But for his second wife the was no leffe famous at ATHENS for her honeftie, and good housewiverie; then Pho-O cion, for his inflice and equitie. And for proofe thereof, it is reported, that the ATHENIANS beeing one days affembled in the Theater to fee news tragedies played, one of the players when he shoulde have comen apon the scaffolde to have played his parte, asked the setter forth of the playes, the apparell of a Queene, and certeine Ladyes to wayte uppon her, bycause he was to playe the parte of the Queene. The setter forth of the playes denying him? the player went awaye in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and woulde not come our vpon the stage. But Melanthius the setter forth of the playes, compelling him. brought him by force on the lage, and cryed out vnto him? Dooft thou not fee Phocions wife, that goeth uppe and downe the citie, with one mayde onely wayting on her? and with thou playe the foole, and marre the modefice of the women of ATHENS? The people hea-I mighis wordes, filled all the Theater with toye and clapping of handes. The fame Ladye, when a certaine gentlewoman of I on in came to A THEN's to fee her , and thewed her all hen riche jewells and precious frones the had! the dunfwered her against all my riches and jewells; is my husband Photion, who thefetwenty yeares together; hath continually beene chofen generall for the A THENYANS . Photions fonne telling his father off a tyme whathe was Photous, Phodesirous to contend with other younge men for the victorie, who should cuming liest leape what he was out, and gette vope agayne into the charretts or coches, running their full course, at the fealtes Panathen aat ATHENS: his father was contented he shoulde, not that he was desirous his forme shoulde have the honor of the victorie, but bicause by this honest exercise he should growe to better manner, for that he was a dissolute younge man, and much given to

I wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that tyme, and there were divers of his fathers friendes, that prayed him to doe them that honour, that they might keepe the feast of this victorie in

their houses. Phocion denyed them all, but one man, and him he suffered to shewe his good

will vnto his house, and went thirher him selfe to supper to him. Where amongest many Phocien defpifesh Har-palus money, cion then perceyuing the people beganne to bee highe minded, and fought innovacis

fine and superfluous thinges prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweete smelling fpices to washe the seete of the bydden guestes as they came to the feast: Whereuppon be called his sonne to him, and asked him, howe canst thou abyde Phoese, that our friend should thus diferace the victorie with excesse? But bicause he would withdrawe his some from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there amonge younge boves brought vppe after the LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it. to fee that Phocion did fo much despise his owne contrie manner and facions. Also when Demades the Orator one daye fayde vnto Phocion: why doe we not perswade the ATHENIANS TO liue after the Laconian manner? As forme (sayde he) if thou wilt make one to sette it forwarde: I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. In deede, o Phocion, thou arta meete man to perswade the ATHEN IANS to line LACONIAN like, in common together at their meales, and to prayle Lycurgus straight lawe: that art thy selfe commonly so persumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another tyme when Alexander wrote letters vnto ATHENS to fende him some shippes, and that the Orators perswaded them not to graunt him, the people called vppon Phocion chiefly to fave his opinion: then Phocion tolde them plaintly, me thinkes ye must eyther make your selues the strongest in warres, or beeing the weaker, procure to be friendes vnto the stronger. Pythias, a newcome Orator, beeing full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in enery matter: Wherefore Phocion sayde voto him. good goddes, will this noues neuer leave babling? And when Harpalus king Alexanders Lieuetenant of the prouince of BABYLON, fledde out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with 6 a greate summe of golde and filter: straight these men that solde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a fight of swallowes. And he stucke not to give every one of them a peece of money to baffe them with: for it was a trifle to him, confidering the great summes of money he brought. But to Phocion him selfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundred talents, and offered him felie and all that he had into his handes of truft. But Phocion gaue him a sharpe aunswer, and tolde him, that he woulde make him repentit, if he corrupted the citie of Athens in that manner. So Harpalus beeing amated therewith , left him at that tyme, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS fate in counsell about him, he perceived that those which had taken his mor ney, were shronke from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should have excu- h fed him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspecte them they had beene corrupted and that Phocion on thother fide which had refused his money, having respect to the common wealth, had also some regarde to fauchis life: he once more attempted all the wayes he could to wynne him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man, Then Harpalus falling in friendshippe with Charieles (Phocions sonne in lawe) he made him to beill spoken of, and greatly suspected, bicause men sawe that he trusted him in all thinges, and employed him in all his affayres. As, in committing to his trust the making of a sumpl tuous tombe for Pythonice, the famous Curtifan that was deade, whom he loued, and by whome he had a Daughter; the taking apon him whereof was no leffe thame ynto Charidan then the finishing thereof was disgrace vato him. This tombe is seene vato this daye in a place called Hermium, in the hie waye from ATHENSTO ELEVSIN: the workemanshippe thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to beggin uen by Harpalas vnto Charieles, for the finishing of the same . Furthermore, after Harpalan death. Charicles and Phocion tooke his Daughter, and carefully brought her yppe. After wardes allo. Charicles beeing accused for the money he had taken of Harnolms, be beforeby his father in lawe Phoeion, to helpe to case him in his judgement. But Phoeion flatly denyed him, and fayde; Charieles, I tooke thee for my sonne in lawe, in all honest and just causes onely. Furthermore, when Aclepiades, the sonne of Hipparchus, brought the first newes of the deathe of Kinge Alexander, Demades the Orator woulde not beliegue him : for fayde he, if it were true, all the earthe woulde smell of the fauour of his corfe. Phon I on: he went about to brydle and pacific them. But when many of the Orators gotte uppe.

A to the pulpitte for orations, and cryed out, that Aclepiades newes were true of Aleranders deathe: well then, o Phosion, if it bee true to daye, it shall be true also to morrowe, and the next day after. And therefore my Maisters, bee not too hafty but thinke of it at better leyfure, and fette your affayres at a fure staye. When Leost henes also by his practife had brought the citie of ATHENSINTO the warre called the GREEK BS warre, and in skorne asked Phocion, that was offended at it, what good he had done to the common wealth fo many yeares together as he had beene Generall ouer the ATHENIANS: Phocion aunswered him, no small good, sayde he, for all my contrye men haue beene burved at home in their owne graues . Another tyme Leosthenes speaking prowdely and insolently to the people, Phocion one daye fayde vnto him : younge man my friende, thy wordes are a lyke to a Cypres tree, which is highe and greate, but beareth no frute. Then Hyperides vifing uppe, asked Phocion: when wilt thou then counfell the ATHENIANS to make waste? when I shall see younge men, sayde he, not for sake their rancks, riche men liberall, and O+ rators leave to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENJANS wondred to fee fuche a goodly greate armie as Leosthenes had leavied: and that they asked Phocion howe he lyked its A goodly armie, o he, for a furlonge, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre; for I doe not see the citie able to make any more money, nor moe shippes a neyther vet any moe fouldiers than these. The which proved true, as infell out afterwardes! For at the first, Leosthenes did notable exployts. He ouercame the Boso wans in battelkand draue Antipater into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the A THENIANS in suche a hope and c jolitie, that they made continuall feaftes and facrifices through the citie, to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some among them, that to take Phocion in a trippe. asked him if he did not with that he had done all those things? yes in deede, aunswered he. I would I had done them, but yet I would not have given the counselve have done them. Ano. ther tyme also when letters came, dayly, one after an other, bringing good newes, good gods, favde he, when shall we leave to ouercome. When Leosthenes was deade in this voyage. they that feared Phocion (houlde bee appoynted Captayne in his place, and that he woulde pacific the warres did thrust in a man of means hadion, and waknowen, that fayde in the affemblie he was Phocions friende and schoolefellowe, and therefore befought the people that they woulde foare Phocion, bicause they had not fuche another man as he and that they D woulde make Antiphilus Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall? But then Phocion floode vppe, and fayde, that this man was never scholler with him, nevther did he euer knowe him before that tyme : but nowe fayde he oftom henceforth I will take thee for my friende, for thou half given the people the best counsell for me. The people notwithstanding determining to make warre with the Bor otions. Photion spake against it all he coulde. Thereuppon, his friendes bidding him beware of suche speeches, Howe he did offende the people, least they killed him: he aunswered them, they shall wrongefully put me to death, o he, speaking for the benefitte of my contrye; but otherwise they shall haue reason to doe it, if I speake to the contrarged But when he sawe nothing woulde pacifiethem, and that they went on still with their intents then he commaunded the Herawlde E to proclayme by founde of tromper, that all Citizens from fourteene yeares to three foore, able to cary weapon, should prefently uppon breaking up of thatfembly, arme them selves, and followe him with fine dayes pronision for vittells. Then was there greate sturre amonge them in the citie, and the olde men came and complayned vinto him if for his ouerstraight commaundement. He tolde them agayne, I doeyou no weonger for I am fourerskore my felfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that tyme, and quenched their fond delire of warre 1. But when all the fea coast was full of fouldiers both of the MACED ONIANS, and other fraungers which were ledde by Midlin their Captainby that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNY'S ; and poyled the contry thereabdures: then Phocion ledde the AYHENIANS thither . But when he was there, divers taking wpon them the F office of a Lieucrenant, and going about to counfell him, fome to lodge his campeypon fuch a hill, and others to fend his horsemen to such a place, and others to campe here: O Herenles, ghe, how many Captaines doe I fee, and how fewe fouldiers? Afterwardes when he had fee YYY ii

Phocion refend his sonne out before them all. Thereuppon one of his enemies also made towardes him, to fight with

him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe againe to his place. Then faul

Phocion vnto him: art thou not ashamed young lowte to have forfaken thy rancke twife ? the

one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddest placed the felfe? So Phocion giving charge apon the enemies, he overthrew them, and flue Micion their Captaine, with divers others. Furthermore, the armie of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wanne a battell against Antipater, and Leonatus, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of Asia: where Leonatus was flaine in the field. Antiphilus beeing generall of the footemen, and Menon THESSALIAN, Colonell of the horse. men. Shortly after, Cratersu comming out of Asiainto Evrope with a great armie, they R fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were ouerthrowen; yet was not the ouerthrowe nor flaughter greate, although it came through the disobedience of the fouldiers to their Captaines, which were but young men, and vsed them ouer gently, Moreouer, when Antipater practifed to make their cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully for fooke to defend their common libertie: Whereuppon Antipater marched forthwith with his armie, to the citie of ATHENS. Demosthenes and Hyperides understanding that, for sooke the citie. Then Demades, that was in diffrace and defamed for lacke of payment of fuch fynesas were set voon his head (being seuen seuerall times condemned, bicause he had so many tymes moued matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be fuffered any more to speake in the affembly, was then dispensed withall, and licensed to speake: whereuppon he moued the c people to fend Ambassadors vnto Amipater, with full commission & authoritie to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans trust this absolute authoritie to treate of peace: they called for Phocion, laying, that he onely was to be trufted with the ambaffade. Then Phocion aunswered them: if you had beleeued my former counsells I alwaies gaue you, such weighty matters should not now have troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by Phocion Am. the people, Phocion was fent Ambassador vnto Antipater, that laye then in the castell of Cadmea, being ready at that time to inuade the contrye of ATTICA. Phoeson first requested him. that before he removed from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. Craterin presently aunswered him: Phocion, thy request is vareasonable, that lying here we should eate out our friendes, and destroy their contry: when we may line of our enemies, and enriche our fi felues with their spoyle. But Antipater taking Craterus by the hand, tolde him: we must needes doe Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the capitulacions of peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS (hould fend them a blancke, and referre the condicions of peace vnto them: like as he him selfe being beseeged in the citie of L AMIA, had referred all capitulacions and articles of peace, vnto the discression of Leosthenes their generall. So when Phocion was come backeto Athens, the Athenians feeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be contented with fuch offer of peace, as the enemie made them. Then Phocion was fent back against to Antipater at THEBES, with other Ambassadors ioyned in commission with him: amongest whom also, was that famous Philosopher Xenocrates. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man fo prowd, cruel, difdainful, nor hafty E of nature, but that the onely looke of Xenocrates would foften and qualific him, and make him to reuerence him. But yet with Antipater it fell out contrary, by his peruerse nature, which hated all vertue : for he imbraced all the reft, & would not once falute Xenocrates. Whereuppon, some say, that Xenocrates said then: Antipater doth well to be ashamed, to see me a witnes of the discurtesie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when Xenocrates beganneto speake. Antipater would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the ende commaunded him to holde his peace. When Phocion had spoken, Antipater aunswered them: that he would make peace with the A THENIANS, To they delivered him Demofthener and Hyperides: that they should keepe their auncient lawes and gouernment, that they should receine a garrifon into the hauen of Munychia, that they should defray the charges of this warre, and also paye a raunsome besides. All the other Ambassadors but Xenocrates, willing

ly accepted these condictions of peace, as very reasonable and fauourable: but he sayde

amboritie.

Xenocrates despised of Antipater. A that for flaues, Antipater did handle them fauorably : but for free men, he deleted hardly with them. Then Phocion befought him that he would yet release them of their garrison. But Antipater (as it is fayde) aunswered him: Phocion, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, faning that which should vadoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithstanding, that Antipater fayd not fo, but asked him, if he would become fuertie for the ATHENIANS, that they thould attempt no alteracion, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrison. Phoeson then holding his peace, & delaying auniwer, there was one Callimedon furnamed Carabos, (a bolde man, and hated the libertie of the people) that hrake forth in these words:if Phocion were so fond to give his word for the A THENIANS, WOULdest thou, Antipater, beleue him therefore, and leave to doe that thou hast determined? Thus were the ATHENIANS drive to receive the garrison of the MACEDONIANS of the which Memyllus was captaine, an honest man, and Photions friend. This commandement to receive the garrison within the hauen of Munichya, was found very stately, and done by Antipater, rather of a vaine glory to boast of his power; then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possession of the castell, he further increased their griefe: bicause the garrison entred the twenty day of Boedromion (to wit, the moneth of August) on the which the feast day of their misteries was celebrated, at what time they make their procesfion called Iacchus, from the citie of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therefore the folemnitie of this holy feast beeing thus confused, many beganne to consider that in olde tyme when their Realme did flourishe, there were heard and seene voyces and images of the goddes on that day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner, in the very felfe fame folemnitie of the gods, they fawe the greatest calamitie that could have happened vnto GR RCR. And the holiest feast which was kept all the yere through before, became then too prophaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and event, that ever happened vnto the GRECIANS, which was, the loffe of their libertie. For not many yeares before, there was brought an oracle from Dodone vnto Athens: that they shoulde looke well to the rockes of Diana, that straungers shoulde not possesse them. And about that tyme also, the Professions couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the mysteries, beeing wette of the Albert with water, became from a purple culler which they had before, to looke vellowe and pale, night as it had beene the courring of a deade bodie. Yea, and that which was most to bee won-D dered at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the fame water, they did without chaunging keepe their culler they had before, When one of the Ministers of the temple also did washe a little pygge in the sea, in a cleane place by the wharfe: there fod ainely came a greate fifthe that bytte at it, and carved the hinder partes of the pygge cleane awaye with it. Whereby men conjectured that the goddes did fignific vnto them , that they should lose the lowest parte of their citie nearest to the feat and should keepe the highest partes thereof. This notwithstanding, the garrison did not offend nor trouble the ATHEN IANS, bicause of the honestie of their Captaine Menyllus. Now there were aboue twelve thowfand Citizens, that for their pouertie loft the benefit of their freedome: of the which, parte of them remayned at ATHENS, vintowhome it feemed they E offered great wronge and injurie; and parte of them also went into Thracia, where Anthpater affigned them townes and landes to inhabite. They feemed to be men like ynto them that had beene taken by affaulte, or by feege within a citie, which had beene compelled to forfake their contrie. Furthermore, the snamefull death of Demosthenes in the Ile of Ca. The cracking LAVRIA, and of HYPERIDES, by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we have written heretofore) were almost occasion given them to lament the tymes of the raigne of king Philip and Alexander. As it is reported, that when Antigonus was flayne, they that had ouercomen him, were fo cruell vnto their subjectes: that a laborer in the contrie of Phay GIA digging the earthe, beeing asked what he fought for, aunswered, fighing: I seeke for antigonus. Then many men beganne to fay as much, when they remembred the noble mindes of those F two great Princes, howe mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their difpleasure: not like Intipater, who crastily cloked his tyrannicall power which he vsurped, by beeing famillier, going simplely apparelled, and faring meanely; and yet showed him

810 felfe notwithstanding a more cruell Lorde and tyrant vnto them whome he had ouercome. A Neuertheles. Phocion obtayned of him the restoring agayne of divers men, whome he had banished: and those whome he coulde not gette to bee restored, yet he procured that they fhoulde not be banished into so farre contries, as others which had beene sent beyonde the Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tanarus out of GRECE, but that they had libertie to remayne within the contrie of PELOPONNESUS: amonge the which, was one 49. nonides a Sycophant, and falle accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remayned in ATHENS with great inflice and lenitie, and fuch as he knewe to be good men and quiet, them he alwayes preferred to some office: but such as he sawe were fantastyke people, and defirous of chaunge, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they vanished awaye of them selves, and learned in tyme to love the contrye, and to followers, lage. When he sawe Xenocrates also paye a certeine pension or tribute to the common wealth, which all straungers dwelling in ATHENS did vie yearely to paye: he would have made him a free man, and offered to put his name amongest the number of free Citizens.

But Xenocrates refused it, saying, he woulde have no parte of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof, he had beene fent Ambaffador. And when Menyllus had fent Phocion money, he made him aunswer: that Menyllus was no greater Lorde then Alexander had beene, nevther had he at that tyme any greater occasion to receyue his present, then when he had refused King Alexanders gyfte. Menyllus replying agayne, fayde: that if he had no neede of it for him felfe, yet he might let his fonne Phoese haue it. But Phoeson aunfwered: if my fonne Phoese will leave his naughtye lyfe, and become an honest man, that c which I will leave him. shall serve his turne very well: but if it bee so that he will still holde on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. An other tymealfo he aunswered Antipater more roundely, when he woulde have had him done an unhonest thinge: Antipater, sayde he, can not have me his friende, and flatterer both. Antipater selfe was wont to saye, that he had two friendes in ATHENS, Phocion and Demades: of the which the coulde never make the one to take any thinge of him, and the other, he coulde neuer fatisfie him. And truely Phocions pouertye was a greate glorye of his vertue. fythe he was growen olde, continuing in the fame, after he had beene fo many tymes generall of the ATHENIANS, and had receyued suche friendshippe and curtesie, of so many Kinges and Princes. Where Demades to the contrarye delighted to shewe his riches in D thinges that were contrarye to the lawes of the citie. For, a decree beeing made at ATHENS. commaunding that no straunger, uppon forfeyture of a thowsand Drachmas to bee payed by the defrayer of the daunces to the citie, shoulde bee any of the Dauncers that daunced at any common playes or sportes: Demades one daye making certeyne games and sportes at his owne charges, brought a hundred Dauncers of straungers at one tyme, and withall, brought also a hundred thowsand Drachmas to paye the forfeyture thereof. Another Tyme when he maryed his fonne Demas, he fayde vnto hint: fonne, when I maryed thy mother, there was fo fmall rofte, that my next neyghbour knewe not of it: where nowe at thy maryage, Kinges and Princes are at the charge of the feafte. Furthermore, when the ATHENIANS were importunate with Phoeion to goe to Antipater, to intreate him to take E his garrison out of their citie: he still refused the ambassade, eyther bycause he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he fawe the people more obedient vnto reason, for searc of the garrison. Howebeit he obtayned of Antipater, that he shoulde not bee too hastye in demaundinge of his money, but shoulde deferre it tyll a further tyme. So the ATHENTANS perceiuing they could doe no good with Phoeson, they intreated Demades, who willingly tooke the matter you him, and went with his fonne into M ACEDON, whether doubtles his destine caried him to his viter destruction, even at that very time when Antipater was fallen sicke of a diffease whereof he dyed: Whereby the affayres of the Realme went through the handes of Callander his fonne, who had intercepted a letter of this Demades, which he had fent vnto Antigonus in A STA, willing him to come in all possible speede so winne GRECE and MACEDON, F which hong but of an old rotte threde, mocking Antipater in this maner. Wherfore Cassander being advertised of his arrival, he made him presently to be apprehended, & setting his some

PHOCION.

A hard by him, flue him before his father, so neere him, that the blood of his some forang visor. The onform him: to that the father was all bloodied with the murther of his fonne. Then Caffander casting Demotes in Demades teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treason against his father gouing him all the reproachfull words he could deuise: at the length he slue him with his owne hands. Now Antipater before his death, had established Polyperchon General of the armie of the M AC BD ON 1-ANS. & Cassander his forme, only Colonell of a thowfand footemen. He now with franching after the armie of his fathers decease, taking you him the government of the realme: fent Nitamor with speede the Macedo to succeede Menillus in the Captaineship of the gazzison of ATHENS, before his death should

he reuealed, commaunding him first in any case, to take the castell of Munychia, which he did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vaderstanding of the death of Antipater, they accused R Phoeion, for that he had knowen of his death long before, and yet kept it fecres to pleafe Nicsnor. But Phoseon regarded not this accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with Nicanor: whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only fredly varouthe A THENIANS. but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to geue the people the passime of common playes, which he made to be done at his coft. In the meane time, Polyperchon, who had confined a

the government of the kings person, meaning to geue Caffander a stampant and blurt, he sent gainst Pholetters pattentes vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did restore vnto cion

them their popular state againe, and commaunded that all the ATHENIANS should vie their former auncient lawes of their citie. This was a wile & craftie fetche against Phosion. For Polyperchon desufting this practife to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fel out afterwards C by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, vales he found meanes first to banish Phocians and thought that he shoulde easily bring that to passe, when suche as had before bene put of their freedom, by his meanes, should come againe to have voyces in thassembly, and that the feditious Orators and accusers might be turned at liberty againe, to say what they would. The ATHENIANS having heard the contentes of these letters pattentes, beganne to be somewhat. quickened, and moued withall : whereupon Nisanor defiring to speake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was affembled in the hauen of Piraz: he went and hazarded his person. amongest them, apon Phoeions faith and word. Dercyllus Captaine for the king, being secretly advertised thereof, and in the field, not farre from the citie, did what he could to take Nicanor: but Nicanor having warning of it in time, faued him felfe. Then it appeared, that Ni-

D canor would prefently be reuenged of the citie, and they accused Phosion bigaute he kept him

not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he auniwered: that he trufted Nicesors word, and that hedid not thinke he would offer the citie any hurt, but if it thould fall out otherwise, he had ra- Better to rether the world should know, that he had the wrong offred him, then that he should offer any: This truely appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of him selfe. But considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the fafety of his contrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to have had, to the safetie of his contriemen. Neither coulde be also alleage for his excuse, that he did not layer handes on Misanes, for feare to bring the city into manifest warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had fworne and promifed vnto him, and the inflice that he would obferue in his behalfe: that for E his fake, Nicanor should afterwards keepe him felfe in peace, and doe no hurte to the A was NIANS, Howbeit in troth it seemed, that nothing deceived Phocies: but by the over trust he had in this Nicanor. The which seemeth to be so, bicause when divers came to him to complaine of Nicanor, that he fought all the secret meanes he coulde to surprise the hauen of Pi-122, and that he dayly passed ouer souldiers in the Ile of SALANINA, and practised to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen : he would neuer heare of it, and muche lesse beleue it. Furthermore, when Philomedes LAMPRIAN made a motion, that the A. THEN I ANS should prepare to be in readines to waite apon their Captaine. Phoeins, to do as his commaunded them : he made no account of it, vntill he faw Nicanor come out with his fouldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he beganne to cast trenches to compasse in the har

F uen of Piraa. But then, when Phocion thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he toud they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commaundement. In the meane time, Alexander the sonne of Polyperchon came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie

Alexander, the fame of Polyperchon, practifesh reafon againft the A.

time Phocion was presently accused of treason by the Orator Agnonides: the which Callimedon and Pericles fearing, got them out of the citie betimes. And Phocion also with his frends that

condemned.

fion of the Orator Aenonides, and at the request of Archestratus, stablished a decree, to sende Ambassadors vnto Polyperchon, to accuse Phoeion: insomuch as both parties met at one selse time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the contrie of Phocide, called Phary GEs, standing at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they surname also Galaten. There Polyperehon commaunded a cloth of gold to be fet vp, and caused the king to be set under the same, and all his chiefest frendes about him. But to beginne withall, he made Dinarchus to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: C then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to fay. Then they beganne to quartell. and to be lowde one with an other, accusing one an other in the presence of the king and his counsell: vntill Agnonides at length stepped forth, and fayd: my Lordes of MACEDON, putys all in prison, and then send vs bound handes and seete to ATHENS, to gene accompt of our doinges. The king laughed to heare him fay fo. But the noble men of MACED ON that were present then, and divers straungers besides to heare their complaints:made signe to the Ambassadors to veter their accusations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing for Polyperchon checked vp Phocion oftentimes, and did still cut of his tale, as he thought to purge him felfe: infomuch as in anger, he bet his staffe he had in his hand against the ground, and com-D maunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when Hegemon also told Polyperchon, that he him felfe could best witnesse, howe Phocion had alwayes faithfully served and loued the people: he angrily aunswered him, come not hether to lye fallely vpon me, in the presence of the king. Therewith the king rose out of his seate, and tooke a speare in his hand, thinking to have killed Hegemon: had not Polyperchon fodainly embraced him behinde; and stayed him. So the counsell rose, and brake up, but presently Phocion was apprehended, and they that stoode by him. Certaine of his frends feeing that, which stoode further of, muf-Photion fine feled their faces, and straight conveyed them selves away. The rest were sent prisoners to A-THEM'S by Clitus, not so muche to have their causes heard there, as to have them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the earying of them to ATHENS was shamefull. For they were caried vpon cartes through the great streete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where Clittus kept them, vntill the Senate had affembled the people, excepting no bondman, no straunger, nor defamed person out of this assemblie, but less the Theater wide open to all comers in what soener they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euerie man that would speake against them. So first of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aduertise the people, that he had found these offendors conuicted of treason: notwithstanding, that he referred the fentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then Clieus brought his prisoners before the people, where the noble men when they faw Phocion, were ashamed, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeit, there was one that rose vp, and sayd: my Lordes sith the king referreth the judgement of so great persons E unto the people, it were great reason all the bondmen and straungers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, thould be taken out of this affembly. The people would not agree to it, but

PHOCION:

then specially, when they were in greatest broile one against an other, and the rather, bicant

the banished men entred hand other head with him, and divers straungers also, and otherde-

famed men: fo that there was a confused counsel and affembly of Omnigatherum kept with

in the citie, without any order, in the which Phoeion was depriued of his office of Generall

and others were also chosen Captaines in his place. And had they not seene this Alexander

talking alone with Nicanor, and returning many times hard to the walles of the citie, which

made the ATHENIANS affrayed and mistrustfull: they had never faued it from taking. At that

were not fled, went vnto Polyperchon : with whom also Solon PLAT EIAN, and Dinarchus Co-R

RINTHIAN, went for company, who thought to have found frendshippe and familiarity with

Polyperchon. Howbeit Dinarchus falling sicke by the way, in the citie of ELATIA, they staved

there many dayes, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perfus-

a cried out, that fuch traitors should be stoned to death, that fauor the authoritie of a few, and The finite of are enemies of the people: whereupon filence was made, and no man durft speake any more the Athenia for Photion. Neuerthelesse when Photion with muche a doe had obteyned audience, he asked Photion. them: my Lords, will ye justly, or wrongfully put vs to death? Some aunswered him: justly. Howe then can ye doe it, & he, that will not heare our iustifications? Yet coulde they not be

heard for all this. Then Phocion comming neerer, fayd vnto them. For my felfe, my Lordes, I confesse I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deseruing death: but for these prisoners with me, what have they done, why you shoulde put them to death? The common people aunswered him: bicause they are thy frends. With this aunswere Fhoeun departed, and spake neuer a word more. Then the Orator Agnonides holding a decree in R his hand ready wrytten, red it openly to the people, declaring how they should be judged by voyces, whether the offendors had deserved death or not: and if it were found they had then that they should all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out. The medite that they should adde further vnto the decree, that before Phoesion should be put to death, they of the Albert mattney fround adde further who the decrees that before instant be put to deathfully had been that the wheele should photom besette vp to breake his joints apon it, and also that the hangman should be sent for. But then

wand barbarous a parte to vie him in that forte, he fayd openly: my Lordes, when you shall

haue fuch a varlet in your handes as Callimedon, then you may cast him on the wheele: but a-

gainst Phocion, I would not wish such cruelty. Then rose vp a noble man among them, and ad-

C ded to his words: thou haft reason to say so, Agnonides: for if Phocion should be layed on the

ding vp, and most of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne

thele prisoners to death. With Photion there were condemned, Nicocles, Thudippus, Heremon,

and Pythocles : but Demetrius PHALBRIAN, Callimedon, and Charioles, were also in their absence

condemned to dye. Now when the affembly was broken vp, and that the persons condemned

were caried backe to prison, from thence to be conveyed to execution : others imbracing

their frends, and taking their last leave of them as they went, wept, and lamented their cursed

gaue him twelue Drachmas, for fo much the pound did cost him. Phoeion perceiuing the that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his frends vnto him, and prayed him to geue the

beit some of them left of the garlandes of flowers which they shoulde have worne on their

For, they whose harts were not altogether hardned with crueltie, & whose judgements were

not wholly suppressed with enuie, thought it a grieuous sacriledge against the goddes, that

F heades, and others also looking towards the prison dore as they went by, burst out a weeping.

Aenonides perceiuing that Clieus was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beaft-

wheele, what should we then doe with thee ? The decree being confirmed, according to the Phocion concontents thereof, judgement was genen by voyces of the people, no man fitting but all stan-

fortune. But Pheion looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being Generall, when D they honorably waited on him to his house, from the affembly : he made many of them pitte The conflant him in their harts, to consider his constancie, and noble corage. On thother side also, there of and corage were many of his enemies that came as necre vnto him as they could, to reuile him, among the being conwhom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then Photion turning demned to him vnto the Magistrates, sayd: will you not cause this impudent sellow to leave his rayling?

When they were in prison, Thudippus seeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to geue them to drinke: he beganne desperarly to curse and banne, saying, that they wrongfully put him to death with Phocian. Why, fayd Phocian againe: and dooft thou not rather reloyce to dye with me? When one that stoode by asked Phocion, if he would any thing to his sonne Phocus: yes, o he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIAN'S do me. Then E Nicocles one of Phocions dearest frendes, prayed him to let him drinke the poyson before him. Phocion aunswered him, thy request is grieuous to me, Nicocles : but bicause I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life. I wil also graunt thee this at my death. When al the rest had dronke, there was no more poylon left, and the hangman fayd he would make no more vnleffe they

hangman that litle money he demaunded, fith a man can not dye at AT HENS for nothing, Photion game without cost. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, Marche) on money to be which day the Knights were wont to make a folemne procession in the honor of lapiter:how- put to death.

chapta a wa we file

... enillatemies



He family and house of Cato, tooke his first glorie and name of his great The paren-grandfather, Cato the Censor: who for his vertue (as we have declared tage of Cato. in his life)was one of the famousest and worthiest men of Roads in his time. This Cate whom we nowe wryte of, was left an broham by his father and mother, with his brother Cepio, and Porcia his fifter, Sermilia was also Catoes halfe fifter, by his mothers fide. All these were brought by vp with their vncle Limins Drusses, at that time the greatest mass of the

corage besides, as any other ROMANE. Men report, that dashfrom his called childhood shewed him selfe both in word and countenaunce, and also in all his pastimes and note. Brecreacions, verie constant, and stable. For he would goe through with that he tooke apon him to doe, and would force him felfe about his strength; and as he could not away with flat-

terers, fo was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laught and yet had ener a pleasaunt countenance. He was not choller kennor easie to be angest d: but when the blood was up, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to schoole, he was ver ry dull of ynderstanding, and slow to learne: but when he had once learned it he would never forget it, as all men elfe commonly doe. For fuch as are quicke of conceite, have dominonly VPby quicke the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, dockeepe that better which with have no

they have learned. For every kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the thinde. He were good mefeemed besides not to be light of credit, & that may be some cause of his slownes in conceite. For truely he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that have least reason to resist, are those which doe give lightest credit. For young men are caselyer perfwaded then old men, and the ficke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his douts: there he is foonest brought to beleue any thing. This notwithstanding it is reported that Cate was obedient vnto his schoolemaister and would doe what he commanued him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of enery thing. In deede his schoolemaifler was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to flrike him with his fift. His name was Surpedo, e.e.

Surpedo. Furthermore, when Cato was but a young boy, the people of IT ALTE which were 100sf holeconsederats of the ROMANES, sued to be made free citizens of ROME. At that time it chaunt maising. ced one Pompedius Silo, a valliant fouldier, and of great estimation among the confederats of

they did not let that day paffe, but that they did defile fo folemne a feast, with the violet death A of a man. His enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished, and caried our of the bondes of the contry of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire should be made for the solemnia fing of his funeralls. For this respect no frend of his durst once touch his body. Howebeits poore man called Conopion, that was wont to get his liuing that way, being hyered for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corfe, and caried it beyond the city of ELEVSIN, and gen Photions fu- ting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he folemnifed his funeralls. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his body was but newly burnt: the caused the earth to be cast vp a little where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vie such sprincklings a and effusions, as are commonly done at the funeralls of the dead: & then taking up his bones in her lappe in the night, the brought them home, and buried them in her harth, faying : () deare harth, to thee I bequeath the relikes of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncesters, when the ATHENTANE shall come to confesse the fault & wrong they have done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained inflice, and honesty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be fet vp in braffe, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned Agnonides of treason, and put him to death them felues. The other two, Epicurus and Demophilus being fled out of the citie, were afterwardes O met with by his sonne Phocus, who was revenged of them. This Phocus as men reporte, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chaunce one day into the schoole of Lyczum, he heard Theodorus the Atheist (to wit, that beleued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no shame, sayd he, to deliuena mans frend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: etien fo it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his frende. This young man taking this argument to serue his turne, beleuinge that he might lawefully doe it,

got the young maide he loued from the bawde. Furthermore, this death of Phocion did also reuiue the lamentable death of Socrates vinto the GRECIANS; for, was to see the D

men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamirie vnto the citie of walk and a second of m

The end of Phocions life.

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The marueloue conftancie of Caso when he was a child.

the ROMANES, and a great frend besides of Drujus: to be lodged many dayes at his house. He A in this time falling acquainted with thele young boyes, fayd one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vicle to speake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of Rome. Capio similing nodded with his head, that he would. But Cato making no aunswere, looked very wisely apon the straungers that lay in the house. Then Pompedius, taking him aside, asked him : and thou my pretie boy, what fayest thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle, as well as thy brother to be good to his guestes ? Cato still held his peace, and aunswered nothing, but shewed by his filence and looke, that he would not heare their request. Then Pompedius taking him up in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would have let him have gone: and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his armes without the

window, and favd, promife vs then, or elfe I will let thee fall. But Cato abid it a long time, and R neuer quinched for it, nor shewed countenaunce of feare. Thereupon Pompedius letting him downe againe, told his frends that stoode by him: O what good happe doth this child promise one day vnto ITALIE, if he liue? fure if he were a man, I beleue we should not have one voice of all the people of our fide. An other time, there were some of Catoes neere kinsemen, that keeping the feast day of his birth, bad many young boyes to supper, & amongest others this Cato. The boyes to occupie them selues till supper was ready, gathered them selues together great and small, into some private place of the house. Their play was, counterfeating pleadinges before the judges, accusing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to prison. Amongest them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a little chamber. bounde as a condemned person. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cried out vnto Cate C who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the chamber dore and putting them by by force that withstoode him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angriby with him to his owne house, and all the other young boyes followed him also. So Cato had fuch name among the young boyes, that when Sylla made the game of young boyes running a horsebacke, which the ROMANES call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be res dy at the day of the show, he having gotten all the young boyes of noble houses together, and pointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, bicause of his mother Metella, which was the wife of Sylla: but they would none of the other called Sextus, who was nephewe to Pompey the great, neither would they be exercifed vnder him, nor followe him Wherefore Sylla asked them, which of them they would have : they all cried then Cato, and D Sextus him selfe did willingly gene him the honor, as the worthier of both. Sylla was their fathers frend, and therefore did fend for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he shewed to few men, for the maiestie and great authority he had. Serpedo also (Catoes schoolemaister) thinking it a great preferrement and safetie for his fchollers, did commonly bring Cato vnto Syllaes house, to waite vpon him: the which was rether like vnto a jayle or prison, for the great number of prisoners which were dayly brought thither, and put to death, Cata being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that

Catoes hate

fighed and mourned to fee them: he asked his schoolemaister, how it was possible the tyran scaped, that some one or other killed him not Bicause, o Serpedo, that all men seare him, more E then they hate him. Why then, replyed Cate againe, diddeft thou not gene me a fword that might kill him, to deliuer my contry of this flauery and bondage? Serpedo hearing the boy fast fo, and feeing his countenaunce and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled much eating and 3 afterwardes had a very good eye vnto him, least rashly he should attempt some thing against Carrer love to Sylla. When he was but a little boy, some asked him whom he loued best > My brother, layed he. Then the other continuing stil to aske him, & who next he answered likewise, his brother Then the third time againe, likewise his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him so oft. Yea and when he was comen of age also, he then confirmed the loud he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer supped without his brother Capio, neither went he euer out of his house into the market place, nor into the fields F withouthim: but when his brother did noynt him felfe with sweete oyles of persume, he would none of that, and in all things elfe, he led a straight and hard life. So that his brother

there were many heades brought which were fayed to be of great men, and that every bodie

A natio being commended of every man for his temperature, honefty, and fober life he grainred in deede that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I doe (fayd he) compare my life with my brother Catoes, methinkes then there is no difference betyext me and Sippius. This Sippius was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that Cato was once chosen Apolloes Priest, he went from his brother and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the fumme of a hundred and eventie talentes. Then he lived more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintaunce with Antipater Tyrian, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gaue him selfe chiesly unto the studie of Antipater the morall and civill Philosophie, imbracing all exercise of vertue with suche an earnest desire, Swicke, Cathat it seemed he was prickt forward by some god: but about all other vertues, he loued the maister,

R feueritie of iustice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor fauor. He studied also to be cloquent, that he might speake openly before the people, bicause he would there should be cermine warlike forces entertained in civill Philosophie, as also in a great citie. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before any bodie, neither would be euer have any man to heare him speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his frends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake so litle in company: it skilleth no matter, o he, so they can not reproue my life, for I will beginne to fpeake, when I can fay fome thing worthy to be fpoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne house of the citie, called Basilica Porcia, the which Porcius Cato the elder had built, in the time of his Cenforship. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience: and bicause there was a piller that troubled their C feates, they would either haue taken it away, or elfe haue fet it in some other place. That was the first cause that made Cato against his will to goe into the market place, and to getyp into career aff for

the pulpit for orations, to speake against them : where having genen this first proofe of his e. Baston Pow loquence and noble minde, he was maruelously esteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeating finenes of speache and affectation, but frout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the shortnes of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withall, that he maruelously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in nature a certaine grauetie besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruelous number of people, and fuch a strong nature besides, that

he neuer fainted, nor brake his speache: for many times he would speake a wholeday toge-D ther, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, here- cause exernumed againe to keepe his former great filence, and to harden his bodie with painefull exercifes, as to abide heate, frost, and snow bare headed, and alwayer to goe a foote in the fielde, where his frendes that did accompany him rode a horsebacke, and sometime he would come and talke with one, somtime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull pacience also in his fickenes. For when he had any agew, he would be alone all day long, and fuffer no man to come and fee him, vntill he perceived his fit was of him, and that he founde he was better. When he supped with his frendes and familiars, they drewe lottes who should choose their partes. If he chaunced not to choose, his frendes notwithstanding gaue him the preferrement to choose: but he refused it, saying it was no reason, sith the goddesse Kenne was

E against him. At the first he did not vieto sitte long at the table, but after he had dronke one caree drinkdraught only, he would straight rife. But when he came to be elder, he sate long at the table; ing. fo that oftentimes he would fit it out all night with his frends, till the next morning. But they feeking to excuse it, sayd, that his great busines and affaires in the common wealth was the cause of it. For following that all the day long, having no leasure nor time to studie when night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers, at the bord. Wherefore when Memmius on a time being in company, fayed, that Cate did nothing, but drinke all night: Giero taking his tale out of his mouth, aunswered him, thou does not adde this vnto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dyle. To be short, Gato thinking that the ma- ciemes for ners and facions of mens lives in his time were so corrupt, and required such great chaunge ing of Case. F and alteracion: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrarie course in all thinges. For he faw that purple, red, & the lightest colours were best esteemed of the in contrarie maner de-

fired to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner he would goe abroade bare footed

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Cato chofen

without shooes, and without any gowne: not bicause he would be wondered at for any suche A straungenes, but to acquaint him selfe to be ashamed only of shameles and dishonest things. and to definite those which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a coufin of his, that likewife was called Cato: he put it all into ready money, to lend to his frendes that lacked, and without viury. And there were some of his frends also that would morgage his land, or his slaues, to the chamber of the city for their owne private busines: the which he him felfe would either gine the to morgage or elfe afterwards confirme the morgage of them. Furthermore, when he was comen of age to marry, having never knowen woma before, he was made fure to Lepida. This Lepida had bene precontracted vnto Metellus Scipio : but afterwardes the precontract being broken, he for fooke her, fo that the was free, when Cato was contracted to her. Notwith R standing, before Cato maried her, Scipio repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to have her againe: & so he had, Cato tooke it so grieuously, that he thought to goe to lawe for her : but his frendes diffwaded him from it. Then feeing no other remedie, to fatisfie his angrie minde, he wrote verses against Scipio, in the which he reuiled him all he coulde : vfing the bitter tauntes of Archilocus verses, but not suche impudent, lewde, and childishe reproaches as be there. After that, he maried Attilia, Soranus daughter, being the first woman he cuer knewe: yet not the onely woman whome he did knowe, as is reported of Lalius, Scipioes frende, who therein was counted the happier, bicause all that long. time wherein he liued, he neuer knewe other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondemen (otherwife called Spartacus warre) one Gellius was chosen Prætor of C the armie vnder whom Cato ferued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother Gapio, who in that armie had charge of a thowfand footemen. Now Cato could not as he wished, shewe his valliant messe and good service, bicause of the insufficiencie of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the middest of al the riot & insolency of them in the campe, he shewing him selfe a stayed man in all his doinges, valliant where neede was, and very wife also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferior vnto Cato the elder. Whereuppon Gellius the Prætor gaue him many honors in token of his valliantnes, which are given in reward of mens good feruice: howebeit Cate refused them, and fayd, that he was nothing worthie of those honors. These thinges made him to be thought a maruelous straunge man. Furthermore, when there was a lawe made, forbidding all men that fued for any office in the D common wealth, that they should have no prompters in any of the affemblies, to blowe into their eares the names of private citizens: he alone making fute to be Colonell of a thowfand footmen, was obedient to the law, & committed all the private citizens names to memory, to speake vnto every one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was enuied even of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiseworthie, by so muche more were they grieued, for that they could not followe them. So Cato being chosen Colonell of a thowfande footemen, he was fent into MACED ON, vnto Rubrius, Prætor there. Some fay, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to fee him go: one Munatius a frend of his fayd vnto her, take no thought Attilia, and leave weeping, for I promise thee I will kepe thy husband for thee. It is well sayd, aunswered Cato. Then when they B were a dayes iorney fro Rome, Cato after supper faid vnto this Munatius: thou must looke well to thy promeffe thou hast made Attilia, that thou wouldest keepe me for her, & therefore forfake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they should prepare two beds in his chamber, that Munatius also might lye there : who was rather pleafantly him felfe looked vnto by Cato, then Cato by him. He had fiftene flaues with him two free men, & foure of his frends, which rode, & he himselfe went a foote, somtime talking with one, otherwhile with an other as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the Romanes, the Prætorimmediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it final honor to him for himselfe only to be valliant, sith he was but one man he practifed to make all his fouldiers under him like unto himfelfe. The which he did not by feare & I terror, but by lenitie & gentle perswasion, training & instructing the in enery point what they them valliant. Hould doe : adding to his gentle instruction and perswasions, reward to those that did well.

819 and punishement to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made them more quiet, then warlicke : more valliant, then just. So dreadfull they shewed them selves to their enemies, and curreous to their frendes: fearefull to doe euill, and readie to winne honor. Whereof followed that which Cato least accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his fouldiers did greatly honor and love him, bicause he him selfe would ever first fee his hande to any thing he commaunded them, and bicause also both in his diet, in his apparrell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meanest fouldier. then any of the other Captaines. In contrarie maneralfo, in good nature, noble corage, and eloquence, he farre exceded all the other Colonells and Captaines. For the true loue of verthe, (to wit, the desire to followe it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, onlesse they have a sin-B gular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whome they desire to followe. When Cato vnder- proceedesh.

stoode that Athenodorus surnamed Cordylion, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, the stockers dwelt at that time in the city of Peroamy m, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refu- Catoes frond. fed the frendship of kings, Princes, and noble men, defirous to have him about them: to write to him.he thought it was but lost labor. Wherefore having two moneths liberty by the lawes of the Romanes, to followe his owne affaires: he tooke fea, and went into As ia to him, hoping he should not lose his iorney for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spo-

ken with him, and talked of divers matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victorie more, then all the conquestes of Lucullus or Pompey, who had conquered the most parte of all the provinces and realmes of the East partes of the world. In the meane time, whilest he lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thowfand footemen: his brother preparing to go into Asia,

fell ficke in the citie of ENVs, in the contrie of THRACIA. Cato having speedie intelligence thereof, tooke fea prefently, when it was maruelous rough and boysterous, and imbarked in a litle crayer of a marchaunts of THES SALIE, with two of his frends, and three bondmen only, and did scape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arrived safely, a litle after his The death of brother Capioes death. He tooke his death more forowfully, then became a Philosopher, not brother.

onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the deade corfe of his brother: but also for the exceding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed upon him, in persumes, career mourfweete fauors, and fumptuous filkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the brother Ce-D stately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and set up in the market place of pives death.

the ENIANS, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that Cato bestowed, confidering the modestie and temperance he vsed in all things else, not regarding with judgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsemen, which was mingled in him with his feuerity and hardnes, against all voluptuousnes, feare, and shamelesse requests. Divers cities, Princes and noble men fent him many fundrie prefents, to honor the funeralls of his brother Capio: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, fauing only spyces, and sweete sauors, & such other ornamentes, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those

that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him,

and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother : notwithstanding the charge he had E bene at, in his funeralls, he did not reckon it in the particion of the land, betweet him and his brother Capines daughter. All the which things when they were folemnifed, fome * write not- "It feemeth withstanding, that he did clense the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through costs, which a fieue or riddell, where through they clense corne, & all to get out the gold & filuer that was wrose the molten there. But suche thinke that their wrytinges should be as farre from controlement, as booke called their doings. So when Catoes time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his

departure, not only with ordinary praises, vowes, and prayers to the goddes for his health:but

with imbracings, teares, and maruelous lamentations of the fouldiers, which fored their gar-

ments on the ground as he went, and kiffing of his hands, which honor the ROMANES did but to verie fewe of their Generalls. Furthermore, Cato being determined before he returned to Catoes iorney FROME to deale in the affaires there, to go and see AsIA, partely to be an eye witnes of the maners, customes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partely also to fatisfie king Deiotarus request, who having bene his fathers frend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see

820 Carees mode- him: he went the iorney, and vsed it in this sorte. First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker and A cooke before, where he ment to lye that night. They comming foberly into the city or village inquiered if there were none of Catoes frends and acquaintance there, and if they found none. then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man; but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content them selves with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not beleue they were Catoes men, and made no accompt of them : bicaufe they tooke all things for quietly. & made no a do with the officers. Infomuch as Cato fomtime came himselfe. & found nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him fet apon his cariages, and speake neuer a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and a timerous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them. O a Doore men learne to be more curteous to receive travelling Romanes that paffe by you and looke not alwayes to haue Catoes to come vnto you : and therefore fee that you vie them with fuch curtefie & entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they have ouer you for you shall finde many that will defire no better colour nor occasion, by force to take from you than they would have: bicause you vnwillingly also do graunt them the things they would, & nede. There is a report of a pretie leaft happened him in Syria. When he came to Antioche, he found a great number of people deuided on either fide of the streete, standing a row one by an other verie decently: the young men by them felues in fayer clokes, boyes by them felues in

> feemely aray, and priefts & other officers of the city also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. Cato thought straight they had made this solemne precession to honor him, and fell c

out with his men he had fent before, bicause they did suffer the to make such preparacion for his comming. So he made his frends light from their horfes, & go a foote to accompany him,

But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the mailter of these ceremonies that had as-

fembled all that company (an old man, having a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head)

came to Cato without faluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. This Demetrius had bene one of Pompeis flaues, & bicause Pompeis fame

was great with all men, his feruant Demetrius also was much honored and made of about his

deferte, for that he was in great credit with Pompey. Catoes frendes hearing what question the

olde man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this precession, Cato being a-

he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him felfe. So Pompey rebuked them, that through

and taking him by the hande, after he had imbraced and welcomed him, he prefently fell in

shamed of it, sayd no more then: but, O vnfortunate citie. Afterwards notwithstanding, when D

matter has ned vnto Ca.

Demetrius a flanc, great with Pom.

Case honored ignorance had failed to honor Cato. When Cato came to the citie of Ephes vs, and was com-

of Pompey in ming towardes Fompey to falute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignitie and estimacion then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puisant armie: Pompey seeing him comming towards him a farre of would not tary till he came to him, fitting in his chaire of estate, but rising vp went to meete him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of Rome,

praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euerie man after that had him in great veneracion for those things, which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble & E curteous mind. For men that faw Pompeis entertainment towards him knew well enough that Cato was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty observed, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him. but yet that he was glad when Cato went from him. For he fought to kepe backe all the young gentlemen of Rome that went to fee him, & defired them to remaine with him: but for Cate, he was nothing defirous of his company for that in his prefence he thought he could not comaund as he would, & therfore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other Romane that returned to Rome howbeit in dede Cato was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he paffed, deuised (in emulacion one of the other) which of the should honor him most, & made him F great feafts & bankets: in the which he prayd his freds to haue an eye to him, leaft vnwares he shold proue Curioes words true. For Curio somtime being his fred, & a familiar of his, misliking

a norwithstanding his severity: asked Gato if he would go see A 114, when his charge were expired Cato answered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well fayd o Carrie biope then shou wilt returne more pleasaunt and civilli. And these were Carriers wordes Burthermore, Deistarus king of GALATIA, being a very old manufent for Cate to come into his contrie to Tee Cates jones commend his fonnes & house varo him: who, when he arrived there; had great fisch prefents unto king of all fortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This formuche and his allmilliked and angered Cato, that he comming thisher in the evening after he had taried there finding from one whole day onely) the next morning he went his waye from thence at the thirde hower) significant Howbeit he had not gone one dayes iorney, but he found greater giftes that raried him; with the second seco

Deiotarus letters, at the citie of Passinvnta: in the which he instantly requested him to take n them, or at the least if he would refuse them him selfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongest his frendes, fith every way they did deserve it, but specially for his fake of for that his goodes also were not so great, as could content all his frends. But Cate would not suffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he faw well enough that there were some of them so tender harted, that they complayned of him, for that he woulde not suffer them to take any of it. For he tolde them, that otherwise, corruption and briberie could lacke no honest colour to take: and for his frends, they should alwayes have parte with him of that which

was his owne justly. So he returned king Deiotarus presentes backe againe. Nowe when he was readie to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVN: some of his frendes perswaded him, that it was better to put the asshes of his brother Capioes bones into an other r shippe. But he aunswered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leave his brothers relikes. Thereuppon he prefently hoysed sayle, and it is reported that he passed oner in great daunger, where other shippes arrived very safely. When he was returned vnto Rome, he was alwayes either talking Philosophie with Athenodorus the Philosopher, or else in the market place to pleasure his frendes. When his turne came that he was to make sure to be Quæftor, he would neuer fue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinaunces touching the office of Quartor, and that he had particularly made enquierie of men of greatest Caso made

office, but he presently made great alteracion amongest the clearkes and officers of the treafurie: who having the lawes and recordes in their handes, and exercising the office comn monly vnder young men which were chosen treasurers (who for their ignoraunce and lacke of experience, stoode rather in neede of maisters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them selues were the officers, and controlled them. But Cato not contenting him selfe with the name and honor of the thing, did throughly understande what the clearkes and registers shoulde be, and therefore would have them to be as they ought to be, ministers vnder the Quæstors only, telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also, that fauted through ignoraunce. And when he sawe fome infolent and impudent perfons, that curried fauour with other treasurers to be against him: he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falsehoode, in making division be-

twext two coheires, and confequently turned him cleare out of his office, for ever doing a-E ny thing there any more. He accused an other also for forging of a will, whome Catalas Luttatius defending, being then Cenfor, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office; Candles Labut chiefly for his vertue, being counted the instell man one of them in his time at Ro MH, and he was one of those also that highly commended Cato, & was conversant with him for his honest life: when he perceived that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But Cato would in no wife graunt it. But Catalus earnestly. intreating still for him: then Cato plainely fayd vnto him, It is a shame for thee (Catalas) thou that art Cenfor, and shouldest reforme all our lines, thus to forget the duetie of thine office,

fwere him: whether it were for shame, or anger, he went his way, & sayd neuer a word more. F Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voyce more that did condemne then cleere him, bicause of the absence of one of the Iudges. For Marcus Lollius, one of Catoes colleagues in the Quaftorfhip, being ficke at that time, and absent, Catulus fent vnto him,

to please our ministers. Catulus looking at Cato when he had spoken, as though he would aun-

experience to knowe what the authoritie of the office was. So, he no sooner came to his Queffor.

ZZZ iij

a litter after judgement genen, gane his laft voyce, which absolutely cleared him. Come this norwithflanding, would neuer whe him as a clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would come of Lolling Novce among others . Thus having pulled downe the pride and fromacke of these clearkes, and brought them vnto reason: in short time he had all the tables and records at his commaundement, and made the treasure chamber as honorable, as the Senate it selfe so than cuery man thought, and fayd, that Cato had added vnto the Quertorthippe the dignity of the Confulthip. For finding divers men indetted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth also vnto divers men : he sette downe such an order; that neither the common wealth should be deceived by any man, northat any man also should have wrong of it. For being rough with the that were indetted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their det. a and willingly & quickely also payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: so that the people were ashamed to see some pay which never thought to have payed any thing, and on the contrary fide also others payed, which never looked to have had any parte of their dettes payed them. Furthermore, divers men did before make falle billes of their dets, and brought them so to be put into the cofer of the Quastors: and many times also his predecessors were wont of fauor and frendship to receive falle messages. For whilest he was Quastor, he never did passe away matters so lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a message that was sent vnto him, to knowe whether it was true or no: albeit diners men did witnesse it was true, ver would be not beleue it, vntill fuch time as the Confulls them felues came in their owne perfons to instificit was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many vnto of whom Lucius Sylla being Dictator, had appointed in his fecond profcription twelve thowfand filuer Drachmas for every citizen and outlaw which they had flaine with their owne handes. These men, though every man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people & cruell murtherers: yet no man durst offer to be reuenged of them. Cato called these men in sute, as uenged of Syllaes bloods those that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treasure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: sharpely reprouing (and inftly) the wicked deuelish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were straight accused by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one judgement, they were brought into an other to the great toy of all the Romans, who then thought they faw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and Sylla him felfe punished. Besides all this, Catoes continuall paines P and care of the treasure, was so well thought of, and liked of the people, as could be. For he was alwayes the first that came to the coffer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was neuer wearie of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer missed to be at any asfembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, least lightly by fauor, any money due to the common wealth should be forgiven: or else that they should abate the rent of the farmers, or that they should geue no money but to the that had justly descrued it. Thus having ridde all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure: he made men see, that the common wealth might be riche, without oppreffing of any man. In deede at his first comming in to the office, his colleagues and companions founde him maruelous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and seuere : howbeit they all loued him in E the end, bicause he only withstoode the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or fauor let go the money of the common treasure) & was contented his companions should excuse them selues vnto their frends that were importunate, and lay the fault apon him, faying, that it was vnpossible for them to Cateernetable bring Cate vnto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his house by the people : it was told him that Marcellus, being in the treasure chamber, was attempted & enuironned with many of his frends, and men of great authoritie, that were earneftly in hande with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This Marcellas had bene Casoes frend even from their childhood, & whileft Cato was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him : but when he was left # alone, he was of fo gentle a nature, that he would eafily be intreated, and was as much athamed to deny any man, as he was also ouerreadie to graunt euerie man that he required. Care

A freight returned backe upponit, and finding that Marcellas had yeelded voto their impormacye, and recorded the gift: he caused the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did rate it mut before his face, Marcellas speaking neuera word to the contrary, Afterthat, Attacellas brought Cuts home, and never once repyned against that he had done neither then not at any time after but communed full friendfhippe with him, as he had done before. But move though Cato was out of his office of Quaftor, he was not without spialls of his ment in the treasure Catoes care rhamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasurie. And and some stress was

they came he went and fate downerin a corner by him felfe, and red closely the booke he had

under his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would never bee out of the citie on that

day when he knew the Senate floudd affemble, After that, Pompey and his conforts perceiuing

that it was unpossible to compell Cate, and much lesse to winne or corrupt him, to favor their

while doings they fought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Set

nate, and defending certeine of his friends causes, & to occupy him some other wayes about

matters of arbitrement. But Cate finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them . he tolde his

honny combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of

his friendes which he had in every province belonging to the Empire of Roma: he gotteinto

his handes the copies of all the chiefest actes, edicts, decrees, sentences, & the notablest judge

ments of the governors that remayned in recorde. Once Cato perceiving that Publics Clodius

E table like Crassus, buildest like Lucullus, & speakest to vs like Cato? So men commonly (m sport)

called them Catoes, which were grave and severe in their wordes, and diffolute in their deedes.

When divers of his friends were in hand with him to fue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for fuch an office(4) he)of great authoritie as that,

Care him felf having bought the bookes of accompt for the famme of five calents conteyning wealth. the revenue of the whole flate of the common wealth, from Sylles time vntill the very year of his Quartor fhippe: he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the a Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before

friendes once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no mans cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serue the common weakly to ena Catoes minda Onich him felfe as many did, heither for any glorye or reputacion, nor yet at all aduenture: but nation to take that he had aduitedly chosen to serve the common wealth, like a just and honest man, & there a charge in the fore thought him selfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the commo wealth

a seditious Orator amongest the people, did make great sturre, and accused divers vnto the affembly, as the Priestes and Vestall Nunnes: (amonge the which Pabia Terentia, Ciseroes wives caro drawe fifter was accused) he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace Clodius their accuser, that he clodius out of Il was driven to flie the citie. Citero therefore giving Cato thankes, Cato tolde him, that he must Rome.

thanke the common wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both sayd and did that he had done. Hereby Cato wanne him great fame. For when a certem Orator or common counfeller preferred one witnes vnto the ludges, the counfeller on thother fide tolde them, that one wit. The cultori-

nes was not to be credited, though it were Cato him felfe. Infomuch as the people tooke it vp tit and credit for a prougrbe among them, that when any man spake any straunge and vnlikely matter, they would fay : Nay though Cato him felfe faid it yet were it not to be beleued. When on a time a

certaine prodigall man had made along oration in the Senate, in praife and commendacion of sobrietie, temperace, & thriftines: one Amneus a Senator rising vp, said vnto him, alas, frend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to heare thee any lenger with pacience: that farest at thy

is not to be imployed, but like a stronge medicine in time of neede. So, the tearme and matters of lawe ceasing for that tyme, Cato went into the contry of LVKB to take his pleasure there, Cano tooke where he had pleasant houses; and tooke with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe him company. Bicause, meeting as he went, with divers sumpters and great carriage, and a be went into great traine of men befides, he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him it was Metellus the control Nepos that returned to Rome, to make fute to be Tribune. Thereuppon Cato flayed fodainely,

F and bethinking him felfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruailing at it he aunswered them : Doe not you know that Metellus is to be seared of him selfe, for his rathnes and folly? & now that he commeth instructed by Pompey, like a lightning he would ZZZ iiii

The office & the Tribune.

fer all the common wealth a fire? for this cause therefore, we must not now goe take out ples. fure in the contry but overcome his folly, or otherwise dye honorably in defence of our liber. tie. Yet at his friendes perswasions, he went first vnto his house in the contry. buttaried not long there, and returned fraight agains to ROME. When he came thither outrnight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, & fued to be Tribune of the people, purpose ly to croffe Metellas enterprise, bicause the power & authoritie of the Tribune cosisteth more in hindring, then doing any thing; for if all men els were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune would cary it from them all. Care at the first had not many of his friendes about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made fute for the Tribuneshing all his friends and noble men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incoraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to ferue the common wealth, then his a owne turne, confidering that where many times before he might (without reliftance or deniall) have obteined the same the state being toward no trouble, he then would never sue for inbut now that he faw it in daunger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the protection of her libertie. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to fanor his fute, that he was like to have ben stifled among them, & thought he should never have comen to the market place, for the preaffe of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he

was chosen Tribune with Metellus and others, he perceived how they bought & fold the your

ces of the people when the Confuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, & sharply

tooke them up for this detestable marchadise, and after his oration ended solemnly protested

Conful, Howbeit he spake nothing of Syllanus, whose sister, Seruilus, he had maried: but he statis

accused Lucius Murana, that had obtained to be Cosul with Syllanus, by meanes of his money

Now a law being prouided, that the party accused might have a keeper or spiall to follow the

by other that he would accuse him, & bewray his name, which had given money to be chosen ()

Catoes Tri-

accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend him selfe, knowing what should be objected against him: Murana having one for him to waite vpon Cato, to confider throughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not malicioully to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a just accuser the had so great confidence in Catoes vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow fifting of him otherwise he did one day aske him him felfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne house) if that day he were determined to profecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If Cate D aunswered him that he did not: then he went his way and simply beleued him. When the day cieno defin- came in deed that his cause was to be heard, and pleaded vnto: Cieero being Conful that yere, defending Murena, played fo pleasantly with the STOICKE Philosophers, and their straunge on pinions, that he made all the Judges laughe: infomuch as Cato him felfe smiling at him, tolde them that were by him: fee, we have a pleasant Consul that makes men laugh thus. So Mure ma beeing discharged by this judgement, did neuer after malice Cato for that, but so long as he remained Conful he was alwaies ruled by his counsel in all his affaires, and continued ever to honor him following his counfell in all thinges touching his office. Hereof Cato him felfe was cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and inflice: for otherwie, he was very civil & E curteous to al men. But before he entred into his Tribunethip, Cicero being yet Conful, he did The compine- helpe him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing Catilins conspiracie to good ende, which was a noble act done of him. For Catilin did practife a generall common, on and sturre in the common wealth, to ouerthrowe the whole state of Rome, by civill difcorde within Rome, and open warres abroade: who beeing discouered and ouercome by Cicere he was driven in the ende to flie Rome. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and many other of the accomplices of this conspiracie, blamed Catiline for his faynt and cowardly proceeding in it. For their partes, they had determined to burne the whole citie of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by ftraunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouinces. Howbeit this treason being discouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of Cicero, the B matter was referred vnto the judgement of the Senate, to determine what was to bee done therein, Syllanus beeing the first who was asked his opinion therein, sayde, that he thought it

against Rome.

CATO VTICAN. a good they should suffer cruell paines: and after him also, all the rest said the like, vntill it came to Cefar. Cefar being an excellent spoken man, & that rather defired to nourish then to quench any fuch sturres or leditions in the common wealth, being fit for his purpose long determined of made an oration full of sweete pleasant wordes, declaring vnto them, that to put such men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreasonable, and rather that they should doe better to keepe them in prison. This oration of Casar so altered all the rest of the Senators minds, for that they were affraid of the people: that Syllanus self mended his opinion againe, and faid, that he ment not they should put them to death, but keepe the falt in prison, bicause that to be a prisoner, was the greatest paine a Romane Citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being fo fodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauorable fen-R tence: Catorifing vp to fay his opinion, beganne very angrily with maruelous eloquence, grie- touching Cawould to reprove Syllanus for chaunging his mind, & sharply to take vp Cafar, that vnder a po- tilinu confliguler femblance, & maske of sweete sugred words, he sought vnder hand to destroy the common wealth, and also to terrifie and make the Senate affraid: where he him selfe should have ... bene affraid, and thinke him felfe happy, if he could scape from beeing suspected, giving such ,, apparant cause of suspicion as he did, going about so openly to take the enemies and traytors .» of the common wealth out of the hands of inflice, feming to have no pitie nor compassion of " his naturall citie, of fuch nobilitie and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter destruction, " but rather to lament the fortune of these wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne. & " whose death preserved Rome from a thowsand murthers & mischiefs. Of all the orations that " Cener Cate made, that only was kept: for Cicero the Conful, that day had dispersed diners penne men in fundry places of the Senate house, which had maruelous swift hands, and had further raught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in fewe lines shewed many ciero taught words. For vntill that time, writers were not knowen that could by figures & ciphers expresse them how to awhole sentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the first time that euer they by notes and were found out. So Cato at that time prevailed against Casar, and made them all chaunge their figure. mindes againe, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a ior of his maners, as the very pattern and impression of his mind: It is reported, that when Cato that day was fo whot, and vehement against Cafar, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both: a letter was delivered Cafar, fent him into the house. Cato began presently to suspect Dit, and so earnestly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commaunded his letter should be seene & red openly. Cafar thereupon reached his letter vnto Cato, that sate not farre from him, When Cato had red it, and found that it was a loue letter which his fifter Servilia had written vnto Cafar, whom the loued, and had knowen: he caft it againe to Cafar, & faid, there, dronkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begon before. In fine it feemeth that Cato was very unfortunate in his wives: for this Servilia, as we have fayd, care unformhad an ill name by Cafar. And the other Seruilia alfo, which was his fifter, was worfe defamed. For the being maried vnto Lucultus, one of the greatest men of Rome, by who the had a sonne, was in the ende put away from him, for her naughty life. But worft of all, his owne wife Attilia also was not altogether cleare without suspicion: For though he had two sonnes by her, yet E he was driven to be divorced from her, she was so naught and common. After that, he maried Martia, the Daughter of Fhilip, which by report seemed to be a very honest gentlewoman. It Maria cais the that is fo famous among the ROMANES. For in the life of Cato, this place (as a fable or toes wife. comedy) is disputable, and hard to be judged. For thus it was, as Thraseas writeth: who referrethall to the report and credit of one Munatius, Catoes very famillier friend. Amonge many that loued Catoes vertues, and had them in admiration, some of them did shew him more what he was, then other some did: amongest the which, was Q. Hortensius, a man of great honestie and authoritie. He, desiring not onely to be Catoes friend and famillier, but also to joyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houses one: was not abashed to moue him, to let him have his Daughter Porcia in mariage, (which was Bibulus wife, & had brought him F two children) that he might also cast abroade the seede of goodly children, in that pleasant fer-

tile ground. And though to men this might seeme a straunge mind and desire, yet that in re-

fpect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the common wealth, not to suffer a young

Platoes felow fhip and communitie of women. woman in the prime of her youth, to lofe the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare childrens nor also that he should impouerish his sonne in lawe with moe children, then one house need ded. And further that communicating women in this fort from one to another, specially been ing bestowed apon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue should thereby bee increased the more, being so dispersed in divers families, & the citie likewise should be the stronger, by making alliances in this fort together. And if it be fo, o he, that Bibulus doe loue his wife fo dearly, that he wil not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him again, when he had a child by her, that therby he might be the more bound in frendship to him, by meanes of this communication of children with Bibalus felfe, and with him. Cate auniwered him that he loued Hortenfius well, and liked of his alliance: howbeit that he maruelled he would freake to him to let him have his Daughter to get children of fith he knew that the was maried to an R other. Then Hortenfius altering his tale, stucke not to tell him his mind plainly, and to defire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and Cato had children enough, But a man can not tell whether Hortenfus made this fute, bicause he saw Cato make no reckoning of Martia. for that the was then with child by him. In fine, Cato feeing the earnest desire of Hortensius, he did not dehy him her, but told him, that he must also get Philips good wil, the father of Martia. He knowing that Cato had graunted his good wil, would not therfore let him haue his daughter, before that Cato him felfe by his presence did confirme the contract & mariage with him. Though these thinges were done longe after, yet having occasion to talke of Catoes wives, I thought it not amiffe to anticipate the time. Now Lentulus, and his conforts of Catilines conspiracie being put to death: Cafar, to cloke the accusations wherewith Cato charged him in o- C pen Senate, did put him felf into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehells and feditious persons together, which sought to set al at six and seven, he did further encorage them in their mischieuous intent & practises. Whereuppon, Cato fearing least such rabble of people should put all the common wealth in vprore & daunger: he perswaded the Senat to winnethe poore needy people that had nothing by distributing of corne amongest them, the which was done: For the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelve hundred and fifty talents. This liberalitie did manifestly drinke vp and quench all those troubles which they stoode in seare of. But on thother side, Metellus entring into his Tribuneship, made certen seditious orations and asfemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that Pompey the great should prefently be called into I TALY with his armie, that he should keepe the citie by his comming, from the present daun-D ger of Catilins conspiracie. These were but words spoken for facions sake, but in deede the law had a fecret meaning, to put the whole common wealth and Empire of Rome into Pompers hands. Hereuppon the Senate affembled, wherein Cato at his first comming, spake somewhat gently, and not to vehemently against Metellus, as his maner was to be sharpe vnto them that were against him; but modestly perswaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his house, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But Metellus therewith tooke fuch pride & conceit of him felfe, that he began to despise Cato, thinking he had vied that mildnes, as though he had beene affraide of him: infomuch as he gaue out prowd speeches against him, and cruell threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then Cato chaunging his countenaunce, his voice and speech, after E he had spoken very sharply against him: in the ende he roughly protested, that while heliued, he would neuer fuffer Pompey to come into Rome with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their witts, but that Metellus doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred from the and extreame malice, would put all in hazard: & that which Cato did, was a rauishment and extacy of his vertue, that made him beside him selfe contending for inflice and equitie. When the day came that this law should paffe by voyces of the people, Metellus fayled not to be in the market place with a worlde of straungers, flaues, and fenfers, armed, and fet in battell raye, befides a number of the common people that were defirous to fee Pompeys returne, hoping after chaunge. Besides all those, Casar then being Prætor, gaue ayde likewise with his men, in the behalf of Metellus. On the contrary part also, the noble F men and Senators of the citie were as angry as Cato, and faid it was a horrible shame: howbeit they were his friendes, rather in misliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Where-

Cator: lifteth Metellus, tribune of the

ded corne to be distributed

people.

Iulius Cafar Prasor.

Whereuppon, all his friendes at home, and his whole family, were maruailoully perplexed & forowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for seare of Cato. But he, as one without feare, having a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and had them not forow for him; and after he had supped, as he commonly vsed to doe, he went to bed, and flept foundly all night, till the morning that Minutius Thermus, his colleague & fellow Tribune, came & called him. So they both went together into the market place, accomnanied with a very few after them: Whereuppon divers of their friends came and met them by the way & bad them take heede vnto them selues. When they were come into the market place, and that Cato faw the temple of Caftor and Pollux full of armed men, and the degrees or fleppes kept by fword players and fenfers, and Metellus on the top of them fet by Cafarturning n to his friends he fayd, see I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, and vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion Thermus vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of them selues to let him passe, but they would let no other goe vp but him selse: But Cato with much adoc, taking Minutius by the hand, got him up with him, and when he was come up, he fare course and him downe betwixt Metellus and Cafar, to keepe them a fonder, that they should not whisper conflancie. one in anothers eare. Neither of them both could tell what to fay to him. Whereuppon the noble men that confidered Catoes countenaunce and boldnes, wondring to fee it, drew neare, and by their cryes willed him not to be affrayd, but encoraged one another to sticke by him, that stoode for defence of their libertie. So, there was a seruaunt that tooke the written law in Chis hand, and would have red it to the people: but Cato woulde not let him . Then Metellus tooke it him felfe in his handes to reade it: but Cate also snatched it out of his handes. Metellus notwithstanding, having it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by harte. But Thermus clapped his hande before his mouthe to keepe him that he shoulde not fpeake. Metellus feeing thefe two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side: he beckned to his men to goe for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terror and cryes to make them affrayd, and so they did. The people thereuppon were dispersed here and there for feare, that Cato was left alone in the market place, and they threwe stones at him from beneath. But then Murana, who had before accused Cato for buying of the Consulthippe, for sooke him not in D that daunger, but holding his longe gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that threwe at Cato, to leave. So shewing him thedaunger he had brought him selfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of Castor and Pollux. Then Metellus feing the pulpit for orations voyded, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: Whereuppon commaunding his fouldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his lawe. But his enemies that sled for feare, being gathered againetogether in the market place, beganne a freshe to cry out against Metellus, with greater boldnes and corage then before. Then Metellus and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for orations. So, when Metellus and his E company were gonne, Cato came agayne to the pulpit for orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereuppon the common people were then against Metellus, and the Senate also being affembled gaue order, that Gate should have better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist Metellus lawe, which onely tended to moue sedition & civill warre in Ro MB . For Metellus selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to followe his attempt and enterprise : but perceiuing that his friendes were maruelously affraide of Cato, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he fodainely came into the market place, and affembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bringe Cate in disgrace with the people, and amongest other thinges he fayd, that he would withdraw him selfe out of this ty-Frannicall power of Catoes, and his conspiracie against Pompey, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed Rome, and went into A stato informe Pompey of all this

mon wealth from the great trouble of fuch a foolish Tribune, and by ouerthrowing Meteller he had also suppressed the power of Pompey. But he was yet much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would have noted Metellus of infamie, and deprived himse his office, the which he would not fuffer them to doe. The common people thought him of a curreous and gentle nature, bicause he would not treade his enemie vnder his foote, when he had the upper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him; but wife me iudged it otherwise, that it was wisely done of him not to prouoke Pompey. About this time returned Lucullus from the warre, of the which it semed that Pompey had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely also to have bene put from his honor of triumph. for that Caius Memmius was his adverfary, who layed many accusations against him before p the people, rather to please Pompey, then for any malice els he had towards him. But Cate both for that Lucullus was his brother in law, and had maried his owne fifter Servilia, as also for that he faw they did him wrong: refilted this Memmius, & defended many accusations against him. So that in the end, though Memmius had labored that Cato should be deprived of his office.as from a tyrannicall power: yet Cato compelled Memmius at the last to leaue of his accusations. and to profecute law no more against him. Thus Lucullus having obteined honor of triumph, did embrace Catoes friendship more then before taking him for a fure bulwarcke & defense against the power of Pompey the great. But Pompey shortly after returning home againe, with great honor from his conquests, trusting that for respect of his welcome he should be denved nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: fent before vnto the Senate, to pray them of for his fake to deferre the election of the Confuls, vntill he came to Rome, that being preferr he might fauor Piloes fute, fuing to be Conful. Thereunto the most part of the Senate gaue their consent, but Cate on thother side was against it, not that the deferring of the time wasa matter of fuch importance, but to cut all hope from Pompey to goe about to attempt any newe deuifes, infomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and Pompeys request was denied. Pompey being maruelously troubled withall, and perceiving that Cato would be against him in all things if he found not some deuile to winne him : he sent for his friend Munatius, by his meanes to demaind Catoes two Neces of him which were mariable: the eldeft for him felf. & the voilgest for his sonne. Others say also, that they were not his Neces, but his own daughters. Munatius did Pompeys meffage, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his fifters, who p maruelously defired Pompeys alliance, for the greatnes and dignitie of hisperson. But Cato making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleased with the motion, aunfwered him prefently. Munatius, goe thy way vinto Pompey againe, and tell him that Cato is not to be wonne by women, though otherwife I mislike not of his friendship: and withall, that so long as he shall deale verightly in all causes, & none otherwise, that he shall find him more affuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: & yet, that to fatisfie Pompeys pleasure and will against his contry, he wil neuer give him such pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his aunswer & refusall, saying, it was too stately and vncurteous. But afterwardes it chaunced, that Pompey fuing to have one of his friendes made Conful, he fenta great fumme of money to brybe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & fpo- H ken of bicause the money was told in Pompeys owne garden. Then did Cato tell the women of his house, that if he had now bene bound by allyance of mariage vnto Pompey, he should then haue bene driven to have bene partaker of Pompeys shamefull acts. When they heard whather had told them, they all confessed then that he was wifer to refuse such alliance, then they were that wifhed and defired it. And yet, if men thould sudge of wifedom, by the fucceffe and event of things. I must needes say, that Cato was in great fault for refusing of this allyance. For thereby he was the cause of Pompeys matching with Cafar, who ioyning both their powers together was the whole destruction of the Empire of Rome: Whereas peraduenture it had not fallen our fo, if Cato fearing Pompeys light faultes, had not caused him by increasing his power with another to commit farre greater faultes. Howbeir those thinges were yet to come. Fur # thermore, Pompey being at latte with Lucullus, touching certain ordinances which he had made in the Realme of Pontvs, bicause both the one and the other would have their ordinances to

A takeplace: Cato fauoured Lucullus, who had open wronge. Pompey therefore feeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke parte with the people, and purforthe the lawe for di- Lex granie. miding of the landes amongest the souldiers. But Cato stowtly resisting that lawe agayne, he put it by , and made Pompey thereby in a rage to acquaynte him felfe with Publics Clodius , the moste seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made allyance enen at that tyme with Cafar, whereof Cato him felfe was the onely Author. Cafar returning out of SPAYNE from his Prætorshippe, required the honour of tryumphe, and withall made fute to bee Confull. But beeing a lawe to the contrary, that they that fued to bee Confulls shoulde bee present them selves in the citie, and suche also as desired honour of triumphe, shoulde bee without the citie: he earnestly required the Senate, that he myght ne for the Confulthippe by his friendes. The moste parte of the Senate were willing vntoit, but Cato was flatly agaynst it. He perceyuing that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie Cafar, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole daye in his oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they coulde not conclude any thinge. Then Cafar letting fall his tryumphe, made fute to be Confull, and entring the cine joyned friendshippe with Pompey. Hereuppon he was chosen Consul, and immediatly aftermarved his Daughter Iulia vnto Pompey: and so having made in manner a conspyracie betwint Casar agaynft the common wealth betweene them felues, Cafar preferred the lawe Agraria, for and Pomper. distributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and Pompey was present to mainteyne the publicacion thereof. Lucullus and Cicero on thother fide taking parte with Bibulus the other Conc full, did what they coulde agaynst it, but specially Cato: who fearing muche this allvance of Cafar and Pompey, that it was a pacte and conspiracie to ouerthrowe the common wealth. fayde, that he cared not so muche for this lawe Agraria, as he feared the rewarde they looked for, who by fuche meanes dyd intife and please the common people. Therewithall. the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people belides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his parte: maruailing muche, and also beeing offended with Cafars greate vnreasonablenes and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Confulshippe did preferre suche thinges, as the moste seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to doe, to currye fauour with the people, and by fuche vile meanes fought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, Cafar and his friends D fearing fo greate enemies, fell to open force. For to beginne with all, as the Conful Bibulus was going to the market place, there was a basket of donge powred vppon his heade: and furthermore, the Officers roddes were broken in their handes, which they carried before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them beeing hurt, they all at length were driven to five, and leave the market place. But Cato, he came laste of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast backe his heade, and curfed such Citizens . So they did not onely passe this lawe Agraria by voyces of the people, but surthermore they added to it: that all the Senate shoulde bee sworne to stablishe that lawe. and bee bounde to defende the fame, (if any attempted the alteracion thereof) vppon greate penalties and fines to bee fette on his heade, that shoulde refuse the othe. All E the other Senators sware agaynst their wills, remembring the example of the mischiese that chaunced vnto the olde Metellus, who was banished out of ITALY, bicause he would not sweare to suche a like lawe. Whereuppon, the women that were in Casees house, befought him with the teares in their eyes, that he woulde yeelde and take the othe: and fo did also divers of his friendes besides. Howebeit, he that moste inforced and ciero by his brought Cato to sweare, was Cicero the rator: who perswaded him, that peraduenture gration brake he woulde bee thought vnreasonable, that beeing but one man, he shoulde seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a sonde parte of him wilfully to put him felfe in fo greate daunger, thinking to hynder a matter already paste remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconvenience woulde happen, if The forfooke his contrye (for whose sake he did all these thinges) and left it a praye vnto

them, which fought the vtter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to bee ridde

from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For, fayde he, though Cato have

which, Cicero fayde he was the thiefe, and was moste maliced of P. Clodius the Tri-

bune, who fought to drive him out of the contrye. It is fayde that Cato beeing wome

by these like wordes and perswasions at home, and openly in the market place, they so

fofetned him, that he came to take his othe laste of all men, but one Phaonius, a very friende

Cato committed to prifor by Cafar.

P.Clodius, Tribune of the people. The crafty swixs Cafar

Cato fent Am

of his. Cafars harte beeing then lift vppe, for that he had brought his first purpose to paffe: beganne nowe to preferre an other lawe, to divide all CAMPANIA, and the comtrye called TERRA DI LAVORO, (the lande of labour) vnto the poore needy people of Rome, and no man stoode against him but Cato. Whereuppon Casar made his officers to take him from the pulpit for orations, to cary him to prison. All this made not Cato stowne. nor leave his franke speeche, but as he went he still spake against this edicte, and per- n fwaded the people to beware of them that preferred fuche lawes. All the Senate, and the beste force of Citizens followed Cato with heavy hartes, shewing by their silence. that they were offended and angrye for the injurye they did vnto him, beeing so worthy a man. Insomuch as Casars selfe perceived that the people were offended with it, and ver of ambition & stomacke, he looked alwayes when Cato would have appealed vnto the people. So when he faw that Cato ment no fuch matter, at length ouercomen with shame and dishonor, he him felfe procured one of the Tribunes to take Cato from the Sergeaunts. In fine, all Cafars practife tended to this ende, that when he had wonne the peoples fauor by fuch lawes: they should then graunt him the government of all the GAVLE (aswell on this side, as bewond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of four legions, for the space of fine c yeares, notwithstanding that Cato told the people before, that they them selues with their own voyces did fet vppe a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did also chuse Publius Clodius Tribune of the people, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the law, But this Clodius had promifed them, fo that they would helpe him to banish Cicero out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made Calphurnius Pifo (Cafars wifes father) and Gabinius Paulus, (a man wholly at Pompeys commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Confuls the next yeare following. Now, not with standing they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne parte of the citie with brybes, and the other parte also with feare: yet they were both affraid of Cato, when they confidered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly not-n withstanding, and to their great shame, beeing driven to vse force, and yet thought they should neuer haue done it. Furthermore, Clodius vtterly dispaired that he could possibly banish Cicero, so longe as Cato was there. So deuising wayes howe to doe it, when he had taken possession of his office, he sent for Cato, and beganne to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and justest man of Rome, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For where many made fute vnto him to be fent into CYPRVs, to make warre with king Ptolong: he thought none fo worthy as him felfe, and therefore for the goodwill he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. Cato strayght cryed out with open mowth, that this was a deuise to intrappe him, not to pleasure him. Then Clodius prowdly and siercely aunswered him, well, seeing thou wilt not goe with good will, thou shalt goe then against E thy will: and so he did . For at the first affemblye of the citie, he caused the people to graunt his commission for his iorney thither: but they neyther appoynted him shippes, nor souldiers, nor any other Ministers to goe with him, fauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villayne and arrant theefe, and the other, one of Clodius followers. Besides all this, as if they had appoynte him but litle to doe in CYPRVS against Ptolomy, he made them commaunde him after that, to goe and restore the outlawes and banishedmen of the citie of EYZANTIVM, vnto their contrye and goodes agayne, of purpose onely to keepe Cato farre enoughe from Rome, whylest he continued Tribune. Cato been ing driven by necessitie to obeye, he counselled Cicero (whome Clodius pursued) to beware that he made no sturre agaynst him, for seare of bringing Rome into civill warre and murther for his fake: but rather, to absent him selfe, that he might an other tyme preserve his contrye. After that, he fent his friende Canidius before into CYPRVS, vnto Ptolomye, to

a nerswade him to bee quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he shoulde nether lacke honour nor riches, for the Romanes woulde graunt him the priesthoode of Venus in the citie of PAPHOS. Cate in the meane tyme remayned in the Ile of RHODES. preparing him felfe there, and abyding his aunswer. In the tyme of these sturres, Ptolomy king of AGYPT, for Ptolomy king a certen offence and discorde with his subjectes, departing out of ALEXANDRIA, sayled to- of AEgypt, wardes Rome, hoping that Cafar and Pompey with a greate armie woulde restore him to his Case. crowne and kingdome agayne. He beeing defirous to fee Cato, fent vnto him, supposing he woulde come at his fending for. Cate by chaunce was occupyed at that tyme about some busines, and badde the Messenger will Ptolomy to come to him, if he woulde see him. So when Ptolomy came, he nether went to meete him, nor rose vppe vnto him, but onely weln comed him, and badde him fitte downe. It amazed the king at the first to see vnder so simple and meane a trayne, fuche a statelines and maiestie in Catoes behauior. But when he hearde him boldely talke with him of his affayres, and fuche graue talke come from him, reprouing his follye he had committed, to for fake suche princely pleasure and wealth, to goe and subiect him felfe vnto fuche dishonour, suche extreame paynes, and suche passing greate giftes and prefents, as he shoulde throwe awaye, to satisfie the conetournes of the rulers at Rome, the which was fo vnfatiable, that if all the Realine of AGYPT were converted into filuer to give amonge them, it woulde fearce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counfelled him to returne backe with his nauve, and to reconcile him felfe agayne with his fubjectes, offering him felfe also to goe with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then Ptolomy comming to him felfe, and repenting him of his follye, knowing that Gato tolde him truely, and wifely: he determined to followe his counfell, had not his friendes turned his mynde to the contrarye. So when Ptolomy came to Rome, and was driven to wayte at the gates of the Magistrates that were in authoritie: he sighed then, and repented his follye, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other Ptolomy that was in CYPRVS (a happye turne for Cato) poyloned him felfe. Cato beeing also informed that he lefte a wonderfull fumme of money behynde him, he determined to goe him selfe vnto BYZANTIVM, and sent his Nephewe Brutus into CYPRVS, bicause he durst not truste Canidius so farre. Then hauing restored the banished men vnto the peoples fauour agayne, settinge agreement D betwirt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he founde a maruailous greate trea- caree difffure, and plate bothe of golde and filuer, tables, precious stones, hanginges, and purple filkes, all the which he was to make readye money of. There he tooke greate care prus. and paynes to rayle all thinges to the vimolte and dearest pryces that coulde bee, and he him felfe was present at all, to keepe reckoning of the laste penney. Wherefore, to bringe this to passe, he woulde not stande to the common vse of the sale of the cryer, but suspected them all, bothe cryers, prayfers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked him felfe with the prayfers, and made them fette highe pryfes vppon euery thinge that was to bee folde. And thus were the moste parte of the goodes folde and caryed awaye, at the dearest pryces. This did maruelously offende the moste of his friendes, The emy be-E when they sawe that he did mistruste them: but Munatius specially, his dearest friende, mixt Cato & tooke it so inwardely, that he thought neuer to bee friendes with him agayne. Insomuche as in the booke Cafar wrote agaynst Cato, in this place he forceth moste the accusation agaynst him. Munatius notwithstanding wryteth, that he was not angrye so muche with Cato for that he mystrusted him, but for a certayne disdayne he had him selfe of Cato, and for the emulacion betwixt him and Canidius. For Munatius wrote 2 booke of Catoes deedes and fayinges, whome Thraseas in his historye chiefly followed.

In this booke he sheweth that he came late into Cyprys, and was very ill lodged. And fur-

thermore also, that when he woulde have comen into Catoes house, they kept him out of

the gates, for that Cato was busie, doing some thinge with Canidius. He modestly complay-

Fining of it vnto Cato, had this churlish aunswer: ouermuch loue, sayth Theophrastus, oftentimes caufeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouer louing me, doeft thinke that I effecme thee not Tomuch love as thou deseruest, and therefore art angry with me. And for Canideus, I must tell thee truely, cantest have,

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I doe rather employe him for his skill and faithfulnes in thinges, then any man els: for that A he hath beene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was never brybed, but cleane handed still. These wordes Cato tolde Munatim secretly betweene them two: buras. terwardes he knewe that he had also reported them vnto Canidius. When he sawe that he would no more go and suppe with Cato as he was wont, and when he was also called to counfell, he would not come there nether. Wherefore Cato threatned him, that he would feafe voon all his goods and carriage, as they vie to handle them that are disobedient vnto inflice. This notwithstanding, Munatius cared not for it, but tooke sea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing Cato grudge a long time. Then Martia, being at that time Catoes wife, spake with him, and were both bidden to supper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called Barca. Thereuppon Cato al. fo arrived, and came thither, when they were all fette at supper, and asked where he should sit, B Barea tolde him agayne, where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he sayd he would fitte by Munating: and so fetching a compasse about the borde, he went and sate by him.but offered him no friendshippe and familiaritie all supper tyme. Afterwardes notwithstanding, at the request of Martia, that was earnestly in hande with Cato for him: he wrote vnto him, and willed him to come and speake with him. Munatius went to Catoes house in the morning, where Martia stayed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the rest that came to salute Cato, were departed. Then Cato comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very muche of him. We have the willinglier dilated this matter at length, bicause mens natures and manners might be discerned even in these small matters of friendshippe privately, as otherwise in the greatest publicke causes. Now touching Catoes commission, he gottetogether litle leffe then feuen thowfand filuer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farreneffe of sen togesher the jorney he had to goe by fea, he made divers litle cofers, and put into every one of them two talents, and five hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto eache of them a longe rope, and a greate peece of corcke: bicause that if the shippe should fortune to miscarye, those corckes might showe where the chestes with money laye in the bottome of the sea. Thus was all the money faued, fauing a litle, and brought fafely to Rome. Cate having made two bookes wherin he had noted all thinges done in his jorney, he could neither faue thone nor thother of them. For one of his bondmen made free called Philargyrus, tooke the one away: who taking shippe at the hauen of Cenchrees, was him felfe drowned, and the booke he had alfo, loft with him, The other booke which he him felfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corrov: he lying in the n market place of the citie in his tents, which he caused to be set vppe: the Mariners being very cold in the night, made fo great a fire, that it burnt the tents, stuffe, booke and all. Notwithstanding he brought certaine of the late king Ptolomyes flaues with him, who while he lived, had the charge and custodie of all histreasure and riches, the which he brought as witnesses, to stoppe the mouthes of his malicious enemies, that would have accused him in any thinge, But yet the loffe of them did grieue him, not fo much for the greate care and paynes he had taken in fetting downe the accompt of his charge, for the inftification and proofe of his fidelitie and good feruice: but also, for that they might have ferued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to have bene a like carefull in their charge, as him felf. But the goddes denyed him this good happe. Newes beeing brought that he was come to Rome by water, E when they understood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magistrats, the Priestes, the Senate, & the most part of the people also went out to meete him by the rivers side : so that both fides of the river of Tyber were full of people, and the receiving of him in, feemed not inferior to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithstanding, some thought him very presumptuous, that the Confuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not stay his gally, but rowed still yp the streame (beeing in a kinges galley of fix owers to euery bancke) and neuer stayed, vntill all his fleete arryued in the hauen. This notwithstanding, when the cofers with mony were carried thorough the market place into the treasure chamber, the people wondred to see so great a quantitie of it. And thereuppon the Senate being affembled, with great and honorable words they gaue Cato an extraordinary Prætorship, and priviledge also, at any common sports # to weare a purple gowne. Cato refused all these honours, and onely befought the Senate to make Nicias a free man, Steward of the late diseased king Ptolomy, being a witnes of his faith

into Rome with great she people.

by Caso in

A and great paynes he had taken in this service. Philip the father of Martia, was that yeare Conful so that after a forte, the authoritie of the Conful was in Gato: bicause Lentulus, colleague and fellowe Conful with Philip, did no leffe renerence Cato for his vertues, then Philip did for his allyance with him . Furthermore, when Cicero was restored agayne from his banishment, the which Fublius Clodius (beeing then Tribune of the people) had put apon him, and beeing agayne growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of Clodius. by force to take awaye the tables which Clodino had confecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the tyme he was Tribune. Thereuppon the Senate beeing afsembled, Clodius did accuse Cicero of this violent facte. Cicero aunswered him agayne: that hicause Clodius was chosen Tribune, directly against the lawe, therefore all his doings were B voyde, and of no validitie. Then stoode vppe Cato, and say de; he knewe that all that which clodius did when he was Tribune, was scantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man shoulde vindoe all that he had passed by that authoritie: then all that he him selfe had done likewise in CYPRVS, must of necessitie bee renoked. For the commission that was oraunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many thinges) (houlde be vnlawfull: bicause the Tribune also that did graunt it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that Publius Clodius was not made Tribune agaynst the lawe, who by consent of the lawe was taken out from a noble house, and made a populer person: howebeit, if he had behaued him felfe vinduetifully in his office, as other men that happely had offended: then he was to be accused to make him mend his faulte, and not to destroye the authoritie of the officer, which in r it selfe was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt Cicero and Cato, for this counter buffe he had given him: and Cicero continued a long tyme after, before he did shewe him any countenaunce of friendshippe as he had at other tymes done. But afterwardes they were reconciled together agayne, by this occasion. Pompey and Crassus having bene with Casar to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of GAVLE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the second Consulthip together, and when they had it, then to proroge Cafars government for five yeares more, and also they woulde have the best prouinces and greatest, for them selves, with great armies, and money enough to paye them with . This was in deede a playne conspiracie to denide the Empire of Rome betweene them, and veterly to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. At that time there were ma-D ny noble men, which came to make fute for the Confulthip. But when they fawe Pompey and Crassus offer to make sute for it, all the reste gaue ouer, but Lucius Domitius that had marved Porcia, Catoes fifter: through whose perswassion he woulde not relinquishe his sute, considering that it was not the office onely of the Confulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumor through the most parte of the people, that they were not to suffer Pompeys power to be joyned with Craffus, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie woulde beetoo great and stronge, and therefore, that of necessitie one of these two were to bee denyed. For this cause therefore, the good men tooke Domitius parte, and did encourage him to goe on with his fute, affuring him of ayde vnder hande of divers, which durst not bee seene openly for seare of those two E great men, who at the daye of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. Pompey and Crassus mistrusting this, made Domitius bee sette uppon, going with torche light before daye into the fielde of Mars, where the election was alwayes made: and first striking the torche bearer that went before him, they hurt him fo fore, that he fell downe deade at his feete. Then they layed at the rest in like case, who finding them selves cruelly hurt, ranne awave enery man of them, and left Domitius and Cato polt alone. But Cato, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his armes, still helde Domitius fast, and prayed him to tary, and not to leave to defende the libertie of their contrie, agaynst tyrants, which playnely shewed after what manner they woulde gouerne, fithe by fuche wicked meanes they afpyred to tyrannicall gouernment. All this notwithstanding, Domitius woulde targe no lenger, but betooke F him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were Crassus and Pompey without denyall proclaymed Confuls. Gato neuer yeelded therefore, but came and fued to bee Prætor, bicaufe that PVhy Care thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenaunce to him against their Conful- Preser. AAAA iij

shippe, that beeing no private person, he shoulde have some better authoritie to resistehen A

that were the chiefest persons. But they searing, that the Przetorshippe by the estimation of

Cato, woulde come to equal their authoritie of the Consulfhippe: first assembled the Senate

(the most parte of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that assembly ecaused the Senate to

decree: that all fuche as were chosen Prætors, shoulde presently goe to their charge, notat-

tending the tyme and libertie appoynted by the lawe, during which tyme men might accuse

those which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then having by this culler

and decree sette yll doers at libertie, without seare of punishment, they pretending to yie

corruption, did preferre some of their owne Ministers to make sute for the Prætorshippe,

them selues giving money to corrupt the people, and beeing present also at the election. But

the people had him in fo great reuerence, that they thought it too shamefull a parte to fell

notwithstanding all these practiles, the vertue and reputation of Cato ouercame them. For R

Cato by voyces, who deserved rather to bee hyered to take the Prætorshippe apon him. Then ship by Pom-

Cato WALA-

for the pro-

gainst the law

the first Tribe beeing called to give their voyces, declared him Prætor. Pompey seeing that. straight brake of the affemblye, making a shamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMANES doe maruelously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundereth. Howebeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and thereby draue awaye the chiefest men out of the fielde of Mars, and by practife obtayned, that Vatinius was chosen Prætor for Cato. And thereporte went, that they that had so wickedly given their voyces, feeling them felues pricked in conscience, fledde immediatly out of the fielde: and the honest men that remayned, were both very fory and angrie, for the injurie they had offered Cato. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an affemblye of the citie. Cato stoode vppe, and tolde (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what woulde happen to the common wealth by these practises, and stirred vppe the people agaynst Pomper, and Cafar, faying: that they were giltye of those thinges, and therefore procured them to bee done, bicause they were affrayde that if Caso had beene Prætor, he would too narrowly have fifted out their deuises. In fine, Cate going home to his house, had more companye to wayte vppon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had beene chosen. When Caius Treboniw, Tribune of the people, had preferred a lawe for the deuiding of the provinces vnto the newe Confuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA vnto theother, with full power to make warre as they thought good bothe by sea and lande: all other D men having no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and spake nothing to contraryeit. Then Cato getting vppe into the pulpit for orations, before the people beganne to give their voyces, coulde hardely haue two howers space to speake: but at length, they perceyuing that he delayed tyme by foretelling thinges to come, woulde fuffer him to speake no longer, but fent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cryed out notwithstanding, and divers gave good eare vnto him: the Sergeaunt went to him agayne, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howebeit the Officer had no sooner left him, but he went strayght towardes the pulpit for orations, and there cryed out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to have an eye to ayde the libertie of their common wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentymes toge- E ther did this. Trebonius the Tribune being madde withal, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary him to prison. The people followed him hard notwithstanding, to heare what he sayd vnto them. Whereuppon Trebonius fearing some sturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt to let Cato goe. So Cato draue of all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithstanding, the contrary faction having partly put the ROMANES in feare, and wome the other parte also by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewise kept Aquilius, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate: and after they had also violently driven Cato out of the market place, for faying that it thundred, and having hurt many men, and also flayne some out of hande in the market place: in the ende they forcibly passed the decree by voyces of the people. Many beeing offended therewith, went a company of them p together to plucke downe Pompeys images: but Cato would not fuffer them. And afterwardes also, when they preferred an other law for the prorogacion of the prouinces & armies which

A Cefar demaunded : Cato would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto Cato foresbepompey him selfe, that he saw not how he plucked Cafar apon him, and that he should feele the the shings weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither fuffer nor remedy which bapper it he would even cast his burden and him selse apon the common wealth, and too late would ned vinto remember Catoes warnings, which were privately as profitable for Pompey, as openly just and for reasonable for the comon wealth. Cato vsed many of these perswasions fundry times vnto him, but Pompey neuer made accompt of them: for he woulde not be perfeaded that Cafar would ener change in that forte, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperitie. Furthermore, Cato was chosen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appear cato chosen red (though he ministred instice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie Pretor. R and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenaunce by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foote barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and there geue sentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would geue audience when he had dyned, and dronke wine : but that is vntrue. Now Caso prefer-Cato perceiving that the citizens of Rome were marred by bribes and gifts of those, which a- red alan for foired vnto offices, and that the people made it an arte and facultie to gaine by: to roote this bing. vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consults or Prators, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer them felues before the judges, and taking their othe, should truely declare what meanes they had vied to attaine to their office. This offended the futers for the C offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. VV hereuppon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out voon him, reuiled him, and threw stones at him: infomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and him felfe also was driven out of the place by the prease of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feete, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldnes and constancie of his countenaunce only. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he vied, aprly spoken to purpose for the instant, they geuing attentiue care, without sturre or vprore. The Senate geuing him great commendacion therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: but I have no cause to praise you to leave a Prætor in fuch daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the futers for the offices, they D were in a maruelous case: for one way, they were affrayed to geue money to buy the peoples voyces, and on thother fide, they were affraied also if any other did it, that they should go without their fute. So they were all agreed together, every man to put downe twelve Myriades & a halfe a peece, and then they should make their fute justly & vprightly : and who focuer were taken fauty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded between them, they chose Cato(as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in Catoes house, where they all did put in caution or furcties to aunswere the money: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, Cato affilting the Tribune that gouerned the election, and carefully marking howe they did geue their voyces: he E spied one of the suters for the office breake the accord agreed upon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the rest. But they greatly commending his instice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had fofeited, to be condemned by Cato. But therby Cato procured him felfe the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he feemed therein to take apon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court, and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credit doth procure more enuy, then The power inflice doth: bicause the people doe commonly respect and reuerence that, more then any of inflice. other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valliant men, nor have them in admiration, as they do wife men: but they loue and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are affrayed of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valliancy and wisdom com-F meth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choyce, efteeming wifedome,

as a readines of conceit, and fortitude, a prefence and courage of the minde, For every man

may be just that will, and therefore injustice is of all otherwices most shamefull: for it is a wil-

AAAA iiij

CATO VTICAN. 835 full and malicious defaut, and therefore can not be excused. Loe this was the cause why all A the noble men in manner were against Cato, as though he only had ouercome them. Powper he thought that the estimacion of Cate was altogether the discountenaunce of his power and greatnesse, and therefore did dayly raise vp many railers against him. Of them Fublius Clodin that seditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in frendship with Pompey: he accused Cato, and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treasure, by his commission in Cypros: and that he was enemy vnto Pompey, bicause he did refuse to marry his daughter. Cato thereto made aunswas, that he had brought more golde and filuer out of CYPRVS, into the treasure of Rome, without the allowance of either horse or fouldier: then Pomper had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer feeke alliance with Pompey, not that he thought him R vnworthie of it, but bicause he saw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he him felfe did. I, fayd he, haue refused a prouince offred me when I came out of my Prætorshipper but Pompey hath taken some by force, and geuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent

Cafar not long fince, an armie of fix thow fand men to ferue him in the warres in GAVLE; the which he neuer required of vs, nor Rompey graunted them him by our confent. But we fee. that so many armies, armors and weapon, so many men and horses, by common pleasures of our private citizens, geuen and lent at our charge. And Pompey him felfe referuing onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenaunt generall, affigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to the gouernment of others, whilest he him selfe besiegeth here the walls of the citie, with seditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vnderminding therby the state of the com- C mon wealth, to bring all to confusion, that he him selfe might be absolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of Pompey. Among Catoes frends, he had one called Marcus Faonius, fuch a one as Apollodorus Phalerian was fayd to be in old time, vnto Socrates, who did counterfeate to be an other him felfe, in doing all thinges as he did. This man would be farre out of reason, and passionate in his talke, storming like a dronkard. He one yere made sute to be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit Cato that furthered his fute, marked, that the tables wherein the voyces were wrytten, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falsehoode, appealed thereuppon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After that Case doth fer Faonius was created Ædilis, Cato did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, and specially in setting foorth playes in the Theaten which are customably done at the comming D in of euery such new officer, to geue the people pastime: and gaue vnto the common players and dauncers in those playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wilde oliue twigges, as they commonly vse in GR & CR at the Olympian games. And where others gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the GRECTANS leekes, lettifes, radishes, and peares: and vnto the Romanes, they had earthen pottes full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombres, and fagots of wodde of small value. Insomuch as some thought scorne of the they were so meane, others were verieglad of them, seeing that Cato which was seuere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this aufteritie of his into pleafure. In fine, Faonius him selfe fitting downe amongest the people, which looked apon the players, clapped his hands for ioy at Cato: and cried out to him, that he should geue them good rewardes that E played well, alluring them also about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made Cato the whole ruler of thoses sportes. At the selfe same time, Curio, Faonius colleague and companion in the office of Ædilis, had likewise goodly playes in an other Theater: but all the people for fooke his, and went to fee Faonius playes, who fate among them like a private man, and Cato as the maister of the playes. Cato did this in scorne and mockerie, of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to bestow in such trisles, shewing thereby, that who so ener will make any playes, he should make the charge but a sport also furnishing it only with a connenient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when Scipio, Hypseu and Milo, fued all three together to be Confuls, not only by briberie of money (2 common fault then in fuing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force F of armes, flaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were so desperat and insolent: some preferred a lawe, that they should make Pompey President in these elections, bicause men should

A moue their fute after a lawfull forte. But Cato straight was against it, saying, that the law could have no fafety by Pompey, but Pompey might have fafety by the lawe. Notwithflanding, when he fawe this trouble continewe of a long time, without any Confuls in Ro uz, and that dayly there were three campes in the market place, that it was almost impossible to present the mischiese at hand, and to stay that it should goe no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulsion, should put the government of the state into Pompess hands alone, choosing the lesser enill, to withstand the greater, and so to veeld to the absolute gouernment, without constraint, which the sedition would bring it vnno. Therefore Bibulus Catoes frend & kinseman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would choose Pompey sole Consul. For, sayd he, either the common wealth shall be well gouerned by R him, or else Rome shall serue an ill Lord. Cato then rising up, beyonde all mens expectacion confirmed Bibulus opinion, and fayd: that the citie were better to have one four raine Magi-

firate then none, and that he hoped Pompey could gene present order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be carefull to preserve the citie, when he sawe that they trusted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was Pompey by Catoes meanes chosen fole Confull. Pomper was Then he fent for Cato to come to his gardens to him, which were in the suburbes of the citie. treated fole Cato went thither, and was received with as great honor & curtefie of Pampey, as could be de- Catoes foruiled : and in thend, after he had geuen him great thankes for the honors he had done him, he tenet praved him to afford him his adulfe and counfell in his gouernment. Cato answered him thus,

that he had not spoken any thing before that time in respect of any ill will he bare him; nei-

C ther that he delivered this last opinion of his in respect of his frendshippe, but wholly for the common wealthes fake: howbeit otherwise, that for his owne private affaires, if he thought good to vie his aduile, whenfoeuer it pleased him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common causes, that he would alwayes tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him : and in fine, he performed all he fayd. For first of all, when Fomper did fee grieuous penalties & new fines apon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: Cato counselled him to prouide for thinges to come, and to let that alone which was already past. For fayd he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man should seeke to reforme the faults that are past; and furthermore, if the punishments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they shoulde doe wrong vnto them that D were already accused to punish them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards allo, certaine men of good calling (Pompeis frends) being accused, Gare perceiving that Pompey grew remisse, and yeelded in many things the sharply reproved, and reformed him. Furthermore, where Pompey had by law taken away the praises which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused: he him selfe norwithstanding having wrytten an oration in the praise of Munatius Planeus, sent it vnto the Ludges, whilest his cause was a bearing. Out being one of the Iudges at that time, stopped his eares with both his hands, and would not have it red. Wherefore Planeus refused him for one of his Judges, after his cause was pleaded vnto: howebeit he was condemned notwithstanding. To conclude Cato was such a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accused, that they coulde not rell well have to deale with him.

E For, once they durft not lette him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well also refuse any across him. For there were many that were condemned, which refusing Cato, seemed ynto where that they were giltie: & many also were shamefully reproudd, bicanse they would not accept Cato for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Thinges proceeding in this forefat & gots, Cafar remained in GAVLE with his armie, where he made warres : neverthelette heiwanne him frends still in Rome, by gifts and money, and made him selfe very strong. New appeared Catoes predictions and forewarnings true vnto Pompey, and began to quicken his spirits which had flept folong, and made him then to confider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perswaded to beleue. But perceiving his slackenes and seare withall douting howers proceede: to preuent Cafars practifes, Cato determined to fue to be Conful, with intere either cato fied to

F to make him leave his army, or elfe to finde out the practife he entended. Cather competitors, be conful, to they were both of the very honest men also, of the which, Sulpitius had received great honor reffice for. & preferrement by Catoes credit and authorities in respect whereof, many thought that it was

scant honeftly done of Sulpitims, to shew himselfe so vnthankfull, as to stand against Cato in this A fure. Howbeit Cate neuer complained of the matter, but fayd, that it was no maruell he would geue place to no man in that, fith it was the greatest good happe that euer came vnto him. This notwithstanding he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, such as fued for any office, they should them selves be suters to the people, and not preferre their sute by others. This caused the people to be more offended with him, then before, bicause there by he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voyces in ele-

ctions: but tooke from them the meanes they had also to pleasure many, bringing them now

into pouertie and contempt. He therefore having no face to flatter the people and to currie

fauor with them, but rather flicking to his graue maner and modest life, then to feeke the di-

frends to take the ordinary course which might win the peoples harts, whereupon he was pur

from his Confulshippe. This denyall was wont not only to have made the parties refused, ve.

ry forowfull, but their frendes and kinfemen also greatly ashamed a long time after. Howbeit Cate made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his

frends in the field of Mars, and after he had dyned, walked againe in the market place, as his

maner was, without shooes on his feete, and coate. But Cisero blamed him much for that his

cause the common wealth requiring then such a Consul as he, he had not carefully endeug-

red him felfe by curtefie and gentle meanes to winne the fauor of the people, neither woulde

euer after make sute for it, although at an other time he sued to be Prætor. Thereunto Cato

rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Confuls, where

there was no deceit yied, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people

misliked: the which he thought were no wife mans parte to chaunge for any mans pleasure.

good: to thend the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast upon him, that the D

aunswered, that for the Pratorship, he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, but C.

gnitie of a Conful by fuche meanes: made fute him felfe in person, and would not suffer his R

nor yet by making the like fute again to hazard the refufall. Furthermore Cafar making warre with very flowt nations, & hauing with no fmall daunger & trauell fubdued them: and hauing also set vpon the GERMAINES, with whom the ROMANES were at peace, and also slaine three hudred thowfand persons his frends made sute that the people should do solemne facrifice to geue thankes vnto the gods. But Cato in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliver nion against Cefar into their handes, whome he had injured, to receive fuch punishment as they thought

citie might be no partaker of it, fith they could not do withall. Neuertheleffe, fayd he, we are to doe facrifices vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes, for that they turned not the revenge of the fury and rashnes of the Captaine, apon our poore souldiers which were in no fault, but haue pardoned the common wealth. Cafar being advertised thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Senare, contayning many acculations against Cato. The letter being red, Cato rose, not as a man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would fay) declared that the accusations which Casar heaped against him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and sleytes which he had gathered to-Cate inneverb gether to make the people mery withall, But on thother fide, when he beganne to vnrippe his against Casa, whole intents and practifes from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemie, but rather a E confederate with him in his conspiracie, declaring that they were not the Germaines, nor the GAVIES, which they were to be affrayed of, but of him felfe, if they were wife: he thereupon fo offended the Senate, and made such sturre among them, that Casars frends repented them they had caused his letters to be red in the Senate, giving Cato thereby occasion justly to complaine of Cafar, & to alleage much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate against Cafar, but this was fayed onely, that it were good reason to let him have a successor. Then Casars frendes made sute that Pompey shoulde put away his army, and refigne vp the prouinces he kept, or elfe that they should compell Cafar no more then him to doe it. Then Cato opened his mouth, and fayd, the thing was now come to passe, which he had ever told them of, and that Cafar came to oppresse the common wealth, F openly turning the armie against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the same. All this prevailed not, neither could be thereby winneany thing of the Senate, bicause the people saA noted Cafar, and would alwayes have him great ? for the Senate did beleve all that he fayed. Cato Progr but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that Cefar had wonne the first premise. citie of ARIMINUM, and was comming on with his armie towardes Rome: then every man

looked apon Cato, and the people and Pompey confessed, that he only from the beginning had found out the marke Cafar (hot at and had hit the white of his flie deuise. Then favd Cato vnto them, if you would have beleved me, my Lordes, and followed my counfell: you should not now have bene affrayd of one man alone, neither should you also have put your only hope in one man. Pompey auniwered thereunto, that Cato in deede had geffed more truely, howbeit that he also had delt more frendly. Thereupon Cato gaue counsell, that the Senate should re-

ferre all vnto Pompeys order: for, fayd he, they that can doe great mischiefe, knowe also howe R to helpe it. Pompey perceiving that he had no army convenient about him to tary Cafars comming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint harted: he forsooke the citie. Cato being determined to goe with him, fent his younger sonne before vnto Munatius, which lave Care followers in the contrie of the BRYTIANS, and tooke his eldest some with him. Now, bicause he was to

prouide a flay and gouernor of his house and daughters, he tooke Martia againe, which was left a widowe and verie riche, for that Hortenfine dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein Cafar vpbraydeth Cato much, reprouing his conetousnes to marry for goodes. For, casarprefayd he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto an other? If he had weih Catoes no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnlesse she were before a

bayte vnto Hortensius, to keepe her whilest she was young, that he might have her againe C when the was riche. But against that, me thinkes it is sufficient to recite these verses of Enrivides:

Vnlikelyhoodes first I will disproue. For wwhy? wwhat man can say, That ever feare made Hercules to turne his face avvay?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue Hercules cowardlines, and Catoes couctousnes. But if his mariage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in an other forte. For fo foone as he had maried Martia againe, he left his house and his daughters to her goutenment, and followed Pompey. But after that time, men reporte that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his hart, the miferie and calamitie of his contrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So having the province of case is fens D SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto Syracvsa. There vnderstanding that Alinius Pollio into Sicile.

was arrived at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: Cato fent vnto him, to knowe wherefore he came thither. Pollio againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this warre. Againe, when Cato was advertised that Pompey had forfaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe beyond the sea, by the citie of Dyrrachivm, then he sayd, he saw a maruelous great chaunge and incerteintie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when Pompey did all things beyond reafon, and out of course, he was inuincible: and now that he sought to preserve his contrie, he faw he lacked his former good happe. Nowe he knewe he was strong enough at that time, to drine Alinius Pollio out of Sicile if he would but bicause there came a greater aide vnto him. he would not plague that Iland, with the miserie of warre. Then after he had aduised the Sy- cano leavest E RACVS ANS to take the stronger part, and to looke to their safety: he tooke the sea and went to- Sielle.

wards Pompey. When he was come vnto him he did alwaies coulfel him to prolong the warre, hoping still of some treaty of peace: & would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker parte should of necessity be put to the sword, by the stronger. Therefore he cases lawes perswaded Pomper and the counsellers about him, to establishe certaine lawes to this effect. in Pompey. That they should facke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of Rome: amy and also, that they should kill no citizen of Rome, but in furie of battell, when their swordes. were in their hands. Therby he wanne him felfe great honor, and brought many men to take Pompeys parte, by the lenity and clemency he vied vnto them that were taken. Thereupon Ca-

to being fent into As 1 A, to aide them that had commission to presse shippes & men of warre, F he tooke his fifter Servilia with him, and the boy which Lucullus had by her : for all the time of her widowhoode, the had followed Cato, and thereby had worne out her ill name the had before, fith they faw the had fo willingly geuen her felfe to follow him in his flying, and con-

VVhy Pompey changed his minde for the gouernment of the army by fea.

tented her selse with his straight maner of life. This notwithstading. Cesar did not let to shame her to Cato. Pompeys Captaines had no neede of Cato any where, but at the Rhodes. For his wanne the people there with his curreous vsage & perswasion, leauing with them Servilia and her lite sonne, and went from thence to Pompey campe, who had leauied a great armie both by sea and land. There did Pompey most of all discouer his minde and intent. For first he ment to have geuen Cato the charge of the armie by sea, which were aboue flue hundred shippes of warre, besides an infinite number of soystes & pinases, & such small bottomes vncouered: but sodainly cossessing better of its or possibly being informed by some of his frends, that al Catoer regard & counsell in matters of government was, to deliver Rome from tyranny, & that is he had so great a charge vnder him, Cesar being once overcome, he would also force Pompey to leave his army, & so make him sibiest to the law) he chaunged his minde, nowithstanding he Rome is minde, now the state of the same from the law he chaunged his minde, now that shall be the law he chaunged his minde, now with thanding he Rome.

had already moued it to Cato, & leaving him, gave Bibulus the charge of all his army by fea. But Cato therefore shewed no lesse good will vnto Pompey, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmilh & coffict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, Pompey encoraging his fouldiers. & commaunding euery Captaine also to do the like in his quarter: the souldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, & made no manner of show of men whose harts had bene any whit the more encoraged thereby. But when Cato after them all came and told them (as the time ferued) the reason of Philosophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehement affection: and last of all ending his oration, calling apon the gods, turning his speache vnto them, as if they had bene present to have seene how valliantly the souldiers fought for the libertie of their contry: they gaue such a lustie crye, and had such a braue conceite & vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope. and so led them to battell, where they gaue such a cruell charge and sierce onser apon their enemies, that they ouerthrewe them, and put them that day to flight. Howebeit Cafars good fortune tooke the finall ende of this victorie from Pompey, by his ouergreat feare and miltrust who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we have wrytten more amply in his life. But when all the rest reioyced that they had done so noble an exployte, & made their vawnts of the great advantage they had of their enemies: Cato to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his contrie, and lamented that curfed ambicion which caufed fo many good and valliant citizens of one felfe citie, so to kill and murther one an other. After this overthrowe, Cafar taking his way into THESSALIE, Pompey raised his campeto followe him, and leaving a D great power at Dyrrachivm, of men, armor, munition and frends: he gaue Cato the charge of them all, and fifteene enlignes of footemen belides. The which he did for the feare and miftrust he had of him, being affured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battell, he knew well enough that he could not committhem to a truftier man then he : but on thother fide if he

wanne the victory, he douted fore that he could not command as he would, where Cato was, pp (si cas a Dyrac chims.

There were also many other noble men, as a man would fay, cast away, and left at Dyrarac chims.

CHIVM, with Cato. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battell at Pharsalia being blowen abroad, Cato resoluted with himselfe if Pompey were dead, that he would passe ouer all his men into I TALIS, and then like a banished man would him selfe alone wander as farre as he coulde from the syrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his army together for him.

rannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his army together for him, B as long as he could. With this determination, he passed ouer the sea into the sle of Corry, where Pompeys armie by sea lay. There Cato sinding Cuero, he would have surrendered up his charge unto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Consul, and Cato only but Prator. Howbeit Cicero would in no wise receive it, but returned immediately into I talt.

Cato then perceiving that Pompey the youngers (some unto Pompey the great) of a rash & hawty minde, would have punished all them that went into I talts, and left the armie by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with Cicero: Cato reproved him privately for it, so that he certainly saved Ciceroes life, and many other moe besides. Now Cato supposing that Pompey the great had saved him selfe in Ab y pry, or in A pricks, he determined to take the seas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke shippe, he gave all men leave to degree that twee not willing to follow him. Cato being arrived in A pricks. Sayling up & downer the coast there, he met with Sextus, the youngest some of Pompey, who first told him, that his

A father was flaine in ÆGYPT: when the fouldiers heard it, they tooke it very heavely, and not one of them after the death of Fompey the great, would ferue under any other Captaine then Cato. He therupon being ashamed, & thinking it pity also to leave so many noble & good men that had ferued fo faithfully under him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whether to goe: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first unto the citie of Cyrenes, where not many dayes before, the citizens had thut the gates against Labienus. Being there, it was told him that Scipio, Pompeys father in law, was gotten vnto king Juba, who had received him: and that Affius Varus, vnto whome Pomper had geven the charge of the prouince of A. F. R. I.C. K.E., was in their company with an army, and determined to goe joyne with them. So he went by lande in the winter time, and had gotten a maruelous n number of affes together, to cary water and vittels, which followed him with a great number of carts belides, and of those men, which the A FRICANES Call PSILLES, to wit, they that doe Pfiles, be heale the stinging of serpents, and doe sucke out the poyson with their mouthes, and doe furthermore charme and enchaunt the fnakes, that they have no power to doe any hurt. He was finging of feuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, with- ferpens. out helpe of horse or beast. From that day foorth, on the which he understoode of the battell loft at Pharfalia, he neuer supped, but sitting, * and added that vnto the rest of his forrow, that * Men in olds hencuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. Cato having passed the time bathed

first geue him place, and willingly resigned vnto him the honor to commaunde the whole

campe: he auniwered them, he woulde not offende the lawe, fith he made warre onely to

the inhabitantes of the citie of VTICA (without respect of age) vnto the sworde, and haus

rased the houses to the grounde as those that had taken Casars parte. Howebeit Caso woulde

fieit. For he brought in great store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walls made great

high towers, & cast depe trenches round about the city, paling the in: & betweet the trenches

and the towns, he lodged all the young men of V TICA, & compelled them to deliner up their

armor & weapon and kept all the reft within the city it felfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a

money vnto the campe: so that the city of Vrica was the staple & storehouse of the warres.

Moreouer, as he had before counselled Pompey not to come to battell, the like counsell he now

F man of the should be hurt by the ROMANE 3.8 besides, did also send corne armor munition &

E not fuffer him, but protesting vnto them that were present, and calling the gods to witnesse in

out helpe of horse or beast. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderstoode of the battell lost at Pharsalia, he neuer supped, but sitting, "and added that vnto the rest of his forrow, that he neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. Caso having passed the me bahed winter in L v r r a, he brought his souldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thowsand washed winter in L v r r a, he brought his souldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thowsand washed persons. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contencion and variance to be the west Scipio, and Varus, for the which, they both stattered king subst to winne his fauor: being a maruelous prowde man for his greatnes and riches: as he shewed the first time he spake with Caso. For when Caso came, he caused his owne chayre to be set betwext Scipio and Caso. The modessis to haue the honor to be in the middest. But Caso perceiving it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and mobile to have the honor to be in the middest. But Caso perceiving it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and mobile of the day scipio to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his ene
of Caso, but reprove him, bicause that wasking one day with Philosprass in Sicile, he gaue him the vpper hande, honoring him for his Philosophie. Thus Caso did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vsed Scipio, and Varus, as his noble men and subjects: howeveir Caso did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the companie D prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that Scipio him selfe, and Parus both, did

preserve the authoritie and priviledge thereof, neither would take vpon him to commainde all, him selfe being but Viceprator, where there was a Viceconfull present. For setpio was Canioponth created Proconfull, and furthermore, the people had a certayne confidence that their affaires with Schio woulde prosper the better, if they had but the name of a Scipio to leade them in AFRICKES.

Nowe when Scipio was Generall ouer them, he woulde straight, for Inbaes sake, haue put all

open counfell, with great difficulty he faued the poore people of V rica from that cruell tragedy and flaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at Scipiose can was inflance, Cato tooke apon him to keepe the city, fearing least by treason; or against their wills, sinde Gomeristhould come into Casars hands: bicause it was a strong place of scituacion, and well replenias of visica.

The dwith all things necessary for him that should keepe it, Cato did both furnish it, Salfo forti-

A of their enemy: who to worke his mischieuous intent, spareth not his person in any daunger, "

gane also vnto Sciplomotto hazard battel against a man of great skill & experience in warres. but to take time, whereby, by little and little, he should confume the power & strength of Calar tyranny. But Scipio was fo flowt, that he regarded not Catoes coufell, but wrote otherwhile vn. to him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this maner: that it was enough for him to be fafe in a good city compassed about with walls, though otherwise he sought not to hinder men to be valliant, to execute any enterprise as occasion was offred. Cato wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to goe into IT ALIE with his footemen and horsemen which he had brought into Africke to draw Calar from them, and to turne him against him. Scipio made but a spore arit. Then Cato shewed plainly, that he did repent him he had geuen him the preferrement to be generall of the army, bicause he saw he would but fondly prosecute this warre: & also, that if he chaunced to ouercome, he could not moderately vie the victory against his contry men, Then he beganne to mistrust the good successe of this warre (and so he told his frendes) for the Generall's hastines and vnskilfulnesse: and yet if beyonde expectacion it fell out well, and that Cafar were overthrowen, he would never dwell at Rome any more, but would flye the crueltie and bitternes of Scipio, who even at that prefent time did prowdly threaten many. But in the ende, that fell out sooner then looked for. For a poste came to him late that night who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was loft. in a great battell, by the citie of Thapses, which Cafar had wonne: that he had taken both campes, that Sespio and king Iuba were fled with a fewe men, and that all the rest of their armie was flaine. These newes did put the citizens in such a seare and maze, (and specially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could feant keepe them selues within o the walles of their citie. But Cato meeting with them, stayed them that ranne vp and downe crying in the streetes, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he tooke not all their seare from them, though he brought them againe vnto them selues from the extasse they were in declaring ynto them, that the losse was nothing so great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge fuche newes with wordes enowe. By these perswasions, he somwhat pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamacion, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellers, should come and affemble in the temple of Impiter, they all being citizens of Rome, which for trafficke of marchaundife lay in A FRICKE, and all the ROMANE Senators and their children also. Nowe whilest they gathered them selues together, Cato him selse went verie grauely with a set mo- n dest countenaunce, as if no suche matter had happened, having a little booke in his hande, which he read as he went. This booke conteyned the store and preparacion of municion he had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, flings and footemen. When they Catoes or asion were all affembled, he began greatly to commend the good love and faithfulnes of these three Timo the Ro- hundred ROMANES, which had profitably ferued their contry with their persons, money, and counsell, and did counsell them not to depart one from an other, as men having no hope, or , otherwise seeking to faue them selves scatteringly. For remeining together, Casar would lesse " despise them, if they would make warre against him : and would also sooner pardon them, if " they craued mercie of him. Therefore he counfelled them to determine what they would do. " and for his owne parte, he fayed he would not mislike whatsoeuer they determined of : for if " their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this chaunge to proceede of the necesfitie of time. But if they were resolued to withstande their missortune, and to hazard them felues to defend their libertie:he then would not only commend them, but having their noble ,, corage in admiration, would him selfebe their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the " fortune of their contrie to the vttermost. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRVMETVM, but " the citie selfe of Rome: the which oftentimes through her greatnes, hadraifed her selfe from " greater davingers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to faue them felues. " & the greatest meane of all was this that they should make warre with a man, who by reason " of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For Spayne of the one fide was vp against him; and tooke parte with the younger Pompey: and the citie of Roma also not being yied to

", be brideled with the fnaffle of fuch infolencie, could not abide it, but would rather rife with

" any other chaunge. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any daunger, but to take exaple

And contrarily also, that vnto them, the incertaintie of the warre, if victorie followed, would " make them happy: as also in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithstanding, they were to thinke of the matter among theselues, & to make their praiers to the gods, that in recopence of their vertue & good service which they had shewed thitherunto they would graff the grace to determine for the best. After Cate had ended his oration. there were divers of the that were stirred up by his lively perswasions, but the most part of the were incoraged by his constancy & noble minde, & also by his kindnes : so that they presently forgate the daunger they were in & prayd him to comaund their persons, goods, & weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no R power, thinking it better to dye obeying his counfell, then to faue them felues, for faking fo valliant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the affembly made a motion that they shoulde make their bondmen free, & that divers also did confirme it. Cato fayd he would by no meanes The equity of fuffer it, because it was neither meete nor lawfull: howbeit if their maisters would manumise Caso. them, that he was cotented to receive the for fouldiers, that could weare any weapon. Divers promifed him to do it: & Cato commaunded their names should be enrolled that would, & so went his way. Immediatly after, letters were brought him fro king Iuba, & Scipio: of the which, king Iuba was hidden in a moutaine with few men with him, who fent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he ment to forfake V TICA, he would tary him there: & if otherwise he determined to kepe VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. Scipio on thother fide riding at ancker, at a point of the land not farre from VTICA, staid for the like aunswere. Then Cato thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he faw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were verie glad men, & did presently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other three hundred which were marchant venterers, & that lived by viury Cato forfaken & exchange, who had the most parte of their goods in slaves & bondmen, did not long fol- ared Romane low Catoes counfell: but like men, whose bodies soone receiue heate, & are soone cold againe, marchau at when they are once gone from the fire: euen fo those marchats, while Cato was present among them, had forme good prety will & defire: but when by them felues they had caft their accopt. the feare they had of Cafar, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto Cato, 8cvnto their duety. For, fayd they, what are we, & what is he whom we disdaine to obey? Is it not Gefar him felfe, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of Rome? Neuer a one of vs is Scipio, Pomper, nor Cato: & yet now, when all men for feare (& in maner compelled) do yeld & fubmit the felues, we will nedes take voon vs within the wals of V TICA to fight for the liberty of ROME against him! for whom, Cate flying with Pompey, for fooke I TALIE: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with Cafar, having no better liberty our felues, then it pleafeth him to gene vs. Let vs therefore now know our felues whileft we have time. & crave mercie at his handes that is the stronger, & send ynto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greatest & wisest men of those three hundred marchants, had this speache. But the most parte of them sought meanes how to entrappe the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at Cafars hand, if they did deliuer them vnto him, Cate did looke for this chaunge in them, but yet verered not that he thought & returned the messengers backe againe vnto king Iuba, and Scipio, and wrote vnto them: that they should beware they came not neere V TICA, bicause he did mistrust these three hundred marchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battell, who comming towards V TICA, fent three of their company vnto Cato, the which brought him not one felfe determination from all the company. For some of them went to go vnto king Iuba, others also to joyne with Cato, & parte of them were affraid to come into V ric A. These things being thus reported vnto Cato, he commaunded Mareus Rubrius to take care of these three hundred men, & to receive the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumifed, without compelling of any man. In the meane time, Cato with all the Senators went out of V TICA to meete with these horsemen, & there he spake to the Captaines, & praidthem that they would not for- caner pinie fake fo many noblemen & Senators of Rome as werethere: & that they would not have king and regard

flancy in ex-

Taba for their Captaine before Gato; butto come into Virica: where they might faue the felues navors,

BBBB ii

the citie was of fuche strength, and besides, so well armed and vitteled for many yeres. The like A request did the Senators also make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Captaines went & spake with their souldiers. Cato in the meane time fate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for aunswere. But then on the sodaine came Rubrius vnto him in great haft, complaining of the tumult of these three hundred marchants. which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon, the rest their harts failing them fell to bewaile their miserable fortune. But Cato sought to comfort them, and then sent vnto the three hundred marchantes, to pray them to have a litle pacience. So the Captaines returned againe with vnreasonable demaundes of the horsemen. For they sayd, that they cared not for king Jubaes pay, neither were they affrayed of Cafars malice, so that they had Cato for their generall: ver to be pende vp within the walls of a citie with AFRICANES, that were PHOENICE R ANS, and a traiterous nation as could be: that grieued them most of all. For, sayd they, though now they sturre not, and be quiet: yet when Cafar comes, they will be the first that will betray vs. and cut our throates. And therefore, if Cato woulde have them to ioyne with him in this warre: that he should either kill or drive away all the VTICANS out of the citie, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleere of all those barbarous people their enemies. Cate thought this a cruell and barbarous condicion, neuertheles he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and so returning agains into VTICA, he spake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerece vnto Cato, diffembling no lenger, faid openly, that they would not like of him whatfoeuer he were, that should compel them to make warre with Cafar, both bicause they would not, nor could not doe it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled o to them selves, that the Senators should be kept there, till Casar came. Cato overheard them. for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very instant one came to him, and tolde him, that the horsemen were going their way. Cato therefore fearing least these three hundred marchants would lay hands apon the Senators: he went vnto them him felfe with his frends, and perceiving they were gone a great way of, he tooke his horse and rode after them. They rejoycing to fee him come, received him among them, and prayed him to faue him felfe with them. But Cato prayed them againe to faue the Senators, & that with fuch affection, as it forced teares in him, besides, he held up his hands unto them, tooke their horses by the bridles.& them felues by their weapons, that at length he obtained of them, that they woulde remaine there one daye at the least, to helpe the Senators to saue them selues. So Cato returning with D them into the city, he appointed some of them to ward at the gates, & put others also in garrison into the castell: so that the three hudred marchants quaked for feare, least he would have bene reuenged of them, bicause of their returne with him. Thereuppon they sent vnto Cato, humbly to praye him to come vnto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not fuffer him to go, & faid, that they would not cast away their fauior and protector, to The fincerine put him into traitors hands. Then doutles, all that were within VTICA, plainly faw the vertue & fimplicity of Cato, and found that there was no frawde nor deceite in him: who having long time resolved to kill him selfe, he only tooke that extreame paines & care for others that their liues being faued, he might then rid him felfe of his owne. For men might eafely fee, though he diffembled it, that he was refolued to dye. Whereupon, having comforted the Senators, he E veelded vnto the requests of the three hundred marchants, & went him selfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his coming, and prayed him to commaund them, & boldly to trust them: so that he would pardon them if they could not be all Catoes, and would take pity of their faint harts, though they were not fo constant & noble minded as he. For they were determined to fend vnto Cafar, specially to intreate him for him: and if that they could not obteine pardon for him, then they were affured they could have none for them felues, and therfore would fight for the fafety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. Cato thanking them for their good wills, answered: that they should fend quickely to craue pardon for them felues, but to aske none for him. For fayd he, men that be ouercome, & haue offended, it ftandeth them upon to make humble fute, and to craue pardon: but for him selfe, he was neuer o- F uercome in his life, and yet had ouercome as much as he defired, and had alwayes bene better then C.efar in iustice, who only (not him selfe) was now taken and ouercome: the thing being

apparantly

CATO VTICAN.

A apparantly proved in fight against him, which he had alwaies denied to have practifed against his contry. When he had made this answere vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that Casar was in his way with all his armie, comming towards VTICA: O goddes, fayd he, then he commeth against vs, as against men. Then turning vnto the Senators, he gaue them counfell quickely to faue them felues, whileft the horfemen were yet in the city. So shutting all the gates of the city, saying that towards the hauen; he appointed shippes for them all, and fet euery thing at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man having injurie offered him, and gaue eneric one money to make way for their fafetie. When Marcus Oftauius (who came with two legions, and camped hard by VTICA) fent vnto Cato, to determine which of them two should be Generall: he made no aunswere, but turning to his o frends faid: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs. fith there is fuche ambition amongst vs for the gouernmet, even now, when we are at the last cast? In the meane Catorepresent time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their way were spoyling of the citizens of men. goods, as a lawfull pray in warre. He straight ran thither him selfe, and the first he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The rest, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, & hanging downe their heades for shame, they went their way. and faid nothing. Then Cato calling all the citizens of VTICA together, prayed them not to incense nor moue Casar against the three hundred but rather to craue of him pardon for the all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there imbracing his frends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their shippes. Now for his sonne, he did not cousell him to go, neither o did he thinke it mete to vrge him to forfake his father. Furthermore, there was one Statilius a Statilius, a young man in his companie, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible follower of constancy of Cato: who counfelled him to take the sea, and to faile away with the rest, bicause he knew he was Cafars mortall enemy. Statistus faid he would not go. Then Cato turning him ynto Apollonides a Stoick Philosopher, & vnto Demetrius a Peripatetick Philosopher, faid: you must take this stowt young man to perswade him to obey vnto necessity. Cato him selfe in the meane time fent away the rest; & did minister instice vnto them that required it : spending all that night, & the next day, about those matters. Then Lucius Casar, the kinseman of Iulius Cafar the conqueror being chosen by the three hundred to goe & make fute vnto him for them all, came and prayed Cato to help him to make his oration, which he should say vnto Casar for D them all: and as for thee, Cato, faid he, I will kille his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreate him for thee. Nay faid Cato, thou shalt not do so. For if I would faue my life by Cato would Cafars grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him : howbeit I will not be bound to a tyran down begged of for injustice. For it is an injustice in him to take vpo him, as a Lord & source to sauce mans cafer for life, when him felfe hath no authority to commaund. But yet let vs confider if thou wilt, what him thou shalt fay, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together consideting the matter, and in fine, Lucius Cafar being ready to departe, Cato recommended his fonne and frendes vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leave of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his fonne and frends before him, and talking of many matters: among others he charged his some in no case to meddle in thaffaires of the common wealth. For said case forbad E he, to deale vprightly like Catoes fonne, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it: his forme to and contrarily observing the time, thou canst not do like an honest man. Towards evening he matter of went into his bath to washe him selfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking apon Statelline, he cried State in a out alow de : well Apollonides, thou hast at length yet perswaded Statilius, to goe his way and corrupt sime. pulled downe his flowt courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell a Howe, gone fayd Apollonides? Nay, his hart is now more flowt and couragious then euer it was, not withstanding all the perswations we could vie vnto him: for he is determined to tary & to take fuch part as thou doeft. After he had bathed him felfe, he went to supper & fare at his meater. as he had alwaies yied after the battell at Pharfalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his frends, & the chiefe Magistrats of VTICA to supper with him, After supper, they

If fell into graue talke and matters of Philosophie: till at length they came vnto the straunge o-

pinion of the Stoick Philosophers, which was this that only the good man is free, and all the The Parecuill be slaues. The Peripateticke Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it. Spicks.

But Cato was very earnest against the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a A vehement speach and contencion: insomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to ende his life, & to rid him him felfe out of all those troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and fawe that enery man helde his peace, and looked fadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the suspicion of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and seemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed least some missortune were come vnto them apon the sea, or vnto them that were gone by land, bicause they passed through desertes, where there was no water to be had Now when supper was done, and the straungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his frends, and having taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of service. as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his fonne and his frendes more louingly a then he was wont to doe, whereby he made them againe suspect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bedde, he tooke Platoes dia-Platoes dialogues in his hand, treating of the foule, and red the most parte of it. Then looking by his beds fide, and miffing his fword (which his fonne had taken from him when he was at fupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his fword away : his man made him no aunswere, & he fell againe to read his booke. Then a prety while after, not feeming to be importunate, or ouerhaftie of the matter, but as though he woulde only know what became of it: he willed the to bring him his fword againe. They taried long. and he had red ouer all the booke, but yet his fword was not brought him againe. Wherupon he called for all his men one after an other, & very angrily asked them his fword, & gaue one C of them such a blow in the face, that his nose fell a bleeding, & his hand was all bloody withal. and cried out that his sonne and his servaunts would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemie: vntill his sonne and frends at length ranne vnto him, & falling downe on their knees. lamented, and befought him to be contented. Cato then ruling out of his bedde, looked grimly youn them, and fayd vnto them : O goddes, who euer faw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reason perswade me, if they see me out of the way: & not to kepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeft thou not bind thy father (my fonne) his hands behinde him, that when Cafar commeth, he may finde me in cafe not to defend my felfe > I doe not defire my fworde to hurte my felfe, for if I had any fuche minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle, or geue but a knocke of my head against the wall onely, and dispatche n my felfe quickely. When he had fayd thus, his fonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his frends also, no man remayning with Cato, but Demetrius and Apollonides, vnto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this sorte. What, doe you thinke to keepe an old man as I am aliue by force? And have you taried behinde but to fit staring apon me, and say nothing vnto me? If otherwise else, by reason you come to perswade me, that it shall be no shame for Cato, dispairing of the safetie of his life, to seeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy : why then doe you not now tell me your reasons to perswade me, that forsaking all other fancies & determinatios which hetherunto we have holden for good, being on a fodaine become wifer by Cafars meanes, we should be bound the more therefore to gene him thankes? I do not tell you this that I have determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I lift) to put E the thing in execution I have determined : but yet I will confult with you, when I am so determined, to heare the reasons and opinion of your bookes, which your selues doe vie in difcourse and argument together. Goe your way therefore hardily vnto my sonne, and tell him, that he must not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he can not proue good vnto him by reason. After this talke, Demetrius and Apollonides being nothing comforted, weeping,

fitian, and But as, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieft affaires of the common wealths

worder unto the Philofo-

departed out of his chamber. Then his sword was brought him by a little boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his fword was sharpe and woulde cut: when he saw it was well, O, sayd he, now I am where I would be, and so laying downe the fword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and red it ouer (as they fav) twild killed him together. Then he flept fo foundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber # heard him fnort againe. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, Cleanthes his PhiSohe fent him ynto the hauen to fee, if all his men that were imparked were under faile; and gave his hand vnto the Philitian to be bound vp, bicaufe it was fwollen with the blow he gave one of his flaues when he hit him on the face. All his feruaunts were glad to beare of that hoping then that he defired to line. Soone after came But as backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but Craffus, who flayed about forme busines he had, and ver that he was going to take shippe: howbeir that the sea was very roughe, and winde exceeding great, Cate hearing this, fighed, being fory for them that were apon the fearand lent But as hacke agains to the hauen, to fee if any man came backe for any matter they had to fay vnto him. The little birdes began to chirpe, and Catofel againe in a little flumber. But thereuppon Buten returned, & brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, & there was no ffurre. Then B Cato bad him goe his way, and thut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haueflept out all the rest of the night. But as backe was no sooner turned, but Cato taking his naked fword in his hand, thrust it into his breast howbeit the swelling The death of of his hand made the blowe fo weake, that it killed him not presently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe voon his bedde, and made such a noyse with his fall souerthrowing alitle table of geometry hard by his bedde, that his feruaunts hearing the noyle, gaue a great threeke for feare. Thereuppon his sonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and found him all of a gore bloud, and the most part of his bowells comming out of his bodye, him selfe being yet alive, and feeing them. They were all striken with such forow to behold it that at the first they were so amased, as they could not tel what to say to it, His Phistia comming to him. Che went about to put in his bowels againe which were not perified, and to low up his wound. But Cate comming to him felfe, thrust backe the Phisitian, and tare his bowells with his owne handes, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoft. Whereuppon the three hundred Romans (in leffe time then a man would have thought Catoes owne houshold feruaunts could have knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of V TIC A also came thither, and with one voyce called Caro their benefactor and sauior, and fayd he onely was a free man, and had an intincible minder and this was done, when they heard fay that Cafar was not farre from V rica. Furthermore, nether feare of the present daunger, nor the defire to flatter the Conqueror, nether any private quarrellamongest them selves, could keepe them from honoring Carges superalls. For sumpty outly setting out his bo- Casoes sume-D dy, and honorably accompanying his funeralls as unight be, they buryed him by the fea fide, ralls. where arthis prefent time is to be seene his image, holding a sworde in his hande. After that, they made their best way to saue them selues and their citie. Nowe Cafar beeing aduertised by them that came vnto him, howe Cate sturred not from V T to A, nor fled not but sent all others away fauing him felfe, and his sonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing; he could not deuise what he ment by it. Therefore effecting Cato much he made hafte with all the speede he could with his armie, to come thether . But when he vitdefstoode that Cato had flaine him felfe, writers doe reporte he fayd thus: O Gato, I entry thy death, fithe color faring thou hast enuied mine honor to fauethy life. For in deede, had Cato been contented contented and fhould have faued his life, he had not fo much impaired his owner honor, as he had avernen-B ted Cafars glory. And yet what Cafar would have done, men make it doubtful, fauing that they coniecture well of Cafars clemencie: Cato dyed when he was but eight and forty years old. For his some, Cafar neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him that he was per tidlely git The some of uen, and lascinions besides. For when he lay in CARPADOCIA, in a noble many liquite of the Cato what con kings bloud, called Maphradates, who had a fayre woman to his wife: he taffed longer there then he might well with honestie, whereupporche fell to be a laughing flor his olthe beople, and in mockery they fayd, Care will goe too morrow, a thirty dayes hence I And forther, that Maphradates and Porcius are two good friendes but they have but one minde And chemication was, bicause Maphradates wife was called Pficke, which in the Greeke significated minde : and Poche Signi Cato is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death dibble ope this int fieth mind I famous speech. For he valiantly fighting against Augustus, and Antabius, at the battell of Phis-

lippes, for the libertie of his contry; their armie being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither

flie nor hide him felfe, but rumning in among of this enemies, he made them brower that he

BBBB iiii

The death of Daughter of Cato the Youger, and wife of Brusus. The death of

was by incoraging those of his fide, which yet did defend them selues, till he was slayne in the A field to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, Porcia, the Daughter of Cate, game no place vnto her father, nether for chastitie, nor greatnes of mind. For she being maried vne Bridge, who flue Cafar, was of the conspiracie, and flue her selfe as corageously as became the vertue and nobilitie of her bloud from whence the came, as we have more amply declared in the life of Brutus. Statilius also, who had sayd he would ronne Catoes fortune (as we have tolde vou before) was kept from killing of him felfe by the Philosophers, Demetrius, and Apollonides But after that tyme having thewed him felfe very faithfull and feruiceable vnto Brutus in all his affayres, he was flayne in the field also at the battell of Philippes.

The end of Catoes life.



CLEOMENES

al C

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The fable of Ixion againft Ruely the fable of Ixion was not ill deuised against ambicious persons: who imbracing a clowde for the goddesse Juno, begot (as it is sayd) the CENTAVEL For even so ambicious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any acte that is good nor perfect : but beeing carried away with divers fancies, and following others humors with E defire to pleafe the people, they may, as the herdmen in the tragedy of Sophoeles (speaking of their cattell) fay:

We wayt uppon their beafts, though we their Maisters bee, And whereforeer they become there also followe wee.

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples luft and fancy who doubtles, are as their feruaunts obedient at call, bicause they onely may enjoy the glorious nile and hame of an Officer. For like as in a shippe the Mariners that stande in the prowe doe better fee before them, then the Pilots that steere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe vntothem to fee what they commaunde: euen fo, they that gouerne in the common wealth for honors fake, are no better the honorable flaues of the people, having F no more but the bare name of a gouernor. But in deede, the perfect good and honest man thould never couet outward glory, but as a meane to bringe him to noble attempts, whereby hi de la

A he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a younge man that coueteth honor byvertue, giue him leauea litle to glory in his well doing : for, as Theophrastus fayth, vertue Theophrastus buddeth and florisheth in youth, and taketh fast roote by prayles given, as wit & corage grow- for she praise eth in them. But ouermuch praise is daungerous in euery person, but chiesty in ambicious go- Immoderat uernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperat partes: for praise very they wil not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it felfe. But in deed they should say as Phocion did vnto Antipater, that requested an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou Phocions Saycanst not, said he, haue Phocion a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be sayd ing. vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maister and a seruaunt, that can commaunde and obey together. Or els the mischiese spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needes hap- The sable of

R pen, which was : the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, faying, it would an the Dragons other while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing howe to guide the heade, and besides that the head thereby was tormented enery way, beeing compelled against nature to follow that part and member. which could nether heare, nor fee how to guide it. The like matter haue we feene happen vnto many, which in the administracion of the common wealth, did seeke to please the humors of the multitude. For when they have once put their heads vnder their girdles to please the common people, which without cause & reason doe soone rebell: they can by no possible meanes afterwards bridle their furie & infolencie. Now the reason that made vs to enter into discourse planether. against the ambition and vaine glorye amongest the people: was the consideracion I had of cuseth the C their greate power, remembring the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi: bothe the Gracchi. which comming of a noble house, and having bene maruelous well brought vp, & maneging also the affayres of the common wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the ende

cast away: not so much through couetousnes of glorye, as for feare of dishonor, which came also of no base mind. For they having received great pleasures and friendships of the people, were ashamed to be indetted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and denifes, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they strived to shewe them selues thankefull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people also to honor them, were vnwares so entangled with publike causes, D that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which fayth:

Although our deedes discent from equitie, Yet can vve not desist vvith honestie.

This thou shalt easily finde by the declaracion of the historie. With these we doe compare two other popular men, both kinges of LACED EMON, Agu and Cleomenes. For they, as the Gracchi, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the just and honest gouernment againe of the common wealth of LACED & MON, which of long time had bene out of vse: did in like manner purchase the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted couetousnes. In deed these two LACONIANS were no brethre borne, but yet did both follow one felfe course & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this E fort. After that couetousnes of gold and silver crept againe into the citie of Sparta, and with riches, couetousnes also and miserie, and by vse, voluptuousnes and licentious life: Sparta then was void of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonor, vntill king Agis and Leonidas came to raigne there . Agis was of the house of the Eurytiontides, the sonne of Eudamidas, the fixt of lineall descent after Agesilaus, who had beene the greatest Prince of all GRECE in his time. This Agestlans had a sonne slaine in ITALY by the MESSAPI-ANS, called Archidamus, before the citie of MANDONIVM. Archidamus had iffue two fonnes, Agu, and Eudamidas that was king, who fucceeded his brother Agu, whom Antipater flue before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and left no children behind him. Eudamidas begat Archidamus, which Archidamus begat another Eudamidas: which Eudamidas also begat Agis, whose life we F now write of Leonidas also, the sonne of Cleonymus, was of the other familie of the Agiades, the The lynage of eight of succession after Pausanias, who slue Mardonius, the kings Lieuetenant general of P BR- Leonidas. sia, in a battell fought before the citie of PLATERS. This Paufanias had a fonne called Plifto-

galipolis.

Leonidas brought fu-perfluitie and excesse into Sparta.

The consi-

ning of she Laced smeni ans fall, from their aunci-

ra,for partibroken by Evitadem law. for desife of landes by will.

wealth to her

max, and Plistonax also an other, called Paulanias: who flying from Sparta vnto the citie of a TEGEA, his eldest sonne Agespolis was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without if fue, his yonger brother Cleombrotus succeeded him in the kingdo, Cleombrotus had two sonnes Agelipolis and Cleomenes: of the which, Agelipolis raigned not long king, and dyed without iffue. Then Cleomenes his brother, who was king after him, had two fonnes, Asrotatus the elder, that dyed in his fathers life time: and Cleonymus the yonger which furuived him, and was not king. but one Areus his Nephewe, the sonne of Acrotatus. This Areus dyed before the citie of Co. RINTHE : who having an other Acrotatus to his sonne, he succeeded him in the kingdome. He Arifodemus, also dyed at a battell before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and was flayne there by the tyrant train of Me. ristodemus, leaving his wife great with childe. She beeing brought to bedde after his death of a fonne, whome Leonidas the fonne of Cleonymus taught and brought vp: the childe dying very young, the crowne by his death was cast apon Leonidas him selfe. Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the comon wealth, and cleane out of order: yer Leonidas of all other exceeded, deforming most the auncient LACONIAN life, bicause he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houses, & followed also Selencus Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into GR ECE, where law & reason ruleth. Agis on the contrary part did not onely farre excel Leonidas, in honor and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almost also which had raigned in Spanta, from the time of Agesilans the great. So that when Agis was not yet twenty yeare old, and being daintily brought vp with the finenes of two women, his mother Agelifrata, and Archidamia his grandmother, which had more gold and filuer, then all the LACED E- C MONIANS els: he began to spurne against these womanish delights & pleasures, in making him felfe fayer to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to cast vpon him a plaine spanish cape, taking pleasure in the dyet, bathes, and manner of the auncient La-CONIAN life: and openly boafted besides, that he would not desire to be king, but onely for the The first begin hope he had to restore the auncient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the state of LACED EMON first to be corrupted, and to leave her auncient discipline, when the LACED E-MONIANS having fubdued the Empire of the Athenians, stored them selves & contry both. with plenty of gold & filuer. But yet referuing still the lands left vnto them by succession from em difeipline. their fathers, according vnto Lyeurgus first ordinaunce & institucion, for division of the landes amongest them: which ordinaunce, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongest them, did D vet preserue the common wealth from defamation of divers other notorious crimes. Vntil the time of the authoritie of Epitadeus, one of the Ephores, a feditious man, and of prowde condition of lander, tions: who bitterly falling out with his own sonne, preferred a law, that euery man might lawfully give his landes and goods whilest he lived, or after his death by testament, vnto any man prizateur law whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this man made this law to fatisfie his anger, & others also did confirme it for couetousnes sake, and so ouerthrew a noble ordinaunce. For the riche men then began to buy lands of numbers, and fo transferred it from the right & lawful heires. whereby a few men in short time being made very riche, immediatly after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of Sparta, which made all honest sciences to cease, & brought in thereuppon vnlawfull occupacions, who enuyed them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remayned not aboue seuen hundred naturall Citizens of Sparta in all, & of them, not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the reft were poore people in the citie, and were of no countenaunce nor calling, & befides that, went vnwillingly to the warres against their ene-Agis greeka- mies, looking euery day for sturre and chaunge in the citie. Agis therefore thinking it a notable good acte (as in deede it was) to replenish the citie of Spart againe, and to bringe in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to aunciei sfinte. giue good eare vnto him, and very well giuen vnto vertue, easily chaunging their garments & life, to recouer their libertie againe. But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with couetoulnes and corruption, they were affraid to returne againe to the straight ordinaunces of L; curqus, as a flaue and ronneagate from his Maister, that trembleth when he is brought back F againe vnto him. Therefore they reproued Agu, when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and wishe also for the former auncient honor and true dignitie of SPARTA

A Howbeit Lyfander the sonne of Lybu, and Mandroclidas the sonne of Esphanes, and Agesilaus alfo, greatly commended his noble defire, and perswaded him to goe forward withall. This Infander was of great authoritie and estimation amongest them in the citie: Mandroclidas was also very wise, and carefull, about any matter of counsell, and with his wisedom and policv.very valiant: Agefilaus in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couctous, and yet prickt forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his sonne Hippomedon, who was a notable good souldier, and could doe very much by meanes of the loue and good will the younge men did beare him . But in deede, the secret cause that brought Agesilaus to consent vnto this practise, was the greatnes of his dette which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by chaunging of the state and common R wealth. Now when Agis had wonne him, he fought by his meanes to drawe his mother also unto the matter, which was Agefilaus fifter. She could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and detters in the citie, by whose meanes she ruled the most part of the affavres of the citie after her owne pleasure. But the young man Hippomedon making her privie vinto it, at the first she was amased withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wise, and not medle in matters vnpossible and vnprositable. But when Agesilaus had told her what a notable acte it would be, and how easily it might be brought to passe, with maruelous great profit: and that king Agis beganne also to strayne her with great intreatie, that she would willingly depart with her goods to winne her fonne honor and glory: who though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kinges (bicause the slaves and factors onely of the kinges Seleucus and Ptolomy, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that ever raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, & noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to restore the LACED EMONIAN sagaine vnto equalitie: that then in deede he should be counted a noble king. These women being stirred up with ambition by these perswassons of the younge man, seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the goddes their mindes had secretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue : did presently alter their mindes in such fort, that they them selues did pricke forward Agis, and sent for their friends to pray and intreate them to favor his enterprise: and furthermore, they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDE-MONIANS did ever heare and beleue their wives, fuffering them to understand more of the af- How louing fayres of the state, then they them selues did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be the lacedaconfidered, that the most part of the riches of LACED & MON Was in the handes of the women, who their and therefore they were against it, not onely bicause thereby they were cut of from their fine- wines. nes and excesse, in the which being ignorant of the true good in deede, they put all their felicitie: but also, bicause they sawe their honor and authoritie which they had by their riches. cleane troden under foote. Therefore they comming to Leonidas, they did perswade him to reproue Agis, bicause he was elder man then he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. Leonidas did what he could in fauour of the riche, but fearing the common people, who defired nothing but alteracion, he durst not openly speake against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder Aque practise, talking with the Magistrates of the citie, and accusing Agis vnto them, he told them how he did offer the riche mens goods vnto the poore; the dinision of their landes, and the abolishing of all detts, for rewarde to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a stronge gard vnto him selfe, but not many Citizens vnto Sparta. This notwithstanding, king Agis having procured Lyfander to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preserved his lawe vnto the counsell. The articles whereof were silver. these: That fuch as were in debt, should be cleered of all their debts, and that the landes also should be divided into equal partes: so that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the cities of Malea, and Selasia, there should be source thowsand sine hundred partes, and without the se boundes, there should be in all the rest, sisteene thowsand partes, the which should be distributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the rest vnto the natural Spartans. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and ftraungers in like manner, which should be very well brought vp, and be able men besides to ferue the common wealth: all the which afterwards should be divided into fifteene companies, of the which, some should receive two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & should

liue according to the olde auncient institucion observed by their auncestors. This lawebeing A

preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grewe to divers opinions apon it. Whereuppon La-

lander him selfe assembled the great counsell of all the people, and there spake vnto them him

selfe, and Mandroclidas, and Agesilans also, praying them not to suffer the honor of Sparta to

be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a fewe: but that they would remember the auncient

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

844

oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and destruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle also brought vnto them, from the temple of Page phaé. The temple and oracle of Pafiphaé, was famous at the citie of THALAMES: and some fav. that Paliphae was one of the Daughters of Atlas, which was gotten with child by Impiter, & was delinered of a fonne called Hammon . Other thinke that it was Caffandra, one of king Priamus Daughters that died there, which was furnamed Pasiphae, bicause she gaue all the aunswers & R oracles of things to come. But Phylarchus writeth, that Daphne the Daughter of Amyela, flying from Apollo that would have rauished her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by Apol-

Leonidas refiftesh king

to with the gift of prophecie. So, they faid that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS should againe returne vnto their former auncient equalitie, stablished first by Lycureus lawe. When every man els had spoken, king Agis rising vp, briefly speaking vnto the people, fayd: that he would bestowe great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was defirous to reftore againe. For first of all, he would make common all his errable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would adde to fix hundred talents in rea-Meji maketh all his errable and patture he nad, and beinges that, he would adde to ha minuted takents in teaching made come dy money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsemen and friendes, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in Sparta. When the people heard what he sayd, they mar- o uelled much at the noble minde of this younge king, and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundred yeares space together, the citie of Spart a had not so worthy a king as he. But Leonidas contrarily affayed with all his power he could to reful him, thinking with him felfe. that if king Aqu purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he should have no thankes, but king Agis: bicause that all the Spartans indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor should be his onely that first beganne it. So he asked Agis, whether he thought Lycurgus had bene a good and just man or not. Agus aunswered, that he had bene. Then replyed Leonidas, did you euer see that he had taken away and abolished any detts, or had receyued straungers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth unperfect, if all straungers were not D banished the citie. Agis agayne aunswered him: that he maruelled not that Leonidas beeing brought vp in a straung contry, and also maryed there in a noble mans house, he should be ignorant of Lyeurgus lawes, who banishing gold and filuer out of his citie, did therewithall exile dette and lending. And for straungers, he hated them that woulde not conforme them selues vnto the manners and facions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill will he bare vnto their persons, but bicause he seared their manners of life, least that mingling them with the Citizens, they should make them runne after vanitie and couetousnes to be riche. For otherwise, Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, which were all straungers, were maruelously renerenced and honored in SPARTAin olde tyme, bicause they did finge in their writings, the felfe same thinges which Lyeurgus had established in his lawes. B And thou thy felfe also doest commend Ecprepes, being one of the Ephores, bicause he did cut with a hatchet the two stringes which Phrynis the Musitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the seuen common stringes, and those also which did the like vnto Timotheus: and yet thou reprouest me, bicause I goe about to roote out all excesse and pride out of Sparta as though those men did not farre of preuent that these superfluous stringes of the musicke, delighting the Citizens mindes too much with their fonges, should not cause them fall vito fuch trade and manner of life, as should make the citie at discord with it selfe. After this contencion, the common people did sticke vnto king Agis, and the riche men followed Leonidas, praying and perswading him not to forsake them: and further, they did so intreate the Senators, in whom confifteth the chiefe authority, to determine and difgest all matters before they F be propowned vnto the people that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore Lysander who was yet in office, attempted to accuse Leonidas by an aunci-

a entlawe, forbidding that none of the race of Hercules should mary with any straining woman. nor beget children of her: and fayde further, that no man vpon payne of death should dwell any where, but in Sparta. When he had instructed others to object these thinges agaynst Leonidas, he with other of his colleagues observed a signe in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this forte: Euery nynenth yeare, the Ephori chufing a bright night without moonelight, did fit downe in some open place, and beheld the starres in the element, to see if they faw any starre shoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their kinges that they had offended the goddes, and did deprine them of their kingdom, vntill fome oracle came from De LPHES Or Olympus, to restore them againe. Lylander then declaring that he had King Leonifeene a starre flie in the element, did therefore accule king Leonidas, and brought forth witness by Lylander. R fes against him: how he had maried a woman of Asia, the which one of king Selencus Lieuetenants had given him in mariage, & that he had two children by her: & afterwards being forfaken of his wife that refused him, he returned againe into his contry against his will, &s so had nosselfested the kingdom for lacke of lawful heire. So following his acculation in this manner against him, he allured Cleombrotus his sonne in law, being also of the kings blood, to make title to the crowne. Leonidas being affraid of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the temple of Juno, surnamed Chalceactos, & his Daughter with him, who for sooke her husband Cleombrotus. Leonidas then being cited to appeare in person, & making default, they deposed him, & made Leonidas de-Cleombrotus king. In the meane time Lyfanders office expired, & the new Ephori which fucce primed of his ded him, did deliuer Leonidas againe, and accused Lysander & Mandroclidas, bicause against the c law, they had abolished all debts, & had againe made newe division of lands. When they sawe they were openly accused, they incensed both the kinges, that joyning together, they shoulde make the Ephores ordinaunces of no effect : declaring that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two kings, bicause they should give their voices vnto that king that had the best judgemet & reason, whe the other would wilfully withstand both right & reason. And therfore, that they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without cotrolment of any person: & that to result the kings was a breaking of the lawe, sith that by right the Ephori had no other privileage & authority, but to be judges & arbitrators between the when there was any cause of larre or controuersie. Both the kings being caried away by this perswafion, went into the market place accopanied with their frends, plucked the Ephores from their D seares, & put others in their roomes, of the which Agesilauwas one. Eurthermore, they armed agreat number of yong men, & opening the prisons, did fet the prisoners at liberty, the which made their aduersaries affraid of the, doubting some great murther would have followed ypon it, how beit no man had any hurt. For Agefilans being bene to kill Leanidas, who fled ynto the ci- Leonidas flyty of TEGEA, & having also laid men in waite for him by the way: king Agis hearing of it fent "" thither other frends of his in whom he put great confidence, & they did accopany Leonidas, & brought him fasely vnto the city of T B GHA. Thus their purpose taking effect, & no man corra- King Agin de rying the one man only Agefilaus ouerthrew all, & dashed a noble Liaconian law by a sham-ceimed by Aful vice, which was couetournes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the helftlands of any man in the contry & owing a great fumme of money befides: would nether pay his detts. E nor let go his land. Wherfore he perswaded king des, that if he wes about to stabilith both together, he fliould raise a great votore in the city, & withall, if he did first winne them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting of of dets only, then that they would cafely & willingly also accept the law for partition of lands. Lylander was also of his opinioniwhere 26 land by king Agis & he both were deceived by Agefilaus fubtlety. So they comautided at the credi- flabilihed by tors to bring their bonds, obligations, & bils of det (which the Lincop & Montans do cal Cla monion, ria)into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did fet fire of them. When the viurers & creditors law their writings obligatory aftrey they departed thence with heavy harrs: but Agefilaus mocking the faid, he never faw a brighter fire in his life. The people

then requiring that the lands also should be presently deuided, & the kings likewise comman-

king Agis should go to the warres, for that the ACHAIAN's their confederats had praied aide of

Licen muon, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betwene them, bicause they

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F ding it Ageislaus stil interpoling some cause of let, delaied time, until oportunity clerued, that

chaians. King Agis ior

looked daily that the ATOLIANS coming through the contry of MEGARA, would invade Pr. A LOP ONNES VS. Aratm general of the ACHAIANS had leaused a great army to withstad their inuasion. & had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should send the aide. Wheruppon, they presently sent king Agu, perceiuing also the readines and good wil of the souldiers which were appointed to go with him. For the most of the were young men & needy, who seing the selues discharged of the feare of their dets, & hoping also at their return, that the lads likewise should be deuided among the they went with glad harts, & were obedient vnto king Agis. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through all Paloponnasys from the one fide to the other, very quietly, without noyfe or offence to any man. Likewife many GRECIANS calling to mind the afficient times, told one another, that it was a noble fight then to see the army of LACED EMON, whe they were led by Agesilaus, Lysander, & Leonidas, famous R captaines: fith now they faw so great obedience vnto Agis by his fouldiers, who was in maner the yogest ma of all his campe. Who also glorying to be cotet with litle, to away with paines

& not to be more costly apparelled & armed the any prinat fouldier he had: he wanne him self

therby a maruelous loue of the people. How beit the rich me liked not this chaung, & were affraid lest Agis should give other people example to rife also, & to do the like with theirs, ashe had done. Agu meting with Aratus by the city of Corinths, even as he was confulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not shewed him self in his cousel, then no rash, but arefolute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to fuffer the warre to come any further leaving the entry into PELOPONNES VS free to their enemy:neuertheles, that he would do what Aratus thought good, bicause he was the elder, and o general also of the Achaians, whom he came not to comaund, but to aide the But Baton St. NOPIAN Writeth, that king Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing: how beit he had not red that which Aratus had writte for his excuse & instificatio, alleaging there, that the farmers & husbadme having brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to fuffer the enemies to come further into the contry, rather then to hazard battel, to the loffe of the whole COTTY Of PELOPONNESVS, & that therfore he licenced al the confederatisto depart, & brake vp his army. So king Agis returned home again, greatly honored of al the that ferued with him in this iorney, finding the city of SPARTA the in great broile & trouble. For Agefilaus at that time being one of the Ephores, finding him felf rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what injury or mischief he did to any citizen, so he might get money. For amongest other n things, that very yere he made the pay beyond al reason the tallages & taxes due vnto the como wealth for thirtene moneths, adding to the thirtenth moneth, about the ordinary time of the yere. Wherfore perceiuing every ma hated him, se being affraid of the he had offended the kept fouldiers about him, armed with their fwords, & fo came downe into the market place among the. And for the two kings, he made no accopt of the one: but of the other that was Aqui, he semed outwardly to make good accopt, rather for kinreds sake, the for his dignity of a king, & furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Wheruppo, his enemies spedely to preuent the dauger, gathered force together, & opely brought king Leonidas from TEGEA, to restore him again to his kingdo. The people were glad to see that bicause they were angry they had bene mocked in that fort for that the landes E

das returneth to Spatia.

The naturall lone of Che. Lonis Leoni-

were not deuided according vnto promise. Furthermore, Hippomedon was so welbeloued for his valiantnes of every ma, that intreating the people for his father Agesilans, he saved his life, & got him out of the city. But for the two kings, Agis tooke fancturary in the teple of Iuno Chalceaecos. And Gleobrotus the other king fled into the teple of Neptune: for it femed that Leonidas being much more offeded with him, did let king Agu alone, & wer against him with certe soldiers armed. The he sharply taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to deprive him of his kingdo. & had drive him out of his contry. But then Cleambrotas not hauing a word to fay, fate stil, & made him no answer. Wheruppo his wife Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, who before was offended for the iniury they did her father, & had left her husdas daughter, band Cleobrotus, that had viurped the kingdo from him, to ferue her father in his aduerfity, and F ther and hus. while he was in fanctuary tooke part with him alfoof his milery, & afterwards whe he wetvnto the city of TEGEA, ware blacks for forow, being offeded with her husbadishe contrarily the chaunging

changing her anger with her husbads fortune & mifery, became also an huble futer with him fitting down by him, & imbracing him, having her two litle fonnes on either fide of them. All me wodering, & weping for pity, to fee the goodnes & natural love of this Lady, who shewing her mourning apparell, & heare of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed : fhe spake in The oration this fort vnto her father. O father mine, this forowfull garmet & countenance is not for pity of the Daneher Cleombrotus, but hath long remained with me, lamenting fore your former mifery & exile: but of Leonida. now, which of the two should I rather choose, either to cotinue a mourner in this pitiful state. feing you again restored to your kingdom, having ouercome your enemies; or els putting on " my princely apparel, to fee my husband flain, vnto whom you maried me a maid? who, if he " can not moue you to take copassion of him, and to obtein mercy, by the teares of his wife and " childre: he shalthen abide more bitter paine of his euil counsel, then that which you intend to

make him fuffer. For he shal see his wife die before him, whom he loueth more derely then any thing in the world. Also, with what face can I loke apon other ladies, whe I could never bring my father to pity, by any interceffio I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intrearing him for my father: & that my hap is to be borne, a daughter & wife alwaies most vnfortunat,& despised of mine owne? And for my husbad, if he had any reason to do that he did, I the " tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and protesting against him; and contrarily, your selfe "

doth give him honest culler to excuse his faulte, when he seeth in you the defire of the kingdom fo great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your fonnes in law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her fake. Chelonis pitifully complaying in this r force; putting her face upon Cleombratus head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes apon the

flanders by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a litle with his friendes, he commaunded The banifla-Cleombrotus to get him thence, and to leave the citie as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for Cleombrotus his fake to remayine with him, and not to for fake her father, that did fo dearely loue her, as for her fake he had forced her husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yeelde to his requestibut riffing up with her husband, gaue him one of his sonnes, and her selftooke the other inher armes raind then making her prayer before the altar of the goddeffe, the went as a banithed wonian away with her husband. And truely thexample of her vertue was fo famous, that The great ver

if Cleombroeus mind had not bene too much blinded with vain glory, he had cause to thinke his of Chelonis, to exile farre-more happy to enjoye the loue of fo noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom ber bushand D which he possessed without her. Then Leonidas having banished king Cleombrotus out of the Cleombrotus. city;& remoning the first Ephores, had substituted other in their place: he presetly bethought

forgiuen him all that was past, bicause they knew he was deceived, & subtely circumuented by Agefiland craft; being a young man, ambitious of honor Age would not leave the fanctuary for Leonidas cunning perswafion, but mistrasted all than he said vnto him: Wherefore, Leonidas would no more beguile him with faire words. But Amphares, Demochares, & Arcefilaus, did oftetimes go to visitiking Agis, & otherwhile also they got him out of the sanctuary with them vnto the bath & brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But Amphares Amphares be-E having borowed not long before certein rich apparel & plate of Agelifizata, bicaufe he would mayed king not redeliuer the againe, he determined to betray king Aqui, his mother, & grandmother. And

him howe he might craftily come by king Agis. First, he perswaded him to come out of the

fanctuary, & to go general the kingdom fafely with him, declaring vato him that his citizens had

itis reported that he chiefly did ferue Leonidas turne, & prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one against Acis. Now therefore, Acis keping all the rest of his time within the teple faving when he went apon occasion to the bath other determined to intercept him by the way & to take him when he was out of the fanctuary. So they watched him one day when he bathed & came & faluted him as their maner was & feemed to accompany him foorting, & being mery with him as with a young mantheir famillion But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towardes the prison, Amphares laying hold on him, beeing one of the Ephores, faid vnto him! I arreft thee Agis, & wil bring thee before the Ephores, to give accompt King Agis ca

Pofthy doings in the common wealth. Then Demochares, which was a great mighty man cast a rice unit prihis gowne over his eares, & pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to help Agu, they got him into pri-

856 Note the re-

fon. Then came Leonidas incontinently with a great number of fouldiers that were straungers. A & befet the prison round about. The Ephores wet into the prison, & sent vnto some of the Sec nate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they comaunded Aguan if it had bene judicially, to give accompt of the alteracion he had made in the comon wealth. The younge man laughed at their hypocrifie. But Amphares told him that it was no laughing. sport, & that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deale more fauorably with him & to thew him a way how he might escape the condenation for his fault. asked him, if he had not bene intifed vnto it by Agefilans, and Lyfander. Agu aunswered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steppes of the auncient Lycurgusto. bring the common wealth vnto the former estate of his graue ordinaunce & institution. Then the same Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The younge R man boldly aunswered him, that he would neuer repent him of so wise and vertuous an enterprise, though he ventred his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commaunded the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the prison where they were strangled, that were condemned to dye. Demochares perceiving the Sergeaunts durst not lay hold of him, & likewise that the souldiers which were straungers, did abhorre to commit such the beather, a fact, contrary to the law of God and man, to lay violent hands upon the person of a king; he onto the per- threatned & reuiled them, and dragged Agis perforce into that place called the Decade, Now the rumor ranne straight through the citie, that king Agis was taken, &ca multitude of people

were at the prison dores with lights & torches. Thither came also king Age mother & grand-

mother, shreeking out, & praying that the king of Sparta might yet be heard and judged by o

the people. For this cause, they hastned his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, least the

people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people

thither. Thus king Agis being led to his death, spied a Sergeaut lamenting & weeping for him,

vnto whom he faid: good fellowe, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honefter man then

they that so shamefully put me to death, & with those words he willingly put his head into the

halter. Amphares then going out of the prison into the street, found Agelistrata there, king Agia

mother, who straight fel downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old famillier man-

ner, as being her very friend, told her that they should doe king Agis no hart, & that the might if the would, goe & fee him. Then the prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her,

lay violens

Amphares fayde, with a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the D dores be shut after them. But when they were within he first game Archidamia wate the Serges king sais, dores be shut after them. But when they were withing the mather aunts to be put to death, who was a maruelous olde woman, and had lived more honorably aunts to be put to death, who was a maruelous olde woman, and had lived more honorably vnto that age, then any Lady or Mattone befide her in the citie. She being executed, he commaunded Agesistrata also to come in. Who when she sawe the bodye of her dead sonne layed on the ground,& her mother also hanging on the gallowes: she did her selfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her formes. Then having covered her in decent manner, the layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her forme day, and killing his cheeke fayd: out, alas my fonne, thy great modeftie, goodnes and clemencie, brought thee and vs vnto this deathe. Then Amphares peeping in at the dore to fee what was done; hear ring what the fayde, came in withall in a greate rage, and fayde: I perceyue thou hast also B beene of counsell with thy fonne, and fithe it is so, thou shalt also followe him. Then the rifing likewise to be strangled, sayd: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit Sparta. This horrible murther beeing blowen abroad in the citie, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the feare though it were great amongest the people, could not keepe them back from apparant show of griefe, and manifest hate against Leonidas and Amphares, thinking that there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in Sparta, fince the Dortans came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them felues in partell, would not will lingly lay hands vpon the kings of LACED EMON, but did forbeare as much as they could posfible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maieftic. For in many great battels & coflicts which the LACED & MONIANS had against the GRECIANS, there was never any king of # LACED & MONflain, before Philips time, but Cleobrotus only, who was flain with a dart at the battellof Lever Res. Some write also, that the Messenians hold opinio, that their Ariffomenes

A flucking Theopompus: howbeit the LACED EMONIANS fayde, that he was but hurt, not flavne. But hereof there are divers opinions: but it is certain that Agis was the first king whom the Ephores ever put to death: for that he had layd a plat of a noble deuise, and worthy of SBARTAS being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend; and was rather to be accused of his friendes and enemies, bicause he had saued Leonidas life, & had trusted other men, as the best natured younge man that could be.

Now Agis having suffered in this fort, Leonidas was not quicke enough to take Archidamus Harebeginhis brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought Agis wife out of her house by force, with net life. a litle boy the had by him, and maried her vnto his fonne Cleomenes, who was yet vnder age to Cleomenes the marye: fearing least this younge Ladye should be bestowed els where, beeing in deede a great sonne of Leon heire, and of a riche house, and the Daughter of Gylippus, called by her name Agiatis, besides Meidis the that the was the fayrest woman at that tyme in all GRECE, and the vertuousest and best con- Daughter of dicioned. Wherefore, for divers respects she praied the might not be forced to it. But now be- Grippun, and ing at length maried vnto Cleomenes, the euer hated Leonidas to the death, and yet was a good Agis and louing wife vnto her young husband: Who immediatly after he was maried vnto her fell Agiatis king

greatly in fancy with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue maryed anto the bare vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembraunce the had of him : infomuch Cleomene. as he him felfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquifitiue how thinges had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of Agis wise counsell and purpose. For Cleomenes was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as Agis, and was borne also to temperancie and moderation of life, as Agis in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestic and lenitie which the other had, but was somewhat more sturring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it greate honestie to bringe the Citizens if he could, to be contented to live after an honest forte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishoneflie to bringe them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of Sparta, giving them selves over to idlenes and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did fuffer the common wealth to be ruled as they lifted, fo no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for him felf, and his familie. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperan-D cie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the only cause

came to LACED EMON, and louingly stayed there to teache younge men and children. He of Bory street was one of the chiefest schollers of Zenon CITIAN, and delighted (as it seemed) in Cleomenes noble minde, and had a great defire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For, as it is reported; that the auncient Leonidas beeing demaunded what Poet he thought Tyrtaus to be, aunswered he was good to flatter younge mens myndes: for he fette their hartes a fire by his verses, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were fo incoraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stowte and valiant myndes, which E otherwise doth make them desperate: but when they are joyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lysteth up his hart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Nowe Leonidae (the father of Cleomenes) beeing deceased, and he him selfe comen vnto the crowne, finding that the Citizens of Spartaat that tyme were very diffolute, that the riche men followed their pleasure and profit taking no care of the common weale, that the poore men also for very want and neede went with no good life and courage to the warres, nether cared for the bringing up of their children, and that he him felfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernment of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called Xenares, that had beene his louer in his youth (which the LACED & MONI-

of the late death of Agi. They fay also, that Cleomenes being a young stripling, had heard some disputacion of Philosophie, when the Philosopher Spharus, of the contry of BORY STHENES Spharus,

F ANS called Empnistae, as much as inspired) he beganne to sownd his opinion, asking what maner of man king Agis had bene, and by what reason, and whose adusse he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth . Xenares at the first did not willingly re-CCCC iij

The enemies did not millingly kill a.

my king of Cleomenes did fer the Lacedemonians and Achaians together by the eares.

hearfe thefe things vnto him, declaring every thing what had passed. But when he found that A Cleomenes was affected vnto king Agis intent, & still defired to heare of it: then Xenares sharply and angrily reproued him, and tolde him he was not wife, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuve why he abstevned from comming to him, but told them that asked him, he knewe a cause well enough why, Xenares nowe having thus refused him, and thinking all the rest woulde doe the like to bringe this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with him selfe. Bicause he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he fet the citie of Sparta and the Achai-ANS at variance together: who did them felues give the first occasion to be complayed you pon. For Aratus beeing President and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a longe tyme to bringe all Peloponnesvs into one bodye: and had therefore onely fufteyned great p troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliner them from forreyne warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACED EMONIANS, and a few of the Ar-CHADIANS, which were subject vnto the LACED & MONIANS. When king Leonidas was deade. Aratus beganne to inuade the Archadians, those specially that bordered apon the Argi-VES: to proue how the LACED & MONIANS would take it, making no accompt of Cleomenes being but a young king, & had no experience of warres. Thereuppon the Ephori fent Cleomenes VINTO A THENIVM (a temple of Minerus hard by the citie of Belbina) with an armie to take it bicause it was a passage & entry into the contry of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANES, and the LACED EMONIANS. Cleomenes got it, and fortefied it. Aratus making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stale out one night with his army to fet apon the TEGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to have taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they should have gonne about it: so that Aratus returned, having lost his iorney, thinking that this fecret attempt of his was not discourred. But Cleomenes finely wrote vnto him as his friend. and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night: Aratus returned aunswer againe, that vinderstanding Cleomenes ment to fortifie Belbina, he went forth with his armye, thinking to haue let him. Cleemenes wrote againe vnto him, and faid he did beleeue that which he foake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertise him why he brought schaling ladders and lightes after him. Aratus smiling at this mocke, asked p what this young man was. Democritus LACED EMONIAN being a banished man out of his cotry, aunswered: if thou hast any thing to doe against the LACED & MONIANS, thou hadst neede make haste, before this young Cockerel haue on his spurres. Then Cleomenes being in the field in the contry of Archadia, with a few horsemen and three hundred sootemen onely: the Ephori being affraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement : but Aratus sodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereuppon the Ephori incontinently fent Cleomenes backe again with his armie: who tooke the fort Cleomenes ior of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the Argives. The Achaian's came against him with an army of twenty thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen, led by Aristomachus: Cleomenes met with them by the city of PALANTIV M, and offred battell. But Aratus quaking at E the hardines of this young man, would not fuffer Aristomachus to hazard battell, but went his way, derided by the Achaians, and despised by the Laced & Monians: who in all were not aboue fine thow and fighting men. Cleamenes corage beeing now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a faying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACE-DEMONIANS neuer inquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the A CHAIANS making warre with the E LIANS, Cleomenes was fent to avde them, & met with the armie of the Achaians by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he fetting apon them, gaue them the ouerthrowe, flue a great number of them, and tooke many also prisoners, that the rumor ranne through GRECE, how Aratus selfe was slaine. Cleomenes wisely taking the occasion which this victory gaue him: he went straight to the citie of MAN-F TINE A and taking it upon a fodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it, Now the LACED EMONIANS harts failing them, and resisting Cleomenes enterpri-

ney into the contry of the Argines.

The victorie azainji Arathe kings of

A fes. ouerweavying them with warres : he went about to fende for Archidamus, king Acis brother, being then at MESSENA, vinto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other house, fuppofing that he should easely weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kinges, if both of them joyned together. Which when the murtherers of king Agis vnderstoode, being affraid that Archidamus returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them: Archidamus they fecretly received him into the citie, and founde the meanes to bring him into Sparta, king Agus But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was vnwitting to Cleomenes (as Phylarchus plainly testifieth) or else with his privitie, suffring them to make him away. by perswasion of his frends, But it is a cleere case, the citie was burdened withall bicause probable matter fell out that they had compelled Cleomenes to doe it. Neuerthelesse, he holding R fill his first determination, to alter the state of the common wealth of Sparta, as soone as he could possible: he so fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he thould make warre. He had also won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother Crateficles, who furnisht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall : and further, maried as it is reported, (being otherwise not ment to mary) for her sonnes sake, vnto one of the wealthieft men of all the citie. So Cleomenes leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territorie of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAIANS also being quickly come to their aide, led by Aratus: they straight fought a battell by the citie felfe, where Cleomenes had the worst on the one side of his armie. Howbeit Aratus woulde not suffer the A-CHAIANS to follow them, bicause of bogges and quauemyres, but sounded the retreate. But C. Infladas 2 MEGALOPOLITAN being angrie withall, caused the horsemen he had about him to follow the chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongest vines, walls, and ditches, where he was driven to disperse his men, and yet coulde not get out. Cleomenes perceiving it, Lysadas fent the light horfemen of the TARENTINS & CRETANS against him: of whom Lysiadas val- Saine. liantly fighting was flaine. Then the LACED EMONIANS being couragious for this victorie, victorie of came with great cries, & geuing a fierce charge apon the Achaians, ouerthrew their whole the Achaians. armie, and flue a maruelous number of them; but yet Cleomenes at their request suffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For Lysadas corps, he caused it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe apon it, and a crowne on his head, sent it in this aray vnto the very gates of the city of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that felfe Lyfiadas, who gening Douer the tyranny and gouernment of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular state, and free city, Lyfadas, pt. and ioyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victorie, Cleomenes that determined greater mat- ranne of Meand toyned it to the A CHATANS. After this victories, become no tractice minute greater mat-ters and attempts, perswaded him selfe that if he might once come to stablishe the affaires of subpositions. the common wealth at Spart a to his mind, he might then eafely ouercome the Achaians: ramie, and brake with his father in law Megistonus, and told him that it was necessary to take away the au- made it a pothoritie of the Ephores, and to make division of the landes among the Spartans, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recouer the Empire of GRECE againe vnto the LACED EMONIANS, which their predecessors before them, held and enjoyed. Megistonus graunting his good will and furtherance, joyned two or three of his frendes more vnto him. It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of Pasiphae, had a marue- The dreams E lous dreame in the night. For he thought he fawe but one chaire standing where the Ephori Ephore. did yfe to fit to geue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that faid, that was the best for Sparta. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto Cleomenes, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard some inckling of his intent. But when he perswaded him selfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose, and taking with him vnto the campe all those Spartans which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and tooke the cities of HERE A and ALSEA, confederats of the ACHAIANS, and vitteled ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he so wearied F & ouerharried the LACED EMONIAMS by long iorneys, that at length they befought him he

would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repose them selves there. In the meane time, Cleomenes with his straungers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto Sparta, and imparted

CCCC iiij

to the halle of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him

After him he fent also Thericion & Phabis, and two other that had bene brought vp with him.

whom the LACED E MONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a fewe foul

diers. Nowe whilest Euryclidas was talking with the Ephores, they also came in apon them

Cleomenes flue the E-

with their swordes drawen, and did set apon the Ephores. Agefilans was hurt first of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene flaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the halle. and got fecretly into a chappell confecrated vnto Feare, the which was wont ener to beken shut, but then by chaunce was lest open, when he was come in, he shut the dore fast to him. The other foure of the Ephores were flaine presently, and about tenne moe besides, which R came to defende them. Furthermore, for them that fate still and sturred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was defirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned Agefilaus, who came the next morning out of the chappell of Feare, A-Diners siples mongest the LACED & MONIANS in the citie of Sparta, there are not onely temples of search and death, but also of laughter, and of many other such passions of the minde. They do worof fuch other Thippe Feare, not as other spirites and deuills that are hurtfull but bicause they are perswaded, that nothing preserueth a common wealth better then seare. Wherefore the Ephori (as Aristotle witnesseth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamacion commaunde all the SPARTANS to shaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, least they should make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the shauing of their chinnes, in my opinion, to inure youg C men to obey the Magistrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it seemes that men in olde time did esteeme fortitude to be no taking away of seare, but rather a seare & lothnes to incurre shame.

The vallian. For commonly those that are most affrayed to offend the law, are in the field most valliant aref. men. are gainst their enemie: and shunne no perill to winne same and honest reputacion. And there-isofied the fore it was wisely sayd of one,

That feare can not be without shamefastnes. And so Homer in a certaine place made Hellen say vnto king Priamus: Of trueth I doe confesse deere father in lave, You are the man of wwhom I stand in avv. Andrewerence most of all that ere I savv.

And in an other place, speaking of the GRECIAN fouldiers, he fayth thus: For feare of their Captaines they pake not a word.

D

of feare, loyned to the halle of the Ephores. The oration of king Cleaching the first original of the Ephores.

For men do vie to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cause why the chappell of Feare was by the halle of the Ephores, having in maner a princely and absolute authoritie. The next morning Cleomenes banished by trompet, foure score citizens of Sparta, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one only, the which he referued for him felfe to fit in to gene audience. Then calling the people to counfell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that Lycurgus had joyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the city having great warres with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies E employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did choose certaine of their frendes to sitte in judgement in their steades, to determine controuerfies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kinges ministers, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke apon them absolute gouernment by the selues. And for manifest proofe hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time, they refuse to come, but the third time Astropus, the he riseth and goeth vnto them. The first man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was Asteropus, one of the Ephores many yeares after the first institucion of the kinges: and yet if they had gouerned discreetely, peraduenture they might have continued lenger. But they licentioully abusing their authoritie, by suppressing the lawfull Gouernors instituted of old time, ta- F king apon them to banish some of their kings, and putting other of them also to death, without law and inflice, and threatning others that defire to restore that noble and sormer blessed

A gouernment vnto Spart aggaine: all these things I say, are in no wife to be suffered any lenger. And therefore, if it had bene possible to have banished all these plagues of the common wealth out of Sparta, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, dets, and viuries, and others yet more auncient, pouerty and riches)he might then have esteemed him selse the happiest king that euer was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his contrie of that infection, without griefe or forrow. But in that he was constrained to beginne with blood, he followed Lycurgus example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but aprivate citizen only, taking apon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king Charilaus that then raigned, so affrayed, that he was driven to take fanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a R noble nature, and louing the honor of his contrie: tooke parte with Lyeurgue, adding to his aduife and counfell, for the alteracion of the state of the government of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that Lyeurgue faw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force and feare: the which he not withflanding had veed with as great modestie and discretion, as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of LACED EM ON, gening all the lands of the contrie also to be equally denided amongest them, and setting all men cleere that were in detre. And furthermore, that he would make a choyle and proofe of the straungers, to make them free citizens of Sparta. whom he know to be honeft men, thereby to defende their citie the better by force of armes; to thend that from henceforth we may no more fee our contrie of LACONIA spoyled by the C. ET OLIMNS and LLLY RIAMS, for lacke of men to defende them felues againft them. Then he Cleomene tebeganne first him selfe to make all his goods common, and after him Megistonus his father in formeth the law, and confequently all his other frendes. Then he caused the lands also to be deuided, and comm wealth ordeined every banished man a part, whom he him selfe had exiled, promising that he would of Lacedan receive them againe into the city, when he had established all things. So when he had replenithed the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choycest honest men their neighbours: he made foure thow and footemen well armed, and raught them to vie their pykes with both handes, in steade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the education of children, and to reftore the auncient LACONIAN discipline againe; and did all these things Din maner by the helpe of Spherus the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickely fer vp againe schoole honses for children, and also brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a very fewe, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institucion of life. Then bicause the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother Euclidas king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore,

understanding that the Achaians and Aratus were of opinion, that he durst not come out of

LACED AMON, for feare to leave it in perill of revolting, bicause of the late change and alte-

racion in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his ene-

and fate a whole day to looke apon them, for no pleafure he tooke in the fight of it, but more

to despite the enemies withall, in making them see how muche he was stronger then they, to

make fuch a Mayegame in their owne contrie, in despite of them. For of all the armies other-

wife of the GRECTANS, or kinges in all GRECE, there was no armie onely but his, that was

without players, minftrells, fooles and jugglers: for his campe only was cleane of fuch rabble

and foolerie, and all the young men fell to fome exercise of their bodies, and the old men also

to teache them. And if they chaunced to have any vacant time, then they would pleafauntly

mies fee the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the Cleomenes in-MEGALOPOLITANS, and brought away a great praye and booty, after he had done great hurt madeth the borders of the E vnto his enemies. Then having taken certaine players and minstrells that came from Mass 1- Megalopal-NA, he sette vp a stage within the enemies contrie, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor,

be one merie with an other, in geuing some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. F And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we have written it at large in Lycurgus life. nes, the tea-But of all these things, the king him selfe was their schoolemaister and example, thewing him seer and exfelfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiofitie, no more then any prinate fouldier persons, For the GRECIANS having cause of sute and negociacion with other kings and Princes, did

not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and

infolencie: fo disdainfully they would aunswere them that had to doe with them, But contra-

rily when they went vnto Gleomenes, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding

no purple robes nor stately mantells, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken

to but by messengers, gentlemen whers, and supplications, and yet with great a doe; and see-

ing him also come plainly apparelled vnto them, with a good countenaunce, and curteonly

aunswering the matters they came for : he thereby did maruelously win their harts and good

wills, that when they returned home, they faid he only was the worthy king, that came of the

ping only three bords: and if he chaunced to feast any Ambassadors or other his frendes that

came to fee him, he then added to two other bords, and befides, made his men to fee that his

fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and

fome better wyne then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his frendes, that bidding

ftraungers to supper he gaue the nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according

to their LAC ONIAN maner. Nay, faid he, we may not vie straungers so hardly after our maner.

race of Hercules. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight and LACONIAN like, ke- R

Cleomenes moderase

Cleomenes carteous entertainment

Cleomene

army against Aratiu, and the Achaians.

of Cleomenes

The bord being taken vp, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they fet a bolle of copper full of wyne, and two filter cuppes of a pottell a peece, and certaine other fewe filter pottes besides: so every man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he woulde. Furthermore, there was no sporte, nor any pleasaunt song, C foung, to make the companie merie, for it needed not. For Cleomenes felfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions, or pleasaunt tale: whereby, as his talke was not seuere and without pleasure, so was it also pleasaunt without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and Princes did was but bafe and clovnelike but to feeke their good wills by curteous meanes, and pleafauntnes, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference between a frend and hyerling: but that the one is wonne with money. and the other with civility & good entertainment. The first therefore that received king Cleamenes into their citie, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to drive out the garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yeelded them selves vnto him. D But he referring them to the vie and government of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed aleadeth his bout Arcadia, and came vnto Pheres in Arcadia determining one of the two either to geue the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring Aratus out of fauor with the people, for that he had fuffred him to spoyle and destroy their contry. Hyperbat as was at that time Generall of the A-CHAIANS, but Aratus did beare all the fway and authoritie. Then the ACHAIANS comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of DYMES, neere vnto the temple of Hecatombeum: Cleomenes going thither, laye betweet the citie of Dymes that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a verie vnwise parte of him. Howebeit valliantly prouoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, ouer- E threw them, made them flie, and flue a great number in the field, and tooke many of them alfo prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set apon the citie of LANGON, and draue the garrison of the Achaians out of it, and restored the citie against vnto the Elians. The ACHAIANS being then in verie hard state, Aratus that of custome was won; to be their Generall, (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so daungerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the A CHATANS sent Ambassadors vnto Cleomenes to treate peace, vnto whome it seemed he gaue a verie sharpe aunfwere. After that, he fent vnto them, and willed them only to refigne the figniorie of G R # CR vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently F deliuer them vp their townes & prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The Achai-ANS being glad of peace with these condicions, wrote vnto Cleomenes that he shoulde come

AGIS AND CLEOMENES. where the citie of Lerna, where the dyet and generall affemblie shoulde be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that Cleomenes marching thirder, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell of fuche a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost fifiled. Wherefore he fent the ACHAIANS their chiefest prisoners home againe, proroging the parlament till an other time, and returned backe to LACED BMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the ytter destruction of GRECE: the which otherwise was in good way to have risen againe, and to have bene delinered from the prefent mileries, and extreame pride and conetournes of the MACED ONIANS. For Aratus, either for that he trusted not Cleomenes, or for that he was affrayed of his power. or that he otherwise enuied his honor & prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible great-Rues in fo short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honor & power which he had possessed folong time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all GRECE: first, he sought by force to terrifie the Acharans, and to make them breake of from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affrayed of Cleomenes valliantneffe and corage, whose request they thought reasonable. for that he fought but to restore PELOPONNESVS into her former auncient estate againe: he fell then into a practise farre vnhonest for a GR & CIAN, verie infamous for him selfe, but most dishonorable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought Antigoniu into GR ACE, Aratus medand in his age filled the contrie of Peloponnesy swith Macedonians, whom he himselfe for to his com-C in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the castell of Coninthe, and had alwayes bene an enemie of the kinges (but specially of Antigonus, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he coulde, as appeareth in his wrytings, faying that he tooke maruelous paines, and did put him felfe into many daungers, to deliuer the city of ATHENS from the garrison of the MACED ON IANS) and yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his contrie only, but into his owne house, yea even into the Ladies chambers & clofersidifdaining that the king of LACED BMON, diffeending of the blood royall of Hercules (who

fetting vp againe the auncient maner of life of his contrie, did temper it as an inftrument of musicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, auncient and sober discipline and Donican life instituted by Lycurgue) should be called and wrytten, king of the Sicyonian stand of the D TRICE MIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course capes of the LACEDEMONIANS, and that went about to take awaye riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse Cleomenes for) and to provide for the poore: he went and put him felfe and all Achain vnto the crowne and diadeame, the purple robe, and prowde imperious commaundementes of the MACEDONIANS, fearing least men should thinke that Cleomenes coulde commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was such, that having garlands of flowers on his head, he did facrifice vnto Antigonus, & fing longs in praife of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, confumed away. This that we have written of Aratus (who was indued with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRE-CIAN) is not fo much to accuse him, as to make vs see the frayely and weakenes of mans na-E ture: the which, though it have neuer to excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth such perfit frute, but that it hath over fome mayme and bleamiffie. Now, when the Achanas were met againe in the citie of And os, to hold the fession of their parlament before proroged, and Cleamenes also being come from TEGEA, to be arthat parlament: euerie man was in hope of good peace. But Aratus then, who was agreed before of the chiefest articles of the capitulacions with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes by fayre words of force would bring the people to graunt that he defired; fent to let him viderstand, that he should but come him selfealone into the citie, and for fafetie of his person they would gette him three hundred oftages or otherwife, if he would not leave his armie; that then they would gette him audience without the citie, in the place of exercises, called Cyllarabium, When Clebmenes had heard their aun-F fwere, he told them that they had done him wrong; for they fhould have advertised him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to fende

him backe againe, with a flea in his care. Thereuppon he wrote a letter vnto the counfell of

the ACBAIANS, altogether full of complaintes against Aratus. On thother side also, Aratus in A

winnerh the titie of Argos.

hus flaine at the citie of

his oration to the counsell, inueyed with bitter wordes against Cleomenes. Thereuppon Cleon menes departing with speede, sent a Herauld to proclaime warres against the Achaians, nor in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of ÆGION, 25 Aratus wryteth, meaning to fet apon them being vnprouided. Hereuppon all ACHAIA was in an vprore : for divers cities did presente reuolt against the Acharans, bicause the common people hoped after the diuision of lands. and the discharging of their dettes. The noble men also in many places were offended with ratus, bicause he practised to bring the MACED ONIANS into the contrie of PELOPONNESYS. Cleamenes therefore hoping well for all these respectes, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his first comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and draue out the garrison of the ACHAI-ANS: and after that, wanne also the cities of Phenevm, and Pentelivm. Now the Achai-R ANS fearing some treason in CORINTHE and SYCIONE, sent certaine horsemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe those cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the cele. bracion of the feaft at the games Nemeea, Cleomenes thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to A RGO s, he should finde the citie full of people that were come to see the seastes and games, and that affailing them vppon the fodaine, he shoulde put them in a maruelous seare brought his armie in the night hard to the walls of the citie of ARGOS, and at his first comming wanne a place they call Aspis, a veriestrong place about the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVES were so amazed at it, that no man would take apon him to desende the citie, but receiued Cleomenes garrison, and gaue him twentie oftages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the LACED & MONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The C which doubtles wanne him great fame, and increased his power: for that the auncient kings of LACED EMON, could never before with any policie or deuise, winne the citie of Argos. For king Pyrrhus one of the most valliantest and warlikest Prince that euer was, entring the citie of ARG os by force, could not keepe it, but was flaine there, and the most parte of his armie:wherby, euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counsell of Cleomenes. And where euery man did mocke him before, when Cleomenes fayd that he would follow Solon, and Lycurgus, in making the citizens goods common, and discharging all dets: they were then clerely perswaded that he onely was the cause and meane of that great chaunge, which they sawe in the corage of the Spart ans: who were before so weake and out of hart, that they having no corage to defend them felues, the ATOLIANS entring LACONIA, with an armie, tooke away D at one time, fiftie thow and flaues. Whereuppon an old man of Spart a pleafauntly fayd at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to ridde their contrie of Laco-NIA of fuche a rabble of rafcalls. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient discipline of Lyeurgus, as if Lyeurgus selfe had bene aliue to have trained them vnroits they shewed them selues verie valliant, and obedient also vnto their Magistrates, whereby they recovered agains the commaundement of all GRECE, and the contribulity of PELO-PONNESVS. After Cleomenes had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities also of CLEONES, and PHLIVNTA, did yeelde them selves vnto him. Aratus in the meane time remayned at Co-RINTHE, & there did bufily accuse them which were suspected to favor the LACED EMONI-ANS. But when newes was brought him that A RG os was taken, & that he perceived alfothe E citie of Comin's He did leane vnto Gleomenes parte, and draue away the Achaians: he then calling the people to counsell in Corinthe, secretly stale to one of the gates of the citie, and causing his horse to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, and gallopped for life vnto the citie of Sicyons. When the Corinthians heard of it, they tooke their hosebackes also, striuing who shoulde be there soonest, and posted in suche hast vnto Cleomenes at the citie of A a cos, that many of them (as Aratus wryteth) killed their horses by the waye : howebest Gleomenes was verie mucho offended with thems for that they had let him scape their handes. But Aratu layth further, that Megistonus came voto him from Cleomenes, and offered him a great furtime of money to deliuer him the castell of Contatt, wherein there was agree garrison of the A'CHAIANS. But he aunswered againe, that thinges were not in his power, but F rather that he was subject to their power. Now Cleomenes departing from the city of Angos, Difercame the Tros zenians, the Epidavrians, & the Hermsonians. After that, he came

A vnto CORINTHE, and presentlie entrenched the castell there roundeabout, and sendinge for Aratus frendes and factors, commaunded them to keepe his house and goodes carefullie for him, and fent Tritymallus MESSENIAN againe vnto him, to praye him to be contented that the castell might be kept indifferentlie betweet the ACHAIANS and LACED E-MONIANS, promifinge him privately to double the pencion that kinge Ptolomy gave him. But Aratus refusinge it, sent his sonne vnto Antigonus with other oftages, and perswaded the ACHAIANS to deliuer uppe the castell of CORINTHE, unto Antigonus handes, Cleomenes understandinge it, entred with his armie into the contrie of the Sicyonians, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke Aratus goodes and money, of the gift of the Co-RINTHI ANS by decree. Nowe Antigonus in the meane tyme, beinge passed the moun-R tayne of Gerania with a greate power: Cleomenes determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or fireight of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaynes Onienes, determininge to keepe euerie one of them against the MACHDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by tyme, then to fight a battell with an armie, so good fouldiers and well trayned as they were. Cleomenes followinge this determination, did putte Antigonus to greate trouble, bicause he had not in time provided for corne: and coulde not winne the passage also by force, for that Cleomenes kept it with suche garde and souldiers. Then Antigonue stealinge secretely into the hauen of Lechæum, he was stowtly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereuppon Cleomenes and his men beinge couragious for this victorie, went quietly to supper. Antigonus on thother side fell into dispaire, to see him C selfe brought by necessitie into suche harde termes. Wherefore he determined to goe to the temple of Iuno, and from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of Sicyone, the which required a longe tyme, and greate preparation. But the same night there came fome of Aratus frendes of the Argives, who comminge from Argos by fea, brought The Agines newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against Cleomenes. The practifer of this rebellion. doerebellawas one Aristoteles, who easelie brought the people vnto it, that were alreadie offended with Cleomenes, that had promifed to paffe a lawe for the clearinge of dettes i but performed it not according to their expectacion. Wherefore, Aratus with a thowsande fine hundred men which Antigonius gaue him, went by sea vnto Epidavava. Howebeit Aristoteles taried not his comminge, but takinge them of the citie with him, went and D belieged the garrison of the LACED EMONIANS within the castell, beinge ayded by Timoxenus, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONB. Cleamenes receiving advertisement hereof, about the seconde watche of the night, sent for Megistonse in haste, and commaunded him in anger speedilie to goe and ayde their men that were in the citie of A n-Gos. For it was Megistonus him selfe that promised Cleomenes the fidelitie of the Arag-VES, and that kept him from drivinge them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sendinge him awaye foorthwith with two thowsande men, he attended Antigonus; and comforted the Corinthians the best he coulde: advertisinge them that it was but a little mutinic of a fewe, that chaunced in the citic of Arcos. Megistonic beinge come to Ar-60s, and flayne in battell, fightinge for the LACED EMONIANS in garrifon there (who be-E inge in greate diffresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent fundrie messengers vnto Cleomenes, to praye him to sende them immediate ayde . Cleomenes then beinge affrayed that the enemies havinge taken Angos, woulde stoppe his way to returne backe into his contrie, who having e oportunitie fafelie to fpoyle LACONIA, and alfo to besiege the citie selfe of Sparta, that had but a fewe men to defende it : he departed with his armie from CORINTHE. Immediatly after came Antigonies, and tooke it from him, Cleomenes left and put a stronge garrison into it. When Cleomenes came before the citie of Arrow, he the citie of fealed the walles, and breakinge the vawtes and arches of the place called Afris antiedin, Corimbe. to the citie, and joyned with his garrison there, which yet refisted the Acharassia and takinge other partes of the same also, assaulted the walles, and cleared the streetes in suche F forte, that not an enemie durft be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he fawe Antigonus a farre of, comminge downe the hilles into the val- chomene lost ley with his footemen, and that his horsemen also came apon the spurre into the chie; the citie of DDDD

dispayringe then that he coulde any lenger keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and A

fafelie goinge downe by the walles retyred without loffe of any man. So, when in thorse

Cleamene fendeth his mosher and children boflages unto Prolomy king of AEgypt.

tyme he had conquered muche, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESUS; in thorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his came, some did presentlie forfake him: others also immediatly after surrendered up the townes vnto Antigonus. Cleomenes beinge thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from LACEDE MON. The death of which grieved him as muche as the losse of all his conqueltes: for he was advertised of the death of his wife Agiatis, whome he loued so dearelie, that in the middest of his chiefest prosperitie and victories, he made often iomeys to SPARTA to see her. It coulde not but be a maruelous griefe vnto Cleomenes, who beinge a younge man, had lofte fo vertuous and R faver a younge Ladie, so dearelie beloued of him : and yet he gaue not place vnto his sorowe, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but he vied the selfe same voyce, apparell, and countenaunce, that he did before. Then taking order with his private Captaines. abouthis affayres, and havinge provided also for the safetie of the TEGEANS: he went the next morninge by breake of daye vnto SPARTA. After he had privately lamented the forowe of his wines death, with his mother and children: he prefentlie bent his minde againe to publike causes. Nowe Cleomenes had sent vnto Ptolomy kinge of ÆGYPT, who had promised him ayde, but apon demaunde, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a longe tyme before he woulde for shame make his mother privile vnto it, and went oftentymes of purpose to lette her vnderstande it : but when he came, he had not the harte C. to breake it to her. She first suspectinge a thinge, asked Cleomenes frendes, if her some had not somewhat to saye vnto her, that he durst not vtter. Whereuppon, in fine he gaue the venter, and brake the matter to her. When the heardeit, the fell a laughinge, and tolde him: why, howe commeth it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest reficles, Cles. not tell me? Come, come, sayed she, put me straight into a shippe, and sende me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of myne may doe some good vnto my contrie, before crooked age consume my life without profitte. Then all thinges beinge prepared for their iorney, they went by lande, accompanied with the armie, vnto the heade of Tænarus. Where Cratelicles beinge readie to imbarke, the tooke Cleomenes aside into the temple of Neptune, and imbracinge and kiffinge him, perceiuinge that his harte yerned for forowe of her departure, D the faved vnto him: O kinge of LACED & MON, lette no man fee for thame when we come out of the temple, that we have wept and dishonored Sparta. For that onely is in our power, and for the rest, as it pleaseth the goddes, so lette it be. When she had spoken these wordes, and facioned her countenaunce againe: the went then to take her thippe, witha litle fonne of Cleomenes, and commaunded the maister of the shippe to hoyse sayle. Nowe when the was arrived in ÆGYPT, and vnderstoode that kinge Ptolomy received Ambassadours from Antigonus, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearinge also that Cleomenes beinge requested by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durft not hearken to it, and endethat warre, without king Ptolomyes confent, and bicause of his mother : she wrote vinto him, that he shoulde not spare to doe any thinge that shoulde be expedient for E the honour of SPARTA, without feare of displeasing Ptolomy, or for regarde of an olde woman, and a younge boye. Suche was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her fonne Cleomenes aduersitie. Furthermore, Antigonus having taken the citie of TEGEA, and sacked the other cities of O RCHOMENVM, and MANTINEA: Cleomenes feeinge him felfe brought to defende the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumife all the ILOTES, (which were the flaues of LACED BMON) paying effue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the famme of fine hundred talentes, and armed two thowlande of these freed slaues after the MACED ONIAN facion to fight against the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white thieldes of Antigonus) and then there fell into his minde a maruelous greate enterprise, vnlooked for of every man. The citie of Magalipolis at that time being as great as Sparta, & F having the aide of the Achaians, and Antigonus at hand, (whom the Achaians as it feemed had broughter, chiefly at the request of the Magazopolitans) Cleomenes determininge

A to facke this citie, and knowing that to bring it to passe, nothing was more requisite then celeritie: he commaunded his fouldiers to vittell them selues for fine dayes; and marching with the choyce of all his armie towardes Selasia, as though he had ment to have spoyled the ARGIVES, fodainly turning from thence, he inuaded the contrie of the MEGALOPOLI-TANS, and supping by ROBTIVM, went straight by ELICVNTA vnto the citie. When he was come neere vnto it, he fent Panteas before with speede, with two bandes of the LACED & MO-NIANS, and commaunded him to take a certeine pece of the wall betwene two towers, which he knewe was not kept nor garded: and he followed him also with the rest of his armie comming on fayer and foftly. When Panteas came thither, finding not onely that place of the Clement wall without gard or watche which Cleomenes had told him of, but also the most parte of that wanne the B side without defence : he tooke some parte of the wall at his first comming, and manned it. sine of Meand ouerthrew an other peece of it also, putting them all to the sword that did defend it, and

then came Cleomenes, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALOPOLI-TANS knewe of his comming. At length, the citizens understanding that the citie was taken, some fled in hast, conveying suche light things as came to hande, in so great a feare : and the others also arming them selues, ranne together to resist the enemies. But though they valliantly fought to repulse them out of the citie, and yet prenayled not: they gaue the rest leifure thereby to flye and faue them felues, fo that there remayned not behinde, about a thowfandemen. For all the rest were sed with their wives and children, into the citie of MESSE-NA. The most parte of them also that fought with the enemies, saued them selues, and verice C fewe were taken, the chiefest whereof, were Lylandridas, and Thearidas, the noblest persons that were amongest the Megalopolitans: wherefore when the souldiers had taken them.

they brought them vnto Cleomenes. Lyfandridas, when he faw Cleomenes a good way of, cried out alowde vnto him : O king of LACED MMON, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to doe a more famous princely acte, then that which thou hast alreadie done, and that will make thy name also more glorious. Cleomenes musing what he woulde request: well (o he) what is that thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee before hande, thou shalt not make me restore your citie to you againe. Yet, of Lysandridas, lette me request thus muche then, that ye doe not destroy it, but rather replenishe it with frendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you doe, geuing the MEGALOPOLITANS

D their citie againe, and preserving suche a number of people as have forsaken it. Cleomenes pawfing a while, aunswered, it was a hard thing to beleue that: but yet q he, let honor take Champing place with vs, before profit. After that he fent a Heraulde straight vnto M BSSBNA vnto them noble squing that were fledde thither, and tolde them that he was contented to offer them their citie againe, fo that they would become good frendes and confederates of the LACED EMONIANS, for saking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. Philopæmen would by no meanes suffer the MEGA-LOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of Cleomenes, nor also to leave their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to geue them their citie againe, but to take them also with their citie: and therefore draue Thearidas and Lylandridas out of MESSENAS that moued this practife. It was that Philopamen that afterwardes was the chiefest man of E the ACHAIANS, and that wanne suche fame and honor among the GRECIANS, as we have

particularly declared in his life. This worde being brought to Cleomenes, who had kept the city from spoyling untill that time: he was then so thorowly offended, that he gaue the goods Clements to in praye to the fouldiers, fent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto Spar- fed the citie TA, and defaced the chiefest partes of the citie, and then returned home againe, being af- of Megalipefrayed of Antigonus, and the Achaians. Howebeit they sturred not, bicause of the parlament that was kept at that time in the citie of ÆGIVM, where Aratus being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he answered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and rased by Cleomenes. The Achaian's being amazed at the fodainnes of this great loffe, straight brake of their

F parlament and affemblie. But Antigonus thinking to ayde them, fent prefently for all his garrifons, who being long a comming, he willed them to flay where they were, and he him felfe taking a fewe fouldiers with him, went vnto the citie of ARGOS. Therefore the seconde

DDD ii

Cleamener Brasageame.

enterprise of Cleamenes, seemeth at the first sight a verie rashe and desperate attempt: howe. A beit Polybius wryteth, that it was an attempt of greate wisedome and policie. For Cleomenes understanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in divers places, and that Antigonus lay all the winter in the citie of ARGOS, with a certeyne number of foote. men that were straungers: he inuaded the contrie of the ARGIVES with his armie, perswading him felfe, that either Antigonius woulde for shame come and fight with him, or if he

The moderacion of Cleomenes to his

finere of

nercomen by

did not, that then he shoulde put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came fo to passe. The ARGIVES seeinge their contrie spoyled by Cleomenes, were in a maruelous rage, and gatheringe together at Antigonus lodginge, they cryed out vnto him, either to goe into the fielde, and fight with the enemie: or elle if he were affrayed, to refigne his office of Generall of GRECE, vnto others that were vallianter than him felfe. But Antieg. R nue like a wife and excellent Captayne, thinkinge it a dishonour to him rashely to put him selfe in daunger, and his frendes also, though he were prouoked with many injuries and opprobrious wordes : woulde not goe into the fielde, but stoode constant in his first determination. Then Cleomenes having brought his armie hard to the walles of the citie of Angos, and spoyled and destroyed the contrie rounde about : without lette or daunger he fafely returned home againe. Within a while after, Cleomenes beinge aduertised that tigonus was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the contrie of LACONIA: he goinge an other way with his armie, (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondered when they faw him in the morning by the citie of ARGOS, spoylinge their contrie, and cuttinge downe their come, not with fickles and knyues as other doe vie, but with long poles in forme of Sythes, C that the fouldiers as they went fportingewife, did ouerthrowe and fpoyle it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbes, called Cyllabaris, certaine of the souldiers goinge about to haue sette it afire, Cleomenes woulde not suffer them, and tolde them. that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honestlie done. Now Antigonus, presentlye returninge backe againe, beinge minded first to haue gone directly to the citie of ARGOS, but sodainely alteringe his minde, did campe vpon the toppe of hilles and mountaynes. Cleomenes seeminge not to be affrayed of him, sent Herauldes to him to desire the keyes of the temple of Iuno, and then after he had done sacrifice. he woulde departe his waye. Thus mockinge Antigonus, after he had facrificed vnto the goddesse, vnder the temple that was shut vp, he sent his armie vnto PHLIVNTA, D and havinge driven awaye the garrison out of O LOGVNTA, he came vnto the citie of ORCHOMENVM, havinge not onely incouraged his citizens, but gotten even amongest the enemies them felues, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthie to manage greate affaires. For euerie man judged him to be a skillfull fouldier, and a valliant Captaine, that with the power of one onely citie, did mainteine warre against the kingdom of MACEDON, against all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so greate a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne contrie of L A C O N I A vnfoyled, but farre otherwise to hurte his enemies contries, and to take so many greate cities of theirs. But he that fayed first, that money was the sinewe of all thinges, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres. Demades the Orator sayed on a time, when the B ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies shoulde be put out of the arsenall into the fea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he that rules the prowe, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and vittells must be prouided, before the shippes be sette out. And it is reported also, that the auncient Archidamus, when the confederates of the LACED EMONIANS at the beginninge of the warre of PELOPONNES VS required, that they might be sessed at a certeine rate, aunswered : the charges of warre haue no certeyne stinte. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continuallie in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrowe them with tyme, that have no strength, but onely arte and slight: even so Kinge Antigonus, who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defraye the charge of this warre, did wea- F rie and ouercome Cleomenes at the length, bicause he lacked money bothe to payethe straungers that served him, and also to mayntayne his owne citizens. For otherwise,

doubtlesse the time served his turne well, bicause the troubles that sell apon Antigoniu in his realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoyle and destroye the realme of MACEDON, and speciallie the ILLYRIANS of the high contrie that came downe then with a greate armie: whereupon, the MACEDONIans being spoyled and harried on all sides by them, they sent poste vnto Antigonus, to pray him to come home. If these letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwardes: Antigonus had gone his waye, and left the ACHAIANS. But fortune, that alwayes striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gaue suche speede and fauour The power of vino time : that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where Cleomenes loft fortune, his armie and citie) the verie messengers arrived that came for Antigonus to come home, mixiclesn the which made the ouerthrowe of king Cleomenes so muche more lamentable. For if he menes and the which made the outstituons of any presentation that the made the description of the which had delayed battell but two dayes lenger, when the Macedonians had bene gone, he might as schiffe. haue made what peace he would with the Achaians: but for lacke of money, he was driven (as Polybius wryteth) to geue battell, with twentie thowfande men, against thirtie thowfande: where he shewed him selse an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens alfo fought like valliant men, and the straungers in like case did shewe them selves good souldiers. But his onely ouerthrowe was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But Phylarchus wryteth, that treason was the cause of his ouerthrowe. For Antigonus had appointed the Acarnanians, and the Illyrians which he had in his armie, to steale uppon the winge of his enemies armie, where Euclidas, king. r Cleomenes brother was, to compasse him in behinde, whilest he did sette the rest of his men in battell. When Cleomenes was got up upon some hill to looke about him, to see the countenaunce of the enemie, and feeing none of the Acarnanians, nor of the Illyrians he was then affrayed of Antigonus, that he went about some stratageame of warre. Wherefore he called for Demoteles, whose charge was to take heede of stratageames and secret ambulhes, and commaunded him to looke to the rerewarde of his armie, and to be verie circumspect all about. Demoteles, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, tolde The media him that all was cleere in the rerewarde, and bad him looke to ouerthrowe his enemies be- of Demoister. fore him. Cleomenes trufting this reporte, fette forward against Antigonus, and in the ende. his citizens of Sparta which he had about him, gaue fuche a fierce charge apon the squa-D dron of the MACED ONIAN footemen, that they draue them backe fine furlonges of . But in the meanetime, Euclidas his brother, in the other wing of his armie, being compassed in behinde, Cleomenes turning him backe, and feeing the ouerthrowe, cried out alowde: alas, good brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou dyest valliantlie, and honestlie, and thy death shall be a worthic example vnto all posteritie, and shall be song by the praises of the women of Sparta. So Euclidas and his men being flaine; the enemies came straight to sette you Cleomenes winge . Cleomenes then feeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no lenger Cleomenes . ressift the enemie , fledde, and saued him selfe. Many of the straungers also that served him, by duige. were flaine at this battell : and of fixe thow fande Spartans, there were left aliue but onely men. two hundred. Now Cleomenes being returned vnto Spart a, the citizens comming to fee him. E he gaue them counsell to yeeld them selues vnto Antigonus the conqueror: and for him selfe; if either aliue or dead he could doe any thing for the honor and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the citie also, comming vnto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them wnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refresh them with : he also went home to his owne house. Then a maide of the house, which he liad taken in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had enterteined euer fince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refresh him comming hot from the battell howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame drie, nor fit being verie wearie, but armed

as he was, layed his arme a croffe apon a piller, and leaning his head apon it, repoted himfelfe.

alitle, and casting in his minde all the wayes that were to be thought of, he tooke his frendes

F with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his (hippes which he had ap- Antigona

pointed for the purpose, he hoysed sayle, and departed his way. Immediatly after his depar-wanneshe

ture, came Antigonus into the citie of Sparta, and curreoutly intreated the citizens and the

DDDD iii

Ansigonus the fame of king of Ma-

Cleomenes Hierbout of Peloponne-

of Therycian, man hath heard vs vaunt and fay, that Antigonus should neuer ouercome the king of Sparta nes, againft

Cleomenes

death, muft have have an honorable respect and action. For, to live or dye for his owner espect, that can not ble refeit.

AEgypt vnto

miserie we are in, without any honor or profitte in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we shoulde not yet cast of the hope we have to serue our contrie in time to come: ,, but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may eafely make our felues awaye when we lift. Thereunto Therecion gaue no aunswere, but as soone as he founde oportunitie to slippe from Cleomenes, he went to the sea side, and slewe him selfe. Cleomenes hoysinge sayle from the Ile of ÆGIALIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the kinges feruauntes vnto the citie of ALEXANDRIA. King Ptolomy at his first comming, gaue Cleomenes no special good, but indifferent intertainment : but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisedom F and judgement, and that Ptolomy faw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life he had also a noble disposition and corage, nothing degenerating from the princely race & blood of Hercules,

thee to feeke death, which is the eafiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that can be:

inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor prowdly despise the auncient honor and dia A gnitie of Spart A: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he hadfacrificed to the goddes for his victorie, he departed from thence the thirde daye, newes being brought him that the warre was verie great in M ACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoyle his contrie. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he dyed afterwards, which appeared a tificke, mixt with a fore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his contrie, and obteyning a famous victorie, with great flaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as in deede he did, by Phylarchus testimonie, who fayth, that with the force of his voyce, fiercely crying out in the middelt of his fight, he rare his lunges and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is sayd, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so ioyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out R into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he dyed of it.

Thus much touching Antigonus. Now Cleomenes departing out of the Isle of CYTHERA, Went and cast ancker in an other Iland, called ÆGIALIA. Then determining to faile ouer to the citie of Cyrena, Therycion, one of Cleomenes frendes (a man that in warres shewed him selfe verie valliant, but a boafter befides of his owne doinges) tooke Cleomenes afide, and favd thus vnto him: Truely O king, we have lost an honorable occasion to dye in battell, though enery aliue, but dead. A feconde occasion yet is offered vs to dye, with much lesse honor and fame not withflanding, then the first. Whether doe we faile to no purpose? Why doe we slie the " death at hand, and feeke it fo farre of? If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posteritie & race of " of Hercules to serue the successors of Philip and Alexander: let vs saue then our labor, and long

daungerous failing, and goe yeelde our felues vnto Antigonus, who in likelyhoode will better " vie vs then Ptolomy, bicause the MACED ONIANS are farre more nobler persons then the A-", GYPTIANS. And if we disclaine to be commaunded by them which have ouercommen vs in " battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercomen vs: in steade of one " to make vs inferior vnto both, flying Antigonus, and feruing king Ptolomy? Can we fay that we " goe into ÆGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A joyfull sight no doubt, when she " shall shew king Ptolomyes wives her sonne, that before was a king, a prisoner, & sugitive now. "Were it not better for vs, that having yet LACONIA our contrie in fight, and our swordes befides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miserie, & so doing to excuse our selves n ", vinto them that are flaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loofing our time ", in Æ GYPT, to inquire whom Antigonus left his Lieutenaunt and Gouernor in Lacep жион? Therreion ending his oration, Cleomenes aunswered him thus: Doest thou thinke it a glorie for

and yet, wretche that thou art: thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully, then from the " battell. For divers valliant men, and farre better then our selves, have often yeelded vnto " their enemies, either by some missortune, or compelled by greater number and multitude " of men: but he fay I, that submitteth him selfe vnto paine and miserie, reproache and praise " of men, he can not but confesse that he is ouercome by his owne vnhappinesse. For when a man will willingly kill him felfe, he must not doe it to be rid of paynes and labour, but it must E but be dishonorable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make me flie this present

A and that he yelded not to his advertitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had fuffered him to be ouerthrowne by Antigonus, who through the victory of him, had maruelously enlarged his honor and power. Then he began to comfort Cleomenes, and doing him as great honor as could be, promifed that he would fend him with shippes and money into GR ECE, and put him againe into his kingdom: & further gaue him an annual pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly enterteyned him selfe and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest apon his contry men that came out of GRECE into ÆGYPT, But now, old king Ptolomy deceating before he could performe the promife he made vnto Cleomenes, to fend him into RGRECE: the Realme falling then into great lascinionsnes, dronckennes, and into the gouernment of women, his case and miserie was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was

so given ouer to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best witts, he most disposed him selfe to make feastes and facrifices, and to have the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or ingler, whilest one Agathoclea his lemman, and her mother, and Oenanthes a bawde, did rule all the affayres of the state. But when he came to be king it appeared he had neede of Cleomenes: bicause he was affraid of his brother Magas, who by his mothers meanes, was very wel esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called Cleomenes to him, and made him of his priny counsel, where he denised by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counfell with him, did counfell him to do Cit: but Cleomenes onely vehemently diffwaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were posfible, rather moe brethren should be begotten vnto the king for the safetic of his person, and for deuiding of the affayres of the kingdome betweene them. Amongest the kinges familliers that was chiefest about him, there was one Sosibins that said vitto Cleomenes: so long as his bro-

of those hiered straungers, there are three thowsand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knewe at the twinckling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armor & weapon where he would appoynt them. These words of Cleomenes at that tyme shewed his fayth and good will he bare vinto the king, and the force he was of befides. But afterwards, Ptolomyes D fearefulnes increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit thinke it the best fasetie to be searefull of every wagging of a strawe, and to mistrust every man) the remembrance of Cleomenes wordes made him much suspected of the Courtiers, understanding that he could doe so much with the souldiers that were straungers; insomuch as some of them fayd, see (meaning Cleomenes) there is a lyon amongest sheepe. In deede, considering his facions and behauior, they might well fay so of him: for he would looke thorough his fingers as though he faw nothing, and yet faw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie & ships

ther Magas lived, the fouldiers that be straungers, whom the king entertayned, would never

be true to him. Cleomenes aunswered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for fayth he,

TO LIANS were at great warres together, and that the affaires of his contry did call him home, all Peloponnesvs being in armes and vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to de-E part with his friends. But neuer a man would give eare vnto him, and the king also heard nothing of it, bicause he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, danneing,& maskes. But Sosibius that ruled all the Realme, thought that to keepe Cleomenes against his wil, were a hard thing, and also danngerous: and to let him goe also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a sturring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernment: he thought that also no safe way, sithe no giftes nor presents that could be offered him, could fosten him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT Apis) that is suffer in good- Clement ly pasture, doth yet desire to followe his naturall course and libertie, to runne and leape at his verme.

of the king: and understanding also that Antigonus was dead, and that the A CHAIANS and Æ-

It irkt his noble hart to fit at home in flothfull reft, VV hen martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best. Nowe Cleomenes standing in these tearmes, there arrived in ALEXANDRIA one Nicagoras

courtly pleasures did nothing delight Cleomenes, but as Homer writeth of Achilles:

pleasure, and plainely sheweth that it is a griese to him to be kept still by the Priest: euen so the

DDDD iii

AGIS AND CLEOMENES. MESSENIAN, who maliced Cleomenes in his hart, but yet shewed as though he loued him. This A

Cleomenes pr.son in A-

Milionian, an enemy to Cie. Nicagor as on a time had fold Cleomenes certein land, but was not payed for it, either bicanfe he had no present money, or els by occasió of the warres which gaue him no leasure to make payment. Cleamenes one day by chaunce walking vpon the fandes, he fawe Nicagoras landing out of his shippe, being newly arrived, and knowing him, he curteously welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into Acypt. Nicagorus gently saluting him againe, tolde him that he had brought the king excellent horse of service. Cleomenes smiling, told him, thou haddest bene better haue brought him some curtisans & daunsers, for they would haue pleafed the king better: Nicagor as faintly laughed at his aunswer, but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he fold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money, telling him that he would not have prest him for it, but that he had fusteyned h losse by marchandise. Cleomenes aunswered him, that all his pension was spent he had of the king. Nicagoras being offended with this aunswer, he went and told Sosibius of the mocke Cleamenes gaue the king. Sosibius was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the king offended with Cleomenes, he perswaded Nicagoras to write a letter to the king against Cleomenes, as though he had conspired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had given him shippes, money, and men of warre. When Nicagoras had written this letter, he tooke shippe, and hoysed sayle. Foure dayes after his departure, Sosibius brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly received it. The king apon fight of it was so offended with Cleomemes, that he gaue present order he should be shut vp in a great house, where he should haue his ordinary dyet allowed him, howbeit that he should keepe his house. This grieued Cleomenes Q much, but yet he was worfe affraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: Ptolomy the fonne of Chryfermu, one of the kings familliers, who had oftentimes before bene very converfant and famillier with Cleomenes, and did franckly talke together in all matters: Cleomenes one daye sent for him, to praye him to come vnto him. Ptolomy came at his request, and samilliarly discoursing together, went about to disswade him from all the suspicions he had, and excused the king also for that he had done vnto him: so taking his leave he lest him, not thinking that Cleomenes followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharply tooke up the souldiers, laying, that they were very negligent and careles in looking to fuch a fearefull beaft as he was, & fo ill to be taken, if he once scaped their handes. Cleomenes heard what he sayd, and went into his lodging againe, Ptolomy knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very D wordes againe vnto his friendes. Then all the Spartans connecting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie Ptolomy had done them, and to dye like noble S PARTANS not tarying til they (hould be brought to the shambles like fat weathers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonor vnto Cleomenes, having refused to make peace with Antigonus, a noble Prince and warrier: to tary the kinges pleasure till he hadlest his dronckennes and daunfing, and then to come and put him to death. They beeing fully refolued hereof, as you have heard: king Ptolomy by chaunce went vnto the citie of CANOBYS, & first they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to set Cleomenes at libertie. Then Cleamenes friendes obseruing the custom of the kings of Ao YPT, when they ment to set a prifoner at libertie (which was, to fend the prisoners meare, and presents before to their supper) B did fend vnto him fuch manner of prefents, & fo deceived the fouldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, that they brought those presents from the king. For Cleomenes him selfe did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and fent vnto the fouldiers that kept him, parte of those presents that were lent vnto him, and supping with his friendes that night, made mery with them, every man being crowned with garlands. Some fay, that he made the more hafte to execute his enterprise, sooner then he would have done, by meanes of one of his men that was privye vnto his conspiracie: who went euery night to lye with a woman he kept, and therefore was affraid left he would bewray them. Cleamenes about noone, perceiuing the fouldiers had take in their cuppes, and that they were a fleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawen in his hand, accompanied with his friends, F following him in that fort, which were thirty in all. Amongest them there was one called Hippotas, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first: but when he saw they went

A faier and foftly bicause of him, he prayed them to kil him, bicause they should not hinder their enterprise for a lame man, that could doe them no seruice. Notwithstanding by chaunce they met with a townes man a horsebacke, that came hard by their dore, whome they pluckt from his horse, and cast Hippotas vppon him: and then ranne through the citie, and cryed to the people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other corage in them, but onely commended cleomenes, and wondred at his valiantnes; but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enterprife, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they met with Ptolomy (the same whome we sayde before was the some of Chrysermus) as he came out of the Court: Whereuppon three of them fetting on him, flue him prefently. There was also another Ptolomy that was governor and Lieuetenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA; who hearing a rumor of this sturre, came vnto them in his coche. They went and met him, and first hauing driven away his garde and fouldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coche, and flue him also. After that they went towards the castell, with intent to set all the prifoners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the gaylers that kept them had so strongly locked up the prison dores, that Cleomenes was repulsed, and put by his purpose. Thus wandring vp and downe the citie, no man neither came to joyne with him, nor to refift him, for euery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and downe, he turned him to his friends, and fayd vnto them: it is no maruell though women commaund such a cowardly people, that slye in this fort from their libertie. Thereuppon he prayed them all to dve like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his so noble deedes. Then the first man that made him selfe be slayne, was Hipportal, death of cirowho dved of a wound one of the younge men of his company gaue him with a fword at his menes and his request. After him euery manslue them selues, one after another, without any seare at all, sa- friendes. uing Panteas, who was the first man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a faier Panteas.

any man of his yeares. Cleomenes did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he

vounge man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN discipline, and better then

should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill him selfe last of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he searched them one after another with the poynt of his fword, to see if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked Cleomenes on the heele amongest others, and saw that he did yet knit his browes, he kissed him, & sate downe D by him. Then perceiving that he had yelded up the ghost, imbracing him when he was dead, healfo flue him felfe, and fell vpon him . Thus Cleomenes having raigned king of SPARTA fixteene yeares, being the same manner of man we have described him to be the ended his dayes in this fort as ye heare. Now, his death being presently bruted through the citie, Cratesiclea his mother, though otherwise she had a noble minde, did not with standing a little forget her greatnes, through thextreame forow the felt for the death of her fonne: and fo imbracing Cleome. nes sonnes, the fell to bitter lamentacion. But the eldest of his sonnes, (no man mistrusting any fuch matter) found meanes to getout of her handes, & running vp to the toppe of the house, cast him selfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet died not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with them, that they would not fuffer him to dye. E This newes being brought to king Ptolomy, he commaunded they should first slea Cleomenes, and then hange vp his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was Panteas wife, one of the fayrest and curreousest women in her tyme. They had not been elonge maried before, when these mischieues lighted apon them, at what tyme their loue was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, & some money, and stale away in the night, and gallopped towards the hauen of Tænarus, where fin-

ding a shippe ready bound for AGYPT, she imbarked, and went to secke her husband, with

whome the gladly and louingly ledde her life, for faking her owne contry, to liue in a straunge

led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although Cratesiclea otherwise was not affraid to dye, but onely asked this fauor, that the might dye before her litle children.

F Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take Crateficlea to put her to death, Panteas wife

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman furl flue her A children before her eyes, and then her felfe afterwards, who in fuch great griefe and forowe favd no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And Panteas wife alfo, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the flayne bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in fuch things as the could get, speaking neuer a word nor shewing any signe or token of griefe: and in fine, having prepared her self to dye, and plucked of her attyre her felfe, without fuffering any other to come neare her, or to fee her, but the hangman that was appoynted to stryke of her head. In this forte she dyed as constantly, as the flowtest man living could have done, and had so covered her body, that no man needed after her death to touche her: so carefull was she to her ende, to keepe her honestie, which she had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honor, wherewith the decked R her body in her life tyme. Thus these LACEDEMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, even with the corage of the flayne Spartans their contrymen, which of them should dye most constantly: left a manifest proofe and testimonie. that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and corage. Shortly after, those that were appoyn-

Living things breeding of of dead beafts

VVbythe Drazon is cofecrased unio Princes.

ted to keepe the body of king Cleomenes that hong vpon the croffe, they spied a great Serpent hanging upon

a crofft, had a wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, infomuch as no rauening fowle durft come Septemarea- neare him to eate of it: whereuppon the king fell into a supersticious feare, being affrayd that he had offended the goddes. Hereuppon, the Ladyes in his Court began to make many facrifices of purification, for the cleering of this finne: perswading them selues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had fomething more in him then a man. The C A LEXANDRINIANS thereuppon went to the place of execution, and made their pravers vnto Cleomenes, as vnto a demy god, calling him the fonne of the goddes. Vntill that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breede bees, and of horse also come waspes, &

of affes likewife bitels: euen fo mens bodies, when the marie melteth and gathereth together, doe bringe forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in olde tyme, of all other beaftes they did confecrate the Dragon to Kinges and Princes, as proper vnto man.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIVS



CAIVS GRACCHI AND TIBERIVS



OW that we have declared vnto you the historie of the lives of these two GRE CIANS, Agis, and Cleomenes aforefayd: we must also write the historie of two ROMANES, the which is no lesse lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chaunced vnto Tiberius and Caises, both of them the sonnes of Tiberius Gracchus. He having bene twife Con- The worthiful, and once Cenfor, and having had the honor of two triumphs: had nes of Tiberlnotwithstanding more honor and fame onely for his valiantnes, for the father the which he was thought worthy to marye with Cornelia, the daugh- Tiberius

ter of Scipio, who ouercame Hanniball after the deathe of his father: Gracenus the though while he lived he was never his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that Tibe- Cornelia, the !

Briss on a tyme found two fnakes in his bed, and that the Soothfayers and wyfards having confidered the fignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both efcape, but one onely: affuring him that if he killed the male, he should not live long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife Cornelia shoulde dye. Tiberius then louing his wife The sender dearely, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a younge rise to his woman, should dye before her: he flue the male, and let the female escape, howbeit he dyed wife cornelia. foone after, leaving twelve children alive, all of them begotten of Cornelia . Cornelia after the The mail of death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chast life, cornellanowas fo good to her children, and of fo noble a minde: that every man thought Tiberius a wife ther of the man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remayning widow, king Ptolomy made fute Cynto her and would haue made her his wife and Queene. But the refused, and in her widowehed loft all her children, but one Daughter, (whome she bestowed vpon the younger Scipio African) and Tiberius, and Caius, whose lives we presently write. Those she so carefully brought vp, that they being become more civill, and better conditioned, then any other ROMANES in their time: every man judged, that education prevailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the fauors and pictures of Castor and Pollux, there is a certaine difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wrestling, and the other for running: euen so betwene these two young brethren, amongest other the great likenes betwene them, being both happely borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common

Armedefair wealth: the which I thinke contenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, A the strain for the fauor of the face, the looke and mouing of the bodye, Tiberius was much more milde and tractable, and Casses more hotte and earnest. For the first in his orations was very modest and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANES was the first, that in his oration ietted vo and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne ouer his showlders: as they write of clee ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thighe in his oration. Furthermore, Caim wordes, and the vehemencie of his perswafion, were terrible and full of paffion: but Tiberius wordes in contrary manner, were mild, and moued men more to compassion, beeing very propper, and excellently applyed, where Caine wordes were full of finenes and curiofitie. The like difference also was between them in their fare and dyet. For Tiberius alwayes kept a convenient ordinarie: and Caius also in respect of R other ROMANES, lived very temperately, but in respect of his brothers fare, curiously and fuperfluously. Insomuch as Drusse on a tyme reproued him, bicause he had bought certayne Dolphyns of filuer, to the value of a thowfand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for every pownd waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both a greeing with the diversitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plausible, and the other hotte and chollerike: infomuch that otherwhile forgetting him felfe in his oration, against his will he would be very earnest, and strayne his voice beyond his compasse, and so with great vncomelines confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuised this remedye. He had a feruaunt called Licinius, a good wife man, who with an instrument of Musicke he had. by the which they teache men to ryse and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he c euer stoode behinde him: and when he perceyued that his Maisters voyce was a litle too lowde, and that through choller he exceeded his ordinary speache: he played a softe stoppe behinde him, at the founde whereof Caise immediatly fell from his extreamitie, and eafile came to him selfe agayne. And here was the diuersitie betweene them. Otherwise, for their hardines against their enemies, the instice vnto their tennaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and also their continencie against voluptuousnes: in all these they were both alike. For age, Tiberius was elder by nyne yeares, by reason whereof their seneral authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at fundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, bicause they had not both authoritie in one felfe time, nether could they joyne their power together: the which if it had mette at one p selse time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we must write perticularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans ftate, had fuch a name and estimacion, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Priests, which at Rome are called Augures: (being those that have the charge to consider of fignes and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobility. The fame doth Appin Clodin witnesse vnto vs, one that hath bene both Conful and Cenfor, & also President of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This Appin at a fupper when all the Augures were together, after he had faluted Tiberius, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. Tiberius was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the mariage was presently concluded between them. Thereuppon Appius comming E home to his house, at the threshold of his dore he called a lowd for his wife, and told her. Astistia. I have bestowed our Daughter Clodia. She wondring at it, o goddes favd the, and what needed all this hafte? what couldest thou have done more, if thou haddest gotten her Tiberisus Gracehus for her husband ? I know that some refer this historie vnto Tiberius, father of these two men we write of and vnto Scipio the A FRI CAN: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this present. And Polybius him selfe also writeth, that after the death of Scipio A FRICAN, his friendes beeing met together, they chose Tiberius before all the other younge men of the citie, to marye him vnto Cornelia, being free, and vnpromifed, or bestowed apon any man by her father. Now Tiberius the yonger being in the warres in Africke vnder Scipio the second, who had maryed his sister: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble giftes of nature, to allure mens harts to defire to follow his valiantnes.

So in a short tyme he did excell all the younge men of his tyme, as well in obedience, as in the

valiantnes

ried Appine Clodins danch

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valiantnes of his person: insomuch that he was the first man that scaled the walles of the enesies, as Family reporteth, who fayeth that he fealed the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the campe were in loue with him: & when menat valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the campe were in lone with him: & when Tiberius he was absent, enterprise man wished for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was chosen Gratchia cho Treasorer, and it was his chaunce to goe against the NVM ANTINES, with Caine Mancinus one sen Questor. of the Confuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst lucke of any Captaine the Ro-MANES had. Notwithstanding, Tiberius wisedome and valiantnes, in this extreame ill lucke of his Captaine did not onely appeare with great glorye to him, but also most wonderfull; the sreat obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did fo mouble and grieue him, that he could not tell him felfe, whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NYMANTINES hearing of it, first tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and fetting vpon the rereward, flue them, and enuyronned all his armye. So that they were driven into straight and narrowe places, where out they could by no meanes escape. Thereuppon Maneinus dispayring that he could get out by force, he sent a Herauld to the enemyes to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made auniwer, that they would truft no man but Tiberius onely, and therefore they willed he should bee sent vnto them. They defired that, partly for the love they bare vnto the vertues of the younge man, bicause there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly also, as remembring his father Tiberius, who making warres in Spayne, and having there subdued many nations, he graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he caused the Romanes afterwardes to confirme and ratifie. Hereuppon Tiberius was fent to speake with them, and partly obteying Tiberius that he defired, and partly also graunting them that they required : he concluded peace with cindeth peace them , whereby affuredly he faued the lines of twenty thowfande Romane Citizens , befides with the North flaues and other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding, the Nv- mantines. MANTINES tooke the spoyle of all the goods they founde in the ROMANES campe, amonge the which they founde Tiberius bookes of accompt touching the money disbursed of the treasure in his charge. Tiberius beeing maruailous desirous to haue his bookes agayne, returned backe to Nymant is with two or three of his friendes onely, though the armye of the ROMANES were gone farre on their waye. So comming to the towne, he spake vnto the gouernors of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of accompt, bicause his malicious enemies should not acouse him, calling him to accompt for his doings. The N v-MANTINES were very glad of this good happe, and prayed them to come into the towne. He flanding still in doubt with him selfe what to doe, whether he should goe into the towne or not: the gouernors of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hande, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friendes, and that he would trust them. Whereuppon Tiberius thought best to yeelde to their perswasion, beeing desirous also to have his bookes agayne, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he shoulde haue denyed and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the citie, they prouided his dynner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he woulde of all the spoyles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMANES. Howebeit of all that he woulde take nothing but frankensence, which he vsed, when he did any sacrifice for his contry: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to Rome, all this peace concluded was veterly misliked, as dishonorable to the maiestie of the Empire of Rome. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had ferued in this warre, making the greatest part of the people: they gathered about Tiberius, faying that what faultes were committed in this feruice, they were to impute it vnto the Conful Mancinus, and not vnto Tiberius, who had faued fuch a number of ROMANES liues. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this Thepeace dishonorable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers broken with in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked unto their enemies, bicause they iner. were contented the Samnits should spoyle them of that they had to escape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely fend them the Captaines and Confuls, but all those also that bare any

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periurie and breache of peace apon them. Herein therefore did manifeltly appeare, the lone

and good will the people did beare vnto Tiberius . For they gaue order, that the Conful Man cinus should be fent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, and for Tiberius sake, they par-

I'Vin Cains called the wife Gracchus cho fen Tribune of the people.

doned all the rest. I thinke Scipio who bare great sway at that time in Rome, and was a man of greatest accomptedid helpe him at that pinche: who notwithstanding was ill thought of bicause he did not also save the Conful Mancinus, and confirme the peace concluded with the NUMANTINES, considering it was made by Tiberius his friend & kinfman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius friendes, & certein learned men, which stimed him vp against Scipio. But yet it fell not out to open malice between them, neither followed there any hurte apon it. And furely I am perswaded, that Tiberius had not fallen into those a troubles he did afterwards, if Scipio A FRIC AN had bene prefent, when he passed those thinges he preferred. But Scipio was then in warres at the seege of NVMANTIA, when Tibering apon this occasion passed these lawes. When the Romanes in olde tyme had ouercomenany of rise preferred their neighbours, for raunfom they tooke oftentymes a great deale of their land from them. parte whereof they folde by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and parte also they referred to their state as demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small rene yearely to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the riche men inhaunfed the rents. and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereuppon was an ordinance made, that no City zen of Rome should have aboue five hundred acres lande. This lawe for a ryme did bridle the conetousness of the riche men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the contry, aponthe c farmes they had taken up of the common wealth, and so lived with their owne, or with that their Auncestors had from the beginning. But by proces of time, their riche neighbours, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly feene in it in their own names. Whereuppon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint corage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children: So that in short time, the free men left ITALY, and slaues and barbarous people did replenish it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from the ROMANES. Caius Lalius, one of Scipioes friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuse: but bicause the chiefest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore, he defifted from his purpose, and therefore he was called Lalius the wife. But Tiberius being D chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesayd, being allured vnto it (as divers writers report) by Diophanes the Orator, and Blossius the Philosopher: of the which, Diophanes was banished from the citie of MITYLENE, and Blossius the ITALIAN from the citie of CVMES, who was scholler and famillier vnto Antipater of TARSVS at ROME, by whome he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophie he dedicated vnto him. And some also do accuse their mother Cornelia, who did twit her sonnes in the teeth, that the ROMANES didyet call her Scipices mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other fay it was Spuring Posthumius, a companion of Tiberius, and one that contended with him in eloquence. For Tiberius returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputacion, and well beloued of euery one: he fought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprise, E and of fo great exspectacion. His owne brother Caises in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of NVMANTIA, passing through THYSCAN, he founde the contrye in manner vnhabited: and they that did followe the ploughe, or keepe beaftes, were the moste of them flaues, and barbarous people, comen out of a straunge contrie. Whereuppon ever after it ranne in his minde to bringe this enterprife to paffe, which brought great troublesto their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that moste set his harte affre to couet honor, and that haftened his determinacion: first bringing him to it by bylles sette vppe on every wall, in euery porche, and uppon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore Citizens of Rome to have their landes restored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he him selfe made not the lawe alone of his owne head, but did it by the # Tibrius for counsell and aduise of the chiefest men of Rome, for vertue and estimation: Amonge the preferring the which, Crassia the high Bishoppe was one, and Mutius Scauola the Lawyer, that then was

Ranful and Appine Clodin his father in lawe . And truely informeth shar neuer lawe was made with greater fauor, then that which he preferred against for great ministice, and anarice, Lex Agraia. For those that should have bene punished for transgressing the lawe, and should have had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniuftly kept againft the lawe of Rose and that should also have bene amersed for it: he ordeyned that they should be paved by the sommon wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniuftly, and to should leave them to the moore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reform mation chablished by this lawe, was done with such great favor: the people norwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might have no more wrong offred them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of preat possessions haved the law to B their auarice, and for spight and selfwill (which would not leathern yeeld) they were a deadle foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the lawe, and fought by all denife they could be difswade the people from it: telling them that Tiberius brought in this law Agraria agains to difurbe the common wealth, and to make some alteracion in the state. But they prevailed not For Tiberius defending the matter, which of it felfe was good and just, with fuglic loquence as Tiberi might haue iustified an euill cause, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore. Citizens of Romatthe people bed inggathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild bealtes through Ival whad their dennes and caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were flaine for their contry thad nothing els but ayer and light, & fo were compelled to wander vp & downe C with their wives & children, having no refting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their fouldiers, when they encorage them in battel to fight valiandy for the graues, the temples, their owne houses, & their predecessors. For faid he, of suche number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them (hew any auricient house or tombe of their auncestors: bicause the poore men doe go to the warres, & bestaine for the rich mens pleasures and wealth : besides they falsely calthem Lordes of the earth, where they have not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. These & such other like wordes being vetered before all the people with fuch vehemency & trothe, did so moue the common people withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no adversarye of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leaving to contrary and deny the lawe by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in D Marcus Octavius, colleague and fellow Tribune with Tiberius in office, who was a grave and wife young man, and Tiberius very famillier friend. So that the first time they came to him to bane, did with oppose him against the confirmation of this lawe: he prayed them to holde him excused, bi- flord Tibericause Tiberius was his very friend. But in the ende, being compelled vnto it through the great " lave. number of the riche men that were importunate with him : he did withftande. Tiberius lawe. the which was enoughe to ouerthroweit. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against its though all the other passe with it, he ouerthroweth it: bicause they all can doe nothing a if one of them be against it. Tiberius being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first fauorable law, and in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people; as also more extreme against the riche. In that law he ordeyned, that who so ever had any lands E contrary to the auncient lawes of Rome, that he should presently depart from them. But there The modest uppon there fel out cotinual brawles in the pulpit for orations, against Octaning: in the which; contemion be swist Tiberithough they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there patied no fowle w and Offewords from them, (how hot focuer they were one with another) that should shame his com, with panion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth fuch a ftay & knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deeder but in passion and anger also, & in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereuppon Tiberius finding that this lawe among others touched Octavius, bicause he enjoyed a great deale of lands that was the common wealthes: he prayed him fecretly to contend no more against him, promiling him to give him of his owne, the value of those lands which he should be driven to for-I fake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he fawe Offmin would not be perswaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magistrats and Officers should cease their author titie, till the law were either past, or rejected, by voices of the people: & thereuppon he set his

own feale upon the dores of the rejumber of Saturne lythere the cofere of the treasure lay, history the treasure them follows during about time, should neither take out of our in any thing the great pennalties to be forfited by the Prators or advaction Magistrat of authority, that (hours breake this order. Hereupponial the Magistrates learing this pennaltie, did leave to exercise their office for electione. But she is the riche menthat were of great linings, chaunged their and parell, and walked very fadly up and downethe market place, and layed fecret wayte to take Tiberian having hyered men to kill him : which canfed Tiberian him felfe, openly before them all to wear without edagger under his longe gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon, When the day came that this lawe floud be established Tiberise called the people to give their your ces; and elerische men on thother fide, they tooks away the pots by force, wherein the passes of mens vovces were throwen frashat there was like to fall out great four evpon it. For the fit, a Aion of Tiberens was the ftronger fide, by the number of people that were gathered aboughing for that purpose: had it not bene for Manlius & Faluius, both the which had ben Confuls who went vnto him. & befought him with the teares in their cies, & holding up their hands, that he would let the lawe alone. Tiberian thereuppon, forefeeing the infrant daunger of some great mischief, as also for the reuerence he bare vnto two such noble persons, he stayed a litle i & asked them what shey would have him to doe. They made auniwer, that they were not able to counsel himing matter of so great waight, but they praied him not withstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the indgement of the Senate. Thereuppen he graunted them prefendly. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate fate apon it, & had determined nothing, bicause the rich men were of too great authoritiethe entred into another denise that was nether p honest nor meete, which was to deprine Octanias of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passes he law. But before he tooke that course, he openly increased him in the face of the people with curteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to franch no more against him, 82 to doe the people this pleasure, which required a matter iust & reasonable, & onely requested this smal recompence for the great paines they tooke in feruice abroad for their contry. Of mine denied him plainely. Then faid Tiberius openly that both of them being brethren in one falle place and authoritie, & contrary one to anotherina matter of to great waight, this contencion could not be possibly ended, without civill warre and that he could see no way to remedy it, vales one of them two were deposed from their of fice. Thereuppon he bad Octavian begin first with him, & he would rife from the benche with B a good will, and become a private man, if the people were so contented. Oftanius would doe nothing in it. Tiberius then replyed, that he would be doing with him if he altered nothis mind apon a better breathe and confideracion: and so dismissed the assemblye for that days. The next morning the people being again affembled, Tiberius going up to his feate, attempted agains to perfer de Offenius to leaue of. Infine, finding him still a man ynremoueable. he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented Official should be deposed from his office. Nowe there were fine and thirtie trybes of the people of the which feuenteene of them had already passed their voyces agaynst Octaving, so that their remayned but one trybe more to put him out of his office. Then Tiberius made them staye for proceeding any further, and prayed Off sains agayne, imbracing him before all the people. I with all the intreatye possible: that for felfewill take he would not suffer such an open skame to be done vinto him, as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deede. They saye that Octavius at this last intreatie was somewhat moved and wonne by his perfuations, and that weeping, he flayed a longe tyme, and made no aunswer. But when he looked apon the riche men that stoode in a great company rogether, he was ashamed (I thinke) to have their ill willes, and rather betooke him selfered

the loffe of his office, and to bad Tiberius doe whathe would. Thereuppon he beeing depuis

ned by voyces of the people, Tiberius commaunded one of his infranchifed bondinento pull him our of the pulpit for orations: for he yied his infranchifed bondmen in freede of Serves

adnes. This made the fight formuch more lamentable, to fee Offanius thus tham efully pluck #

away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would have ronne apon him; but

the riche men came to refeue him, and woulde not fuffer him to doe him further hume.

90 Offanise faued him felfe tonning away alone, after he had bene rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull feruaunt of Octavius, who stepping before his Maifter to fave him from hurt had his eyes pulled out, against Tiberian minder who ranne to the rescue with all speede when he heard the noyse. After that the lawe Agraria passed for diaifion of landes, and three Commissioners were appoynted to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appoynted were these Tiberius him (elfe : Appius Clodius his fa-Tiberius prether in lawe, and Caius Gracebus his brother: who was not at that tyme in Rome; but in the

thame. For when Tiberius demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he

should goe abroad to make division of these landes, as they vivally graunted vnto others, that

many tymes went in farre meaner commissions: they flatly denyed him, and through the pro-

curement of P. Nasica (who being a great landed man in his contry, shewed himselfe in this

action his mortall enemie, taking it greeuously to be compelled to depart from his dand) ones

lygraunted him nyne of their obuli a day, for his ordinarye allowance. But the people on tho-

ther fide were all in an vproce against the riche. Insomuch as one of Tiberias triendes beeing

deade vppon the fodaine, vppon whose body beeing deade there appeared very ill fignes: the

common people ranne fodainely to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poyfoned. And fo

taking uppe the beere whereon his bodie laye uppon their showlders, they were present at the

fire of his funeralls, where immediatly appeared certaine fignes to make them fulpect, that in

deede there was vehement cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, where-

more he fayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of Attalus, the Senate

had nothing to doe to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them,

this prouocation very angrily, and Tiberius also comming out, and having affembled the

campe with Scipio A PRICAN, at the feege of the citie of NVMANTIAL Thus Tibering very quietly paffed ouer these matters, and no man durst withstand him and furthermore, he substifured in Octavius Blace no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called Mutius. Wherewith the noble men were so fore offended with him, that fearing the more see of his greatnes, they being in the Senare house did what they could possible to doe him despyte and

out there issued such aboundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetche another, the which also they could not make to burne, vntil that they were compelled to cary the bodie into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much a doe to make it burne. Tiberius feeing that, to make the common people mutyne the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his fonnes before them, and befought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that dispayred of his health and safetie. About that King Analus D tyme dved Attalus, furnamed Philopater, and Eudemus PERGAMENIAN brought his will to people of ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore Tiberius, still to en- Rome his crease the good wil of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the him. ready money that came by the inheritaunce of this king shoulde bee distributed among the for denialing poore Citizens, on whose lot it should fall to have any parte of the division of the landes of of Analus the common wealth to furnishe them towardes house, and to set uppe their tillage. Further-

and that he him felfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, infomuch as there was one Pompey a Senator, that standing vp, savde: that he was next Eneighbour ynto Tiberius, and that by reason of his neighbourhed he knew that Eudemus P = R-GAMENIAN had given him one of king Attalus royall bands, with a purple gowne befides, for a token that he should one day be king of Rome. And Quintus Metellus also reproued him, for that his father being Cenfor, the Romanes having supped in the towne, and repayring every man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, bicause men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they tarved too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary maner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his sonne home,

and accompany him all night long vp and downethe towne. At that tyme there was one Ti- Titu Anniu tus Annius, a man that had no goodnes nor honestie in him, howbeit taken for a great reaso- afunile quener, and for a futtell questioner and aunswerer. He prouoked Tiberius to aunswer him, whe-aussperer of F ther he had not committed a shamefull facte to his companion and brother Tribune, to de- thinger. fame him, that by the lawes of Rome should have bene holy, & vntouched. The people tooke

EEEE iij

market place. But he finding him felfe farre inferior vnto Tiberius, both in dignitie and ela-

quence, ranne to his fine futtill questions; to take a man at his worde : and prayed Tiberius bes

fore he did proceede to his accufation, that he would first aunswer him to a question he would

aske him Tiberius bad him fave what he would. So filence being made, Annius asked him: if

thou wouldest defame me, and offer me injurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should ryse to take my parte, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that Tiberius was to gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man; ver at that tyme he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the affemblie. Afterwards, vaderstanding that of al the things he did, the deposing of Octaving to from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people also) as fowle and wilfull a parte as ever he played, for that thereby he had imbased, and vtterly overthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration until that present tyme: to excuse him selfe therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appeare vnto you some special poyntes thereof, to discerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneship layd he, in deede was a holy and facred thing, as The oration perticularly confecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie. Where of Tiberius contrariwife, if the Tribune doe offer the people any wronge, he thereby minisheth their touching the power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wills by voyces, besides that, power and auhe doth also imbase his owne authoritie, leaving to doe the thing for the which his authority of " first was given him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him. " to overthrow the Capitoll, or to fet fire on the arfenall: and yet notwithstanding this wicked " part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewde Tribune. "But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Conful, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the au-

thoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the same, when he would vie his authoritie to the preiudice of the people? for the people are they that doe choose, both Consul and Tribune. Fur-" thermore, the kingly dignitie (bicause in the same is conteyned the absolute authoritie and " power of all other kindes of Magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great D " and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhed: and yet the people expulsed king " Tarquin, bicause he vsed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the injurie he offered one man onely, the most auncient rule and gouernment, (by the which the foundacion of Rome was first layed) was veterly abolished. And who is there in all the citie of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nunnes, which have the custodie and keeping of the everlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, the is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are " not holy to the goddes, they lose the libertie they have, in respect of serving the goddes. Even " fo also it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be " reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued him felfe of that " authoritie they gaue him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most parte of the E trybes of the people: then by greater reason is he iustly deprined, that by all the whole trybes together is forfaken and depoted? There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then thinges offered vp vnto the goddes: and yet it was neuer seene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remove and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Even so, " they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offring " confectated to the goddes. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may " lawfully depose him selfe: For, it hath bene often seene, that men in office have deprived them " felues, or otherwise haue sued to be discharged. This was the effect of Tiberius purgation. Now his friendes perceiuing the threats the riche and noble men gaue out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sute to be Tribune againe the next years. Whereuppon he began to flatter the common people againe afresh, by new lawes which he

preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when every

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

A mizen of Rome was bound to goe to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made itlawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Judges vnto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had absolute authoritie to judge among them selues) alike number of the ROMANE Knightes, and by this meanes fought to weaken and imbase the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any instice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmacion of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, bicause all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake up the affembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be n the first man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares. & looking heauely upon the matter, praying the people affembled to have compaffion upon him, faying, that he was affrayed leaft his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tentes, and lay about his house to watche it. At the breake of the day, the Valuekie keeper of the chickins, by fignes of the which they doe divine of thinges to come, brought fignes vinto them vnto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of Tibering. the cage but one only, and yet with much a doe, thaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but only lift up her left wing, and put forth her legge, and fo ranne into the cage againe. This figne made Tiberius remember an other he had had before. He had a C maruelous fayer helmet and very riche, which he ware in the warres; under it were crept two fnakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made Tiberius wonder the more, bicause of the ill signes of the chickins: notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when he heard that the people were affembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote fuch a blow against a stone at the thresshold of the dore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in fuche a bleeding, that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he faw vpon the toppe of a house on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these rauens cast from them, came & fell hard at Tiberius soote. The fall thereof staied the flowtest man he had about him, But Blossus the Philosopher of Cumes that did accopany D him, told him it were a great thame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that Tiberius being the sonne of Gracebus, and nephew of Scipio the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man befides of all the peoples fide, for feare of a rauen, should not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sporte of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyran that raigned in dede, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the peoples good wills. Furthermore, divers messengers came vnto him, and fayd that his frends that were in the Capitoll fent to pray him to make haft for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honorably received: for the people feeing him comming, cried out for toy to welcome him, and when he was gotten up to his feate, they shewed them selues both carefull and louing towardes him, loooking warely that E none came neere him, but fuch as they knew well. While Mutius beganne againe to call the tribes of the people to geue their voyces, he could not procede according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noyse the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driven backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time, Flavius Flaccus, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might fee him, and when he faw that his voyce coulde not be heard of Tiberius, he made a figne with his hande that he had fome matter of great importance to tell him. Tiberius straight bad them make a lane through the prease. So, with much a doe, Flausus came at length vnto him, and tolde him, that the riche Flausus Flausus Flausus rate of the prease of the men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Confull to their wills, determined them felues to come and kill him, having a great number of their frendes, and bondmen armed for against Tibe-F the purpose. Tiberius immediatly declared this conspiracy vnto his frends and followers: who fraight girte their long gownes vnto them, and brake the fergeaunts iauelins which they caried in their handes to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the fame EEEE iiii

Tiberius Gracehue the Tribune flaine.

frends flaine.

to refift those that would set apon them. The people also that stoode furdest of marueled atio. and asked what the matter was. Tiberius by a figure to tell them the daunger he was in, lavel both his hands on his head, bicause they coulde not heare his voyce for the great noyse the made. His enemies feeing the figne he gaue, ranne prefently to the Senate, crying out, that Tiberius required a royall bande or diadeame of the people, and that it was an enident figner bicause they sawe him clappe his handes apon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon Naska belought the Conful, chiefe of the Senate, to help the common wealth. and to take away this tyran. The Conful gently aunswered againe, that he would vie no force neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receive Tibe. riss. nor protect him, if the people by his perswasion or commaundement, should commit as ny acte contrarie to the law, Nalica then rifing in anger, fith the matter is fo, favd he, that the R Confull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of the law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, & went straight berius Grac. to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their armes, and layed at as many as they might, to make them gene way : and yet very few of the people durst meete with such states as they were to stay them, bicause they were the chiefest men of the citie, but every man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haft, They that followed them, had brought from home great leavers & clubbes, and as they went they tooke vp feete of treftles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken. running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with Tiberiue, striking at them that stoodein their way : fo that in short space they had dispersed all the common people, and many were O flaine flying. Tiberius feeing that, betooke him to his legges to faue him felfe, but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne, and stayed him: but he leaving his gowne behinde him. ranne in his coate, and running fell ypon them that were downe before. So, as he was rifing vp againe, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called Publius Satureius: who gave him a great rappe on the head with the foote of a chaire, & the fecond blow he had, was geven him by Lucius Rufus that boafted of it, as if he had done a notable acte. In this tumult, there were flaine aboue three hundred men, and were all killed with staues and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murder, and bloodshed, since the expulsion of the kinges. But for all other former diffentions (which were no trifles) they D were easily pacified, either partie geuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commoners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth, that Tiberius him felfe woulde eafely haue yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perswasion. fo they had ment good faith, and would have killed no man: for at that time he had not in all. aboue 3000.men of the people about him. But furely it feemes this conspiracie was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparant cause they presupposed against him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous cruelty they yied to his body being dead. For they would not fuffer his owne brother to have his bodie to burie it by night, who made earnest sute vnto them for it: but they threw him amongest the other bodies into the river, and yet this was not the worst. For some of his frends B they banished without forme of law, and others they put to death, which they coulde meete withall. Among the which, they flue Diophanes the Orator, and one Caius Billius, whom they inclosed in a pype among fnakes and serpentes, and put him to death in this forte, Blosius alfo the Philosopher of Cumes, was brought before the Confuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed vnto them, that he did as much as Tiberius commaunded him. When Nasica did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to set fire on the Capitoll? He made him aunswere, that Tiberius would neuer haue geuen him any suche commaundement. And when divers others also were still in hand with him about that question : but if he had commaunded thee? I would fure have done it, fayd he: for he would never have commaunded me to have done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he scaped at that time, and afterwards fled into A sia vnto Aristonicus, whom missortune hauing ouerthrowen, he slue him selfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that present time,

suffered the people to appoint an other Commissioner for that purchase, in The the place Thereupon Publism Craffus was chosen, being allied vono Tiberius inposinis Brucehas Tiberius brother) had maried his daughter Licinia. Yet Corn line Novos favalta chapitowas nor Coloffe Haughter, Caim maried, but the daughter of Brunn that briumphed for the L ve is a mariant Howbeit the best wryters and authority, agree with that we wryte. But whiteforcer was about the people were marueloully offended with his death, and men might entely perceive prior they looked bur for time and oportunity to be revenged, and did profestly threaten Newsan accuse him. Whereupon the Senate searing some woulde sowards hims denisted a way woon no occasion, to sende him into Asia. For the common deeple did not diffemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were verie round with him, and galled him wran, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his brands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most facred temple of all the citie. So in the ende he was infortsed to forfake Rome, though by his office he was bounde to folemnife all the greatest sagnifes Nasica chiefe ces, bicause he was then chiefe Bishoppe of Rome. Thus, trauelling one of his contribution Bishoppe of meane man, and troubled in his minde; he dyed shortly after, nor farire from the citie of Pare GAMY M. Truely it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people for much hately visces confidering that Scipio the A FRICAN him felfe (whom the people of Roman for infler explos had loued better then any man elfe whatfocuer) was like to have loft all the peoples good sails they bare him, bicause that being at the siege of N v MANTIA, when newes was brought him Of Tiberius death, he rang out this verse of Homer: Motor and the land of the same The Sand war in anniem l'indie de Begint School fen-Such end upon him ener tight, De Dich in fuch doines doth delight Furthermore, being asked in thallembly of the people, by Caine, & Fuhine, what he thought death of Tiof Tiberius death : he aunswered them, that he did not like his doinges. After that the people chur. handled him very churlifhly. & did euer breake of his bration, which they never did before & he him felf also would reuile the people even in the affembly. Now Cabe Gracehue at the fielt; bicause he feared the enemies of his deade brother, or otherwise for that he songhe meanes to make them more hated of the people; he ablented him felle for a time out of the common affembly, and kept at home and meddled nor, as a man contened to line meanely, without bufying him felfe in the common wealth: infomuch as he made men thinke and reporte both, that he did vtterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeithe was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother Tibersia, who was not thirty yeare old when he was flaine. But in processes time, he made his manners and condition of the cains Graccions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated floth and curiofitie, and was leaft of all gener into any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue him selfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wites afterwardes to practife in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time eame, he would not stand still, and looke on. When one Vetting a frende of his was such the

tooke apon him to defend his cause in courte. The people that were present, and heard him

speake, they leaped for ioy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators

besides were but children to him. Hereuppon the riche men began to beaffrayed againe, and

whispered among them selues, that it behoued them to beware he came not so be Tribune. It

for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes, as he was efferage excellent Oration

but yet he was affrayed to come into the pulpit for Orations, and millitest to deale in manters

of state, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his frends that prayed his further

rance. For this cause therfore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent him felfe

for a time out of Rome: though divers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and defi-

rous of the common peoples good will and fauor, then his brother half bene before han. But

indeede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawen rather against

his will, then of any speciall defire he had to deale in the common wealth. Cicero the Orator

also sayth, that Cains was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to line

chaunced fo that he was cholen Treasorer, and it was his fortune to got into the le of Sain Calai Grac-DINIA, with the Conful Orestes. His enemies were glad of that, and he him felse was not form charge the Question

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS. quietly as a prinat man. But Tiberini(Caim brother)appeared to him in his fleepe, and calling A him by his name. God vnto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canting possiblie escape? For we were both predestined to one maner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when Caiss arrived in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valliant man, and excelled all the young men of his ago, in hardines against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Conful his Captaine: but in temperaturce, sobrietie, and in painfulnes, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chaunce fell out very sharpe, & full of sickenes in SARDINIA: whereupon the Conful fent vnto the cities to helpe his fouldiers with fome clothes: but the townes fent in poste to Rome, to pray the Senarethey might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegacion reasonable, whereuppon they wrote to the Consul to finde some R other meanes to clothe his people. The Conful coulde make no other shift for them, and so the poore fouldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But Caises Gracebus went him selfe vara the cities and so perswaded them, that they of them selues sent to the Romanes campe such thinges as they lacked. This being caried to Rome, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauor, and in dede it made the Senate also affrayed. In the necke of that, there arrived Ambassadors of A FRICKE at ROME, sent from king Micipla, who told the Senate that the king their maister, for Caise Gracebus fake, had fent their armie come into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadours out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other fouldiers shoulde be sent in their places that were in SARD INIA: and that Orestes should still remaine Consulthere, meaning also to con- C tinue Caius their Treasorer. But when he hearde of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men faw Cains returned to ROME vilooked for, he was reproued for Sardinia unto it not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie straunge before his Captaine, under whom he was Treasorer. He being accused hereof before the Cenfors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunswering his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all fayd he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had ferued twelve yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasorer under his Captaine, the space of three yeares, wherethe law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the years. And that he alone of all men elfethat

had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home empty; where others D

having dronke the wyne which they caried thither in vessells, had afterwardes brought them

home full of gold & filuer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a con-

Caius Gracmesh out of

spiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But having cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On thother side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALIE to be at his election, & that fuch a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of Mars not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppe of houses. Nowe the noble men coulde no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent Cains of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only chus, Tribune pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, bicause he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offred him: which made him bolde to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters socuer he spake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed: & laying before them the examples of their auncesters: who in olderime had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one Genutius Tris bune of the people, vnto whom they had offered injurie: who also did condemne Cains Vetus rise to death, bicause that he onely woulde not geue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these sayd he, that standing before you in sight, have slaine my brother Tiberius with staues, and have dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie F ouer, to throw it into the river: and with him also have most cruellie slaine all his frendes they coulde come by, without any lawe on inflice at all. And yet by an auncient custome of long

time observed in this citie of Rome, when any man is accused of treason, and that of duery he must appeare at the time appointed him: they doe not with standing in the morning sende a frompet to his house, to summone him to appeare; and moreover the Judges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed : fo carefull and respective were our nredecessors, where it touched the life of any ROMANE, Now Caine having first stirred up the people with these perswasions (for he had a maruelous lowde voyce) he preferred two lawes. The first, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, should never after be Caim Grate-

capable of any other office.

The feconde, that if any Conful had banished any citizen without lawefull accusation, the fentence and hearing of the matter should perteine to the people.

R The first of these two lawes did plainly defame Ottawiw, whom Tiberius his brother had by the people deposed from the Tribunshippe. The seconde also touched *Populant*, who being Prætor, had banished his brother Tiberius frendes: whereuppon he stayed not the triall, but willingly exiled him felfe out of ITALIE. And touching the first law. Caise him felfe did afterwards revoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had faued Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no leffe for Cornelia, mo

respect of her sonnes, then also for Seipioes sake her father. For afterwards they cast her image ther of the in braffe. & fet it vp with this infcription: Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi. Many comon matters are found written touching Cornelia his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by people of

Eaiss against her adversaries. As when he sayd vnto one of them; how darest thou presume C to speake cuill of Cornelia, that had Tiberius to her sonne? And the other partie also that slandered her, being forely suspected for a Sodomite: and art thou so impudent, sayd he to shew thy face before Cornelia? Haft thou brought foorth children as the hath done? And yet it is wel knowe to all men in Rome, that the being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man. than thou that art a man. Thus were Caius words sharpe & stinging, and many such like are to be gathered out of his wrytinges. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwardes to in- other lawer crease the peoples authoritie, and to imbase the Senates greatnes.

The first was, for the restoring of the Colonies to Rome, in dividing the landes of the Caim Graccommon wealth vnto the poore citizens that should inhabite there.

The other, that they should apparell the souldiers at the charge of the common wealth, D and that it should not be deducted out of their paye: and also, that no citizen should be billed to ferue in the warres, under seuenteene yeares of age at the least.

An other law was, for their confederats of ITALIE: that through all ITALIE they shoulde have as free voyces in the election of any Magistrate, as the naturall citizens of Rome it

An other fetting a reasonable price of the corne that should be distributed vnto the poore

people.

An other touching judgement, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the Romane Knights: and now he loyned three E hundred Romane Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it to to passe, that all matters indiciall shoulde be equally indged, among those six hundred men. After he had paffed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in observing all other thinges, but this one thing specially: that where all other Orators speaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators fate, and to that fide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwardes towardes the other fide of the market place, and after that kept it constantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a little turning and altering of his looke only he removed a great matter. For he fo transferred all the gouernment of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the judgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they should behold the peo-

F ple, not the Senate. Now, the people having not only confirmed the law he made touching Cains Graca the Iudges, but geuen him also full power and authoritie to choose amonge the Romans chus power. Knightes suche Iudges as he liked of: he founde thereby he had absolute power in his owne

that they did not fo much mislike Caius doings, as for the defire they had to overthrow him &

his great credit with the people. For where Caim preferred but the replenishing of the two ci-

ties, and defired to fend the honestest citizens thither: they objected against him, that he did

corrupt the common people. On the other fide also they fauored Drusus, who preferred a law

that they should replenish twelue Colonies, & should fend to every one of them three thow-

fande of the poorest citizens. And where they hated Caius for that he had charged the poore

ner did please them by disburdening them of that rent & payment, letting the haue the lands

scotfree. Furthermore also, where Caius did anger the people, bicause he gaue all the Latines

the fredom of Rome to gene their voyces in choosing of Magistrates as freely as the naturall

ROMANES: when Drufus on thother fide had preferred a law that thencefoorth no ROMANE

B citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were deuided vnto them: Livius in contrary ma-

A honestie for them to deny them with their ill will. Linius offering to pleasure the Senate with Lanes preferhis authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the comon wealth, & were Prefits.

hands, infomuche as the Senators them selues did aske counsell of him. So did he ever geue A good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongest others, the laws he made touching certaine wheate that Fabius Viceprætorhad fent out of Spayne: which was a good and honorable acte. He perswaded the Senate that the come might be solde, and fo to fend backe agains the money therof vnto the townes and cities from whence the come came: and therewithall to punish Fabius for that he made the Empire of Rome hatefull and intollerable vnto the prouinces and subjectes of the same. This matter wanne him great love Other lawer of and commendacion of all the provinces subject to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for prouision of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he him selfe tooke apon him the only care and enterprise, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great af. R faires. For, he followed all those thinges so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand:infomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred most to fee his diligence and quicke dispatche in matters. The people also wondred muche to beholde him only, seeing alwaies suche a number of laborers, artificers, Ambassadors, officers, souldiers, and learned men, whom he easely satisfied and dispatched, keping still his estate, and yet vsing great curtesie and civilitie, entertaining every one of them privately: so that he made his accusers to be found lyers, that sayd he was a stately man, and very cruell. Thus he wannethe good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conversation and deedes, then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke apon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he woulde haue as well done, as C profitablie done. For he would cast the cawcies by the lyne in the softest ground in the fields. and then woulde paue them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of grauell vponit, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the rivers had eaten into, he raifed them vp, or else made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equal to either fide of the cawcie: fo that all his worke caried a goodly leauell withall euen by the lyne or plummet, which was a pleasure to beholde it. Furthermore, he deuided these high waves by myles, euery myle conteining eight furlonges, and at euery myles ende he fet vpa stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paued, he set certaine stones of convenient height, a prety way a funder, to helpe the travellers by to take their horse backes againe, without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising & extolling him, and D being readie to make shew of their loue and good will to him any maner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make vnto them, the which if it would please them to graunt him, he woulde thinke they did him a maruelous pleasure: and if they denied him also, he cared not muche. Then euerie man thought it was the Consulshippe he ment to aske, and that he woulde fue to be Tribune and Conful together. But when the day came to choose the Consuls, every man looking attentively what he would doe: they marveled when they fawe him come downe the fielde of Mars, and brought Caius Fannius with his frends, to further his fute for the Confulfhippe. Therein he ferued Fanniss turne, for he was presently chosen Consul: and Caim Gracchin was the seconde time chosen Tribune againe, not of his owne fute, but by the good will of the people. Caise perceiuing that the Senators E were his open enemies, and that Fannius the Conful was but a slacke frende vnto him, he began againe to currie fauor with the common people, and to preferre new lawes, fetting forth the lawe of the Colonies, that they should send of the poore citizens to replenishe the cities of TARENTVM and CAPVA, & that they should graunt all the Latines the freedom of Rome. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, and that in the end he would be fo strong that they coulde not withstande him: they denised a new and straunge way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in graunting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with Caius, called Linius Drufus, a man noblely borne, and as well brought vp as any other Romane: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greatest men of estimacion in Rome. The chiefest Senators went vnto him, and perswaded F him to take parte with them against Caises, not to vie any force or violence against the people

to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them those things which were more

Caine Gracchus chofen

The Italian

myle consei-

furlenz.

Linius Drufue one of the

should whip any souldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & past it. Linius also in every law he put forth, said in all his orations, that he did it by the counsell of the Linius Dru-Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in the people ahis office vnto the comon wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleased with the gainst the se-Senate, & where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, Livius tooke away that nate. C malice, when the people faw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the confent & furtheraunce of the Senate. The only thing also that perswaded the people to thinke that Drusus ment vprightly, & that he only respected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for him felfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the restoring of these Colonies which he preferred he alwaies sent other Commissioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money him selfe: where Caius tooke apon him the charge & care of all things himselfe, & specially of the greatest matters. Rubrius also an other Tribune, having preferred a law for the reedifying & replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which Scipio had rafed and destroyed: it was Caius happe to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it. Whereupon he tooke shippe, & failed into D AFRIKE, Drafus in the meane time taking occasion of his absence did as much as might be to feeke the fauor of the common people, and specially by accusing Fuluius, who was one of the best frends Caius had & whom they had also chosen Commissioner with him for the division of these landes among the citizens, whom they sent to replenish these Colonies. This Fuluius Fuluius Comwas a feditious man, & therefore maruelously hated of the Senate, & withall suspected also of missioner with them that tooke parte with the people, that he fecretly practifed to make their confederats of feditions man. ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to instifie it against him, more then that which he himselfe did verifie, bicause he semed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefest causes of Caius ouerthrow, bicause that Fuluius was partely hated for his fake. For when Scipio A FRICAN was found dead one morning in his The death of E houle, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so sodainly: (fauing that scipio Afri-

there appeared certaine blinde markes of stripes on his body that had bene geuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the most parte of the suspicion of his death was layed to Fuluius, being his mortall enemy, & bicause the same day they had bene at great wordes together in the pulpit for orations. So was Caius Gracehus also partly suspected for it. Howsoeuer it was, fuch a horrible murder as this of fo famous & worthy a man as any was in Rome, was yet notwithstanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: bicause the common people would not fuffer the accusacion to goe forward, fearing least Caius would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now Caius at that time being in A FRICK about the reedifying and replenishing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which F he named I vn on in the voice goeth that he had many ill fignes & tokens appeared vnto him. Vnluckie For the staffe of his ensigne was broken with a vehemet blast of wind, & with the force of the ring unio enfigne bearer that held it fast on thother side. There came a flaw of winde also that caried a- caim.

inno other ende, but contending with Caim, who should most flatter the people of them two. as plaiers do in their comon plaies, to shew the people pastime. Wherby the Senate shewed.

vebe. Some say also, that besides these injurious wordes, in skorne & contempt he held out his

dinertly affected. For Cains was very fory for it, & bitterly reproued them that were about him,

faving, that they had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set vpon the Opimius

hereuenged. But there fell a shower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning

the Conful having affembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was dispatching causes with-

in some had take the body of Antyllius & layed it naked vpon the beere, & so carried it through

the market place (as it was agreed vpon before among (t the) & brought it to the Senate dore:

where they began to make great mone & lametacion, Opimius knowing the meaning of it, but

vet he diffembled it, & feemed to wonder at it. Wherupon the Senators went out to fee what

it was, & finding this beere, in the market place, some fell a weeping for him that was dead, o-

thers cried out that it was a shamefull act, & in no wise to be suffred. But on the other side, this

did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble

B the Conful in contrary maner, taking this occasion, rose apon it, & did stirre vp the people to

A When the day came that they should proceede to the renocation of his lawes, both parties Sedition bemet by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Conful Opimius had done facrifice, one Gracebus de of Cains sergeaunts called Quintus Antyllius, carying the intrals of the beast facrificed faid vito the Senate. rulging, and others of his tribe that were about him: give place to honest men, vile citizens that

naked arme to make the ashamed. Whereupon they slue him presently in the field with great Antillius. C. botkins to wryte with, which they had purposely made for that intent. Hereupon the comon Gracehua people were maruelously offended for this murther, & the chiefe men of both sides also were fargeaume.

way the facrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuite which was marked. out for the compasse of the city. Furthermore, the woulues came and tooke away the market which they had fet downe to limite the bonds of their circuite, & caried him quite away, This notwithstanding, Caises having dispatched all things in the space of three score & ten daies, he returned incontinently to Rome, understanding that Fuluius was oppressed by Drussuand that those matters required his presence. For Lucius Hostilius that was all in all for the nobility. &c man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Confulthippe, by Caine practife, who caused Fannius to be chosen: he had good hope this yere to speede, for the great number of frends that furthered his fute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to fer Caiss beside the saddle, & the rather, bicause his estimacion and countenaunce he was wont to haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of fuch deuises as his were: R bicause there were divers others that preserved the like to please the people withal, & yet with the Senates great good will & fauor. So Caises being returned to Rome, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house vnder the market place, to shew him selfe therby the lowlier & more popular, bicause many of the meaner forte of people dwelt thereaboutes. Then he purposed to goe forward with the rest of his lawes, & to make the people to establish the, a great number of people repairing to Romeout of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counselled the Conful Familie to make proclamacion, that al those which were no natural Romanes, resident & abiding within the city self of Rome: that they should depart out of Rome. Besides all this, there was a strauge proclamacion made, and neuer seene before: that none of all the frends & confederats of the C

ROMANES, for certaine daies should come into Rome, But Caises on thother side set up bills on

enery post, accusing the Conful for making so wicked a proclamació: & further, promised the

confederates of Rome to aide them, if they would remaine there against the Consuls proclamacion. But yet he performed it not. For when he saw one of Fannius sergeauts cary a frend of his to prison, he held on his way, & would see nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelyhoode bicause he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or else bicause he was loth(as he faid)to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which fought it of him. Furthermore, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. Cains Grace The people were to see the pastime of the sword plaiers or fensers at the sharp, within the ve-

ry market place, and there were divers of the officers that to fee the sport, did set vp scaffoldes D rounde about, to take money for the standing. Cains comaunded them to take them downe again, bicause the poore men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of the would veeld to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, & then he tooke all his laborers he had vnder him, & went & ouerthrew the fcaffolds enery one of the: so that the next morning all the market place was clere for the comon people, to see the pastime at their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruelously, & tooke him for a worthic man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, & tooke him for a bold prefumptuous man. This feemeth to be the chiefe cause why he was put from his third thus repulsed Tribuneship, where he had the most voices of his side:bicause his colleagues, to be reusged of Tribuneship. the part he had plaied the, of malice & spight, made false report of the voices. Howbeit there E is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, & it is reported he spake somwhat too prowdly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, & laughed him to scorne: that they laughed a SARD ONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing chosen Opimius Consul, they began immediatly to reuoke divers of Cains lawes: as among the reft, his doings at CARTHAGE for the reedifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, bicause they might haue iust occasion of anger to kil him. Caius notwithstanding did paciently beare it at the first but afterwards his frends, & specially Fuluius, did encorage him so, that he began againe to gather men to resist the Consul. And it is reported also, that Cornelia his mother did help him in it, secretly hyring a great number of straungers which she sent vnto Rome, as if they had bene F reapers, or haruest men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter, vnto her sonne in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that the was very angry he did attept those things.

C men: who having theselves before slaine Tiberius Gracebiu that was Tribune, & within the Capitoll it felfe, & had also cast his body into the river, did now make an honorable show openly in the market place, of the body of a sergeaut Antyllium (who though he were wrogfully slaine, yet had himselfe geuen the the cause that flue him, to do that they did)& all the whole Senate were about the beere to bewaile his death, & to honor the funeralls of a hyerling, to make the people also kill him, that was only left the protector & defender of the people. After this, they An ordinance went againe vnto the Capitoll, & there made a decree, wherby they gaue the Conful Opinious made by the extraordinary power & authority, by absolute power to prouide for the safety of the common gainst c. wealth to preserve the city, & to suppresse the tyrans. This decree being established, the Con-Gracehus. ful presently commaunded the Senators that were present there, to go arme the selues: & ap-D pointed the ROMANE Knights, that the next morning betimes every man should bring two of their men armed with the. Fuluius on the other fide, he prepared his force against them, & affembled the comon people together. Caises also returning from the market place, stayd before

the image of his father, & looked earnestly apon it without euer a word speaking, only he burst out a weeping, and fetching a great figh, went his way. This made the people to pitie him that faw him: fo that they talked among them felues, that they were but beafts & cowards at fuch a straight to forfake so worthy a man. Therupon they went to his house, stayed there all night & The people watched before his gate:not as they did that watched with Fuluius, that passed away the night definded c. in guseling and drinking drunke, crying out, and making noyse, Fuluius him selfe being dronke first of all, who both spake and did many thinges farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that E watched Caises on thother fide, were very forowfull, and made no noyfe, euen as in a common calamitie of their contrie, deuifing with them selues what would fall out apon it, waking, and

fleeping one after an other by turnes. When the day brake, they with Fuluius did awake him. who flept yet foundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed them felues with the spoiles of the GAVLES that hong rounde about his house, whom he had ouercome in battell the same yeare he was Consultand with great cries, and thundering threats, they went to take the mount Auentine. But Caise would not arme him felfe, but went out of his house in a long gowne, as if he woulde have gone simply into the market place according to his wonted maner, fauing that he caried a fhort dagger at his girdel vnder his gowne. So as he was going out of his house, his wife stayed him at the dore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child F of his in her other hand, the fayd thus vnto him: Alas Caises, thou doeft not now goe as thou The words of wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to speake to the people, neither to preferre any hubande aims

new lawes : neither doeft thou goe vnto an honest warre, that if vnfortunately that shoulde Gracehus.

FFFF ii

Fuluius fens his Conne to the Confull with a Heraulds rodde

The death of

hie eldeft

The flight of

nes of Cains

Gracelous

,, happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourne for thy death with 4 honor. But thou goest to put thy selfe into bloodie butchers handes, who most cruelly have " flaine thy brother Tiberius: and yet thou goest, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to fuffer, then to doe hurt. Befides, thy death can bring no benefit to the common wealth. For the worfer part hath now the upper hand, confidering that sentence passeth by force of sword, Had thy brother bene slaine by his enemies, before the citie of NVMANTIA: yet had they ge-,, uen vs his bodie to haue buried him. But fuch may be my misfortune, that I may prefently go 55 to pray the river or sea to gene me thy bodie, which as thy brothers they have likewise throwen into the same. Alas, what hope or trust is left vs now, in lawes or gods, sithence they have " flaine Tiberius? As Licinia was making this pitiefull mone vnto him, Caius fayer and foftly pulled his hand from her, and left her, geuing her neuer a word, but went on with his frends. B But the reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, speaking neuer a word : vntill at length her servaunts tooke her vp in a swoone, and caried her so vnto her brother Crassus. Now Fuluius, by the perswasion of Caius, when all their faction were met: fent his younger fonne (which was a prety fayer boy) with a Heraulds rodde in his hand for his safetie. This boy humbly presenting his duetie, with the teares in his eyes, before the Conful and Senate, offred them peace. The most of them that were present thought verie well of it. But Opimius made aunswere saying, that it became them not to sea so offer peace. mestengers, thinking with fayer wordes to winne the Senate; but it was their duetie to come the selues in persons, like subjects & offendors to make their triall, & so to craue pardon, & to feeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he should not returne C againe to them, but with this condicion he had prescribed. Caim (as it is reported) was ready to go and cleare him selfe vnto the Senate: but the residue would not suffer him to go. Wheruppon Fulnius fent his sonne backe againe vnto them, to speake for them as he had done before. But Opmiss that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him in fafe custodie, & then went presently against Fuluius with a great number of sootemen well armed, & of CRET ANARCHERS besides: who with their arrowes did more trouble & hurt their enemies, then with any thing else, that within a while they all began to flie. Fuluiss on the other side sled into an old hottehouse that no body made reckoning of, and there being sound Thortly after, they flue him, and his eldest fonne. Now for Caise, he fought not at all, but being mad with him felfe, and grieued to fee fuch bloodshed: he got him into the temple of Diana, D where he would haue killed him felfe, had not his very good frends Pomponius and Licinius faued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his fword from him, and counselled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his hands vnto the goddesse, he besought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude & treason. For the common people (or the most parte of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamacion made, that all men had pardon graunted them, that woulde returne. So Caim fled apon it, and his enemies followed him so neere, that they ouertooke him apon the wodden bridge, where two of his frends that were with him stayed, to desende him against his followers, and bad him in the meane time make shift for him selfe, whilest they sought with them apon the bridge: and so they did, and E kept them that not a man got the bridge of them, vntill they were both flaine. Nowethere was none that fled with Caises, but one of his men called Philogrates: notwithstanding, euerie man did still encorage and counsell him, as they do men to winne a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horfe, though he often required it, bicause he sawe his enemies so neere vnto him. This notwithstanding, by their defence that were slaine apon the bridge, he got ground on them fo, that he had leafure to crepe into a litle groue of wodde which was confectated to the furies. There his servaunt Philocrates flue him, and then slue him selse also, and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the maister & seruaunt were ouertaken, and taken aliue : and that his feruaunt did fo straight imbrace his maister that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was slaine him felse, So F. one of the murderers strake of Cains Gracehus head to carie to the Consul. How beit one of Opimius frendes called Septimuleius, tooke the head from the other by the way, bicause procla-

A macion was made before they fought by trompet that who locuer brought the heades of Fulaim and Caim, they should be payed the weight of them in gold Wherefore this Septimuleius caried Caim head vpon the toppe of his speare vnto Opimine : whereuppon the skales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed feuenteene pounde weight and two third partes of a pound, bicaufe Septimuleius besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in lie withereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought Fuluius head, bicause they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of thefe two men, Caius Gracehus and Puluius, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thowfand that were flaine) were all throwen into the river, their goods confilcate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Fur-B thermore, they tooke from Lieinia Caius wife, her joynter; but yet they delt more cruelly and heaftly with the young boy, Fulains sonne : who had neither lift up his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to the to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieued the people, was the temple of concorde, the which Opimius caused The semple of to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of Rome. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription she confut. of the temple these verses:

A furious fact and full of beastly shame: This temple built: that beareth concordes name.

This Opimius was the first man at Rome, that being Conful, vourged the absolute power of Opimius the the Dictator: and that without law or inflice condemned three thewfand citizens of Rome, first conful, besides Fuluius Flaceus, (who had also bene Consul, and had received the honor of triumphe) furping the and Caius Gracchus a young man in like case, who in vertue & reputacion excelled all the men Distant. of his yeares. This notwithstanding, coulde not keepe Opimius from theuerie and extorcion.

For when he was fent Ambassador vnto Ingurthe king of Nvm 1D 1A, he was bribed with mo- Opinius bitney: & therupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: bis gurthe, and cause at the time of the ouerthrow he delt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But the Greech shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren D of the Gracehi. For they made images and flatues of them, and caused them to be set vpin any sufficient open and honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of of the people.

Their mother Cornelia, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble hart: and as for The magna

the chappells which they built & confecrated vnto them in the place where they were flaine, nimity of Cornelin, the mothe faid no more, but that they had fuch graues, as they had deferued. Afterwardes the dwelt ther of the continually by the mount of Mifene, and neuer chaunged her manner of life. She had many Gratchi. frends; and bicause she was a noble Ladie, and loued ever to welcome straungers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of GRECIANS & learned E men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both received giftes from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her copany, delighted maruelously to heare her report the dedes and maner of her fathers life, Scipio A FRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two fonnes, Tiberius and Caius Gracehi, without sheading teare, or making any thew of lamentacion or griefe, no more then if the had told an history vnto them that had requested her. Infomuch some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercomen and taken her reason and sence from her, to feele any sorowe. But in deede they were fenseleffe to say so, not vnderstandinge, howe that to be noblie borne, and vertuouslie The price of

brought vp, doth make men temperatly to difgeft forow, and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respectes, but vet with any aduerfity the can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they paciently beare it.

them also came and offred to them, of their first frutes and flowers, according to the time of

the yere, & went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as vnto the temples of the gods.

THE COMPARISON OF Tiberius and Caius Gracchi with Agis and Cleomenes.

tin :



Ow that we be come to the end of this hiftory, we are to compare the A liues of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two Gracchi: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best genen to vertue, and as well taught and brought up, as any Romans that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in Agis and Cleomenes. For they having bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof

the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstandinge make them selues the first maisters and example of sobrietie, temperaunce, and simplicities life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time, when Rome storished most in ho-B not and vertuous defires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncesters. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrarie dispoficion, and finding their contrie altogether without any order, and infected with diffolute life: were not therefore any whitthe more moued with defire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two Gracehi, was, their abstinence and integritie from taking of money all the time they were in office, and delt in matters of state, euer keeping their handes cleane, and tooke not a pennie wrongfully from any man. Where Agu on thother fide was offended if any man praised him, for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossessed him selse of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in readie coyne to the value of fix hundred talents. Whereby men may eafely iudge, how grieuous C a finne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: feeing that he thought it a kinde of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruelous great difference in their alteracions, and renuing of the flate, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two Romanes were to mend high wayes, and to reedifie and replenish decayed townes: and the worthiest acte Tiberius did, was the lawe Agraria, which he brought in for

TIBERIVS & CAIVS, AGIS & CLEOMENEST

dividing of the lands of the common wealth amongeft the poore Citizens. And the belt and his brother Caimallo did, was the mingling of the Ludges: adding to the three hundred Sonaporsithree hundred Romans knightes to be indifferent ludges with them. Whereas Agicand Chamenes in contrary manner were of opinion that to reforme final faults, & to redieffe thents hy litle and litle, was (as Rlate fayd) to cur of one of the Hydraes heards of the which came afterwards feuen in the place; and therefore they tooke aponthem a change and innovation. enen at once to roote out all the mischiefs of their contry, (or to speake more truely, to take a way the diforder which brought in all vice and mischief to the common wealth) and so to reflore the citie of Sparta agains to her former auncient honorable estate. Nowe this may be faid againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefest men of Rome were ever against their purposes. Where, in that that Agis attempted, and Chemenes ended, they had the

noblest ground that could be, & that was the auncient lawes and ordinances of Sparta, touching temperance and equalitie; the first instituted in old time by Lyeurgus, the other confirmed by Apollo. Furthermore, by the alteracions of the first, Roundbecame no greater then it The Affect of was before. Where, by that which Cleomenes did, all GRECE in Chort time fawe that Spart a the Gracchi commaunded all the rest of PELOPONNESVS, and sought at that time against those that were did line profit of greatest power in all Gx & c a, for the fignionic thereof. Whereby their onely marke & pur-

pole was, to rid all G a ece from the wartes of the GAYLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reftore it againe to the honest government of the race and lyne of Hereules. Their deathes, me thinkes.

before he could come to it. And for the victories of Cleamenes on thother fide, may be oppo-

doe shew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their owne Cityzens, were flaine flying. Ot the fe two allo. Acia bicaufe he would put never a Carizen to death. The ende of was flayne in manner voluntarily: and Cleamenes receiving injurio floode to his defence, and the Gracchi when he had no oportunitie to doe it he flow dy killed him felfe. And so may it be faid on thother fide, that Agia did neuer any noble acre of a Captaine or fouldier, bicause he was slayne

fed the scaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where Tiberius was the first man that at the assault The deeder of

got vp vpon the wall, which was no small exployte; and the peace which he made also at the the Gracehi. feege of Nymantia, whereby he faued twenty thowfand fighting men of the Romanes, the which had no meanes otherwise to saue their lives. And Caine also in the selfe same warre at the feege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of warre: fo that D there is no doubt, but if they had not bene flaine fo foone as they were, they might have bene compared with the excellentest Captaines that ener were in Rome. Again, touching their doings in civill pollicie, it appeareth that Agus delt moreflackly, being abused by Agelilaus: who likewise deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuision of the landes which he had promised them. In fine, for lacke of corage, bicause he was very young, he left the thinges vndone which he had purposed to have performed. On thother side, Cleomenes went too roundly to worke to renew the auncient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might easily haue wonne, or otherwise by force haue gotten the vpper hande. For it is not the parte of a wife Philition, nor of a good gouernor of a common weale to vie the fword, but in great extreamitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: & E there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is euer joyned with crueltie. The GRACCHION thother fide, nether the one nor the other, began to embrew their

thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they stayed, to stande to their de- The faultes of

fence, bicause they might keepe them selues from hurt. And where they accuse Tiberius for the Grachi. F the faults he committed the greatest that ever he did, was when he deposed Octavius his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he him selfe made sute for the second. And as for Caine, they fallely accused him for the death of Antyllius the Sergeaunt, who in deede was slayne vn-FFFF iii

hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt Caim, yet he

would neuer defend him felfe: and where it was known that he was very valliant in battell

with his fword in his hand against the enemie, he shewed him selfe as cold againe in the vprore

against his Citizens. For he went out of his house vnarmed, and sed when he saw them fight:

being more circumspect not to doe hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be

TIBERIVS & CAIVS, AGIS & CLEOMENES.

knowen to him, and to his great griefe. Where Cleomenes on thother fide, although we should A forget the murder he committed upon the Ephores, yet he fet flaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner him felfe alone: but yet for manners fake onely he joyned his owne brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perswaded Archidamu (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from MESSENAVINO SPARTA: he suffered him to be slayne, and bicause he did not revenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was confenting to his death . Lyonous on the other fide, whose example he did counterfeate to followe, bicause he did willingly refigne the kingdom vnto his brothers sonne Charilaus, and being afrayd also, that if the young child should chaunce to miscary, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled him selfeour of his owne contry a long time, trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to Sparta againe. R before Charilaus had gotten a fonne to succeede him in his kingdom. But we can not set another GRECIAN by Lycurgus comparable vnto him. We have declared also that amongest Cleomenes deedes, there were many other greater alteracions then these, and also many other breaches of the lawe. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, fay, that the two GRECIANS from the beginning had an aspyring minde to be tyrannes, still pra-Etiling warres. Whereas the two Romanes onely, euen by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement about their nature, in any strife or contencion they had with their aduersaries, and that they yelded vnto that choller and passion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe those thinges they did in the ende. For what more just or honest intent could C they have had, then the first was: had not the riche men (even through stowtnes and authoritie to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them against their wills into quarrell: the one to saue his life, the other to revenge his brothers death, who was flayne without order, iustice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maiest thy selfesee the difference, that was between the GRECIANS and ROMANES: and nowe to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that Tiberius was the stowtest of the foure, that the younge king Agis offended least, and that for boldnes and corage, Caises came nothing neare Vnto Cleomenes.

THE

THE LIFE

Demosthenes.



The GYE that made the litle booke of the praise of Alcibiades, touching the victorie he wanne at the horse rase of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet Euripides as some thinke, or any other) my friende Sossius: fayde, that to make a man happy, he must of necessitie be borne in some famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, douteles, true happi-nes chiefly confisseth in the vertue and qualities of the minde, being a new confisted matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in the minde in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a fayer or and manners fowle mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of of man, not in applicate or

IVLIDE, being the least part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Iland of it selfe being but a small conny. B thing) and that the Ile of ÆGINA (which is of so smal a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN ON a time made a motion it might be taken away, bicause it was but as a strawe in the fight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breede an honest, just, and wise man, and of noble corage. For, as we have reason to thinke that artes and sciences which were first denised and innented to make some thinges necessary for mens vse, or otherwise to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in litle poore villages: So are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong and frutefull plant, can take roote, and bringe forth in enery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and line not as we should: we can not accuse the meanenes of our contry where we were borne, but we must justly accuse our C felues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any historie, in- Expedient for to the which he is to thrust many straunge things vinknowen to his contry, and which are not an Historiaready at his hand to be had, but dispersed abroad in divers places, and are to be gathered out in a famous of divers bookes and authorities: first of all, he must needes remaine in some great and samous sine. citie throughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous thinges, bicause there are commonly plenty of all fortes of bookes: and that perufing them, and hearing talke also of many things besides, which other Historiographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will cary fo much more credit, bicause men that are aliue may presently speake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery poynt, hauing many and divers necessary things conteyned in it. But I my selfethat dwell in a poore litle Phankers.

towne, and yet doe remayne there willingly least it should become lesse: whilest I was in ITA. A LY, and at Rome, I had no ley fure to fludy and exercise the Latine tongue, as well for the great busines I had then to doe, as also to satisfie them that came to learne Philosophie of me: so that even somewhat too late, and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby, a straunge thing totell you, but yet true: I learned not, nor vnderstood matters so much by the words, as I came to viderstand the words, by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronownce the Latin tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to viderstand the signification, translations, and fine joyning of the simple words one with another, which doe bewtifie & fet forth the tongue: furely I iudge it to be a maruailous pleasant and sweete thing, but withall it requireth a long and laborsome study, meete for those that have better leysure then I have, & that have young yeares on their R backes to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present booke, which is the lift of this work. where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vnderraking to write the liues of Demosthenes and Cicero, we will consider and examine their nature. manners and condicions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth. not meaning otherwise to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, nether to define which of them two was sharper or sweeter in his oration. For, as the Poet Ion sayth,

In this behalfe a man may rightly fay, The Dolphynes in their proper foyle doe play.

The which Caciltus litle vnderstanding, being a man very rashe in all his doings, hath vnaduisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of Demosthenes eloquence, with Ciceroes, C. But if it were an easie matter for every man to know him selfe, then the goddes needed have giuen vs no commaundement, nether could men haue said that it came from heaven. But for my opinio, me thinks fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one felf mowld of Demostheres and Cicero, and hath in their natures facioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to loue the libertie of their control and both of them very feareful in any daunger of warres. And likewise their fortunes seeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is harde to finde two Orators againe, that being so meanely borne as they, have comen to be of so great power and authoritie as they two, nor that have deserved the ill will of kings & noble men so much as they have done, nor that have lost their Daughters, nor that have bene banished their contries, & that have bene restored agains with D honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their lives with the libertie of their cotry. So that it is hard to be judged, whether nature haue made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workemaisters striued one with the other, to whome they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

The parensage of Demofibenes.

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Demosthenes the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was as Theopompus writeth, one of the chiefe men of the citie, and they called him Macharopaus, to wete, a maker of sworde blades, bicause he had a great shoppe where he kept a number of slaues to forge them. But touching AEschynes, the Orators report of his mother, who faid that she was the Daughter of one Gelon (that fled from Athens beeing accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her E mother: I am not able to fay whether it be true, or deuised of malice to doe him despite. Howfocuer it was, it is true that his father died, leaving him feuen yeare olde, and left him reasonable wel: for his goods came to little leffe then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they stale a great parte of his goods them selues, and did let the restrunne to naught, as having litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberall sciences which are vsually taught vnto honest mens sonnes: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, & very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to schoole, nether his masters also durst keepe him too hard to it, bicause he was but a sickly childe at the first, and very weake. And it is reported also, that the surname of Battalus was given him in mockery by o. F ther schooleboyes his companions, bicause of his weaknes of bodye. This Battalus (as divers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the Poet Antiphanes to

ny left Demosthenes.

Demosthenes why he was called Baisa lus. A mocke him, deuised a little play. Others also doe write of one Battalius, a dissolute Orator, and that wrote lasciulous verses: and it seemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a cerraine part of mans body vncomely to be named, Battalus. Now for Argas (which furname men Demoffbents) fav was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly maners, (bicause some why summer Poets doe call a fnake Argus) or els for his maner of speech, which was very vnpleasant to the eare: for Argas is the name of a Poet, that made alwayes bawdy & ill fauored fongs. But hereof enough as Plato faid. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give him selfe to eloquence, was this. Califtratus the Orator was to defend the cause of one Oropus callifratus before the Judges, and every man longed greatly for this daye of pleading, both for the excel- the Oracor. lencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accufati-Bon, which was manifestly knowen to all. Demosthenes hearing his schoolemasters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolemaster to be so good, as to let him goe with him. His Maister graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hald ore where this matter was to be pleaded he so intreated them, that they placed his scholler in a very good place, where being fet at his ease, he might both see and heare all that was done, and no man could fee him. Thereuppon, when Demostheres had heard the case pleaded. he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he sawe howe he was wayted vpon home with such a trayne of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could fo turne and convey all thinges at his pleafure. Thereuppon he left the studie of all other sciences, and all other exercises of witte and bodye, The samest c which other children are brought vp in : and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him define of \dot{p} is felfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator among the rest. His Maister that legue to raught him Rethoricke was I fews, notwithstanding that I forrates also kept a schoole of Retho-auence. ricke at that time: either bicause that beeing an orphane he was not able to paye the wages 1 [cm., Demothat Isocrates demaunded of his schollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde maßer of Re-Isam manner of speeche more propper for the vse of the eloquence he desired, bicause it was therike. more finer, & futler. Yet Hermippus writeth notwithstanding, that he had red certayne bookes, having no name of any author, which declared that Demosthenes had bene Platoes scholler, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one Ctelibius, who reporteth that Demosthenes had secretly redde Isocrates workes of Ren thoricke, and also Alcidamus bookes, by meanes of one Callias Syracvsan, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeshippe, he beganne to put his gardians in sute, and to write orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner did euer vse delayes Demossiblement and excuses, to saue them selves from giving vp any accompt vnto him, of his goods and paindraving or trimony left him, And thus, following this exercise (as Thucydides writeth) it prospered so well penning of with him, that in the ende he obtayned it, but not without great paynes and daunger: and yet rational, with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So having now gotten fome boldnes, and being yfed also to speake in open presence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him felfe, and to practife in matters of state. For as there E goeth a tale of one Laomedon an Orchomenian, who having a grieuous paine in the splene, Aremedie for by aduise of the Phisitions was willed to runne long courses to helpe him and that following the paine of their order, he became in the end fo lufty & nymble of body, that afterwards he would needes the Plane. make one to ronne for games, & in deede grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Euen fo the like chaunced vnto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise oratorie for recouerie of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke apon him to speake to the people in affemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of price, & at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventred to speake openly, the people made such a noyse, that Demossibleness F he could feant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speeche that was so people for his straunge, bicause he vsed so many long consused peryods, and his matter he spake of was so in- long orations. tricate with arguments one apon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to

Demolihenes of naugre.

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very fost voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had A also a short breath, the which made that men could not well viderstand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his fentence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus rejected, he gaue ouer to speake any more before the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the hauen of Pirza. There Fast nomus the The SSALIAN beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharpely reproued him, and told him that he did him felfe great wronge, confidering, that having a manner of speeche much like vnto Perioles, he drowned him selfe by his faynt harte, bicause he did not seekethe way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burden of publike orations, but fuffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of vie and practife. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whiltledat, as he returned home. R hanging downe his heade for shame, and vtterly discouraged: Satyrus an excellent player of comedies, being his famillier friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. Domosthenes made his complaynt vnto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators besides, and had almost euen worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he coulde by no meanes deuise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bybbe all day long, and Maryners that understoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on thother fide that they made no accompt of him . Satrrus then aunswered him, thou sayest true Demosthenes, but care not for this, I will helpe it

straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine

him, that came into his minde. Satyrus repeating them after him, gaue them quite another

grace, with fuch a pronunciation, comely gefture, and modest countenance becomming the verses, that Demosthenes thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiving how much the

action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace and comlines

in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to pleade well, voles therewithall he doe also study to haue a good pronunciation and gesture.

Thereuppon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole even in my time,&

he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise

his voice, and that with fuch earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after an other, and did shaue his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goea- D

broade in that forte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to

declame apon, and to practife to pleade of the matters he had had in hande before, or els vpon

occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to fee him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the

first to the last all matters that had passed between him and his friendes in talke together, and

alleaged also both his owne and their aunswers. And if peraduenture he had bene at the hea-

ring of any long matter, he would repeate it by him felfe: and would finely cowche and con-

uey it into propper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that he had

heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very

with extreame labor. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reason, That they never

quicke capacitie by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten E

veries of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereuppon Demosthenes presently rehearsed some vnto C

ded on the fuddein.

Demofihenes in his cration findieth to pleafe she people.

fawe Demosthenes make any oration on the fuddem, and that oftentymes when he was fette in the affemblie, the people would call him by his name, to fay his opinion touching the matter of counsell then in hand: How beit that he neuer rose vpon their call, vnles he had first studied the matter well he would speake of So that all the other Orators would many times give him a tawnte for it: as Pythess among other, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons finelled of the lampe. Yea, replyed Demosthenes sharply againe: fo is there great difference, Pytheas, betwixt thy labor and myne by lampelight. And him felfe also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would speake, nether did healso offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would F speake. He sayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would fay to them. For this prepratine (9 he) doth shewe that he

doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people rake his words, it is a plaine token that he despiseth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vie force against them, rather then reason and perswasion. But yet surther to enlarge the proofes, that Demosthenes had no hart to make any oration on the suddein, they doe alleage this reason: that Demades many times rose voon the sodaine to maintevne Demothenes reasons, when the people otherwhile did reject him: and that Demostbenes on thother fide did neuer rife to make Demades words good, which he had spoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: if Demosthenes was so timerous to speake before the people voon the fodgine: what ment AEschines then to say, that he was maruelous bold in his words. And how chaunceth it, that he rifing upon the sodaine, did presently aunswer the Orator Python B12 ANtine in the field, that was very lufty in speech, (& rough like a vehement running streame) against the Athenians. And how chaunced it that Lamachus Myrrin Etan, hauing made an pration in the praise of Philip and Alexander, kings of MACEDON, in the which he spake all the illhe could of the Thebans, and of the OLYNTHIANS, and when he had red and pronowneed it in the open affembly of the Olympian games. Demosthenes apon the instant rising vp on his feete, declared, as if he had red some historie, & poynted as it were with his finger vnto all the whole affembly, the notable great feruice & worthy deedes the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times for the benefit and honor of GRECE, And in contrary maner also, what mischief & inconvenience came by meanes of the flatterers, that altogether gave them felues tocurry fauor with the MACEDONIANS? With these and such like perswasions, Demosthenes Demosthenes made fuch sturre amongest the people, that the Orator Lamachus being affraid of the sodaine serviced Lavprore, did fecretly conuey him felfe out of the affembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, De-machine in his mosthenes in my opinion factioning him felfe even from the beginning, to followe Pericles steppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeate his grauitie and fober countenance, and to be wife, not to speake ouer lightly to every matter at all adventures: Iudging, that by that manner of wifedom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slippe any good occasion to speake, where it might be for his credit: fo would he not likewise ouer rashely hazard his credit and reputacion to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vp-

pon the fodaine without premeditacion before, doe shewe more boldnes and courage, then

would be often carried away with choller and furie. Demetrius also fayth, that speaking one

daye to the people, he sware a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene possessed with some di-

There are also certaine comicall Poets that doe call him Ropoperperethra, as who would fay,

In those which he had written and studied long before : if we may believe the reports of Eratofibenes, Demetrius PHALERIAN, and of the other comicali Poets. For Eratofthenes fayd, that he

uine foirit, and fayd, By fea and land by rivers fringes and Ponds.

agreat babbler that speaketh all thinges that commeth to his tongues ende. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, opposicion, with faying, Sic recepit ficut cepit, (which fignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vie of our inter-A this figure Demosthenes much pleased him selfe, vales the poet Antiphanes speaketh it of plea- τομβο. fure, deriding the could be gaue the people, not to take the lle of HALONESUS of king Philip, and as of gift: but to receive it as their owne restored. And yet every body did graunt, that Dema- Bary waya des of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times speaking vpon The natural the sodaine, he did etterly ouerthrow Demosthenes long studied reasons. And Aristo, of the He Demostersh of CHIO. hath written Theophrastus judgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked Orators what maner of Orator he thought Demosthenes: he auswered; worthy of this citie. Then again, Theophrasia how he thought of Demades : about this citie, faid he. The fame Rhilosopher writeth also, that Orders. Polyenetus Sphertian, (one of those that practised at that time in the common wealth) gaue this sentence: that Demosthenes in deede was a great Orator, but Photions tongue had a sharper vnderstanding, bicause in fewe wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, Photomealvaderitanding, Dicaule in tewe wordes, ne comprehension that Demostheres him felfe faid also, that as oft as he saw Phoeson get vp into the pulpit, led the axe of they say that Demostheres for orations to speake against him, he was wont to say to his friends: see, the axe of my words oration

DEMOSTHENES. rifeth. And yet it is hard to indge, whether he spake that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimacion he had gotten, bicause of his great wisedome: thinking (as in deede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perswade, then all the fine reasons & deuises of Rethoricke. But now for his bodily desects of nature, Demetrius PHALERIAN WIIteth, that he heard Demosthenes him selfe say, being very olde, that he did helpe them by these defelt of ne meanes. First, touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all fyllables diftinctly he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble flones into his mouth, which he found upon the fands by the rivers fide, & fo pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his smal and soft voice, he made that lowder, by running vp steepe and high hills, vttering euen with full breath some orations or verses a that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glaffe in his house, and euer standing on his feete before it, he would learne and exercise him selfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cause, and tolde him that one had beaten him; and that Demosthenes sayd agayne vnto him, I doe not beleeue this is true thou tellest me, for sure-

ly the other did neuer beate thee. The playntif then thrusting out his voyce alowde, sayde:

what, hath he not bearen me? yes, in deede, o Demosthenes then: I beleeue it now, for I heare

the voyce of a man that was beaten in deede. Thus he thought, that the found of the voyce,

the pronunciation or gesture in one fort or other, were thinges of force to beleeue or discredit

please the common sorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderstanding, found it too bale

euery man that had seene them, would have wondred with what honor, reverence, and mo-

destie, they spake vnto the people: howbeit that Demosthenes orations (whosoeuer red them)

were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eafily judge, that the orations Dense-

fthenes wrote are very seuere and sharpe. This notwithstanding, otherwhile he would give

formewhat of Demosthenes late sitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part

of the night by lampe light: in deede, & Demosthenes, I know it grieues thee to see my lampe

burne all night. And therefore, you, my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you should not wonder

to see such robberies in your citie, considering we have theeues of copper, and the walles of

our houses be but of claye. We could tell you of divers others of his like wittie and pleasant

aunswers, but these may suffice for this present: and therefore we will proceede to consider

that a man fayth. His countenaunce when he pleaded before the people, did maruailously C and gestime and meane, as Demetrius Phalerius fayde, amonge others. And Hermippus writeth, that one milliked of called AEsion, beeing asked of the auncient Orators, and of those of his tyme, aunswered: that the mbilitie.

Demoftenes many pleasant and witty aunswers apon the sodain. As when Demades one day sayd vnto him, witty answers. Demosthenes will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the sowe will teach Minerus. He aunfwered straight againe: This Minerua not long fince, was in Collytus streete, taken in adulte- D rie. A certein theefe also called Chalcus (as much to say, as of copper) stepping forth to saye

further of his nature and conditions; by his actes and deedes in the affaires of the common The time of Demofihenes comming to practife in the betwixt De-

wealth. Now Demosthenes first beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the state, was in the time of the warre made with the Phocians, as him felfe reporteth: and as appeareth E further in his orations which he made against Philip: of the which, the last were made after the offerer of the warre was ended, & the first doe touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the oration against Midias, when he was but 32. yeare old, and was of small countenance & reputacion in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I thinke) that inmofilenes and duced him to take money for the injury he had done him, & to let his action fall against him. He vvas not of a meeld and gentle mind. But feerce and haftie to revenge by kind. But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small

power & authoritie as him felfe, to ouerthrow a man fo wealthy, so befriended, & so eloquent as Midias: he therfore yelded him felfe vnto those, that did speake & intreate for him Nether F do I think that the three thowsand Drachmas which he received, could have brideled the bitternes of his nature, if otherwise he had seene any hope or likelihood that he could have preA vailed against him. Now at his first coming vnto the common wealth, taking a noble matter in Demositions, had to speak against Philip, for the defence & maintenace of the lawes & liberties of the GR # - . the Macedo-CIANS, wherein he handled him selfso worthely: that in short space he wanne him maruelous miens. fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of speech. Thereby he was maruelously honored also through all GRECE, and greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: and Philip him felf made more accompt of him, then of all the Orators in ATHBNS, & his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confesse that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which AEschines & Hyperides made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therefore I maruell what Theopompus ment, when he wrote that Demosthenes had a futtell, vnconstant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters B offfate. For in contrary maner, in my judgement, he continued conftant still to the end, in one The conflanfelfe maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken him felf at the beginning: & that not on- 90 of Demoly he neuer chaunged all his life time, but to the contrary he lost his life, bicause he would be ded against no chaungeling. For he did not like Demades, who to excuse him self for that he had oft turned Theopompus. coate in matters of gouernment, faid, that he went oftentimes against his own favings as matters fel out:but neuer against the benefit of the common wealth. And Melanopus also, who was Met the ineuer against Callistratus, having his mouth stopped many times with money, he would vp to furel susfin the pullit for orations, & tel the people, that in deede Callifratus, which mainteineth the con- of the fe Oratrary opinion against me, is mine enemy, & yet I yeld ynto him for this time: for, the benefit of

C. callanders fide, toke part afterwards with Demetrius, & then faid, that he did not speake against

him felfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiors. They can not detect Demosthenes

fwade his contry men to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he

Myrocles, Polyeuttus, Hyperides and fuch other Orators: but even with the highest, with Cimon,

Thurvdides and Pericles. For Phocion, who tooke the worst way in gouernment of the common

wealth bicause he was suspected that he tooke part with the MACED ONIANS: yet for valliant-

nes, wisedom and instice, he was euer thought as honest a man, as Ephialtes, and Aristides . But

Demostheres on thother fide (as Demetrius favth) was no man to trust to for warres, nether had

he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would never be corrupted with Philip

king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and filuer that was brought from the cities of

Sysa & ECBATANA, & was very ready to praise & commend the deedes of their auncestors,

on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whome they would needes have condemned.

But he refusing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine against him. Thereuppon

herifing vp, fayd openly vnto them: my Lordes ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counfell ye to

that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be against your

mindes: but fallely to accuse one, to satisfie your minds, though you commaund me, I wil not

do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Antiphon, sheweth plainly, that he was no people

quit by the people in an affemblie of the citie: Demosthenes notwithstanding tooke him. & cal-

led him againe into the Court of the Arcopagites, and did not passe vpon the peoples ill will,

GGGGii

F pleaser, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when Antiphon was

E but not to follow them. Truely yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time,

the common wealth must cary it. And another also, Nicodemus Messen IAN, who being first of

with the like, that he did euer halt or yeld, either in word or deed: For he euer continued firme and constant in one mind in his orations. Informuch that Panatius the Philosopher fayth, that Demossbenes themost part of all his orations are grounded upon this maxime and principle: that for it selfe, prefereth honothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crowne, cializate in the which he made against Aristocrates: that also which he made for the franches, and free- bis orations. dom: and in fine all his orations against Philip of M ACED ON. And in all those he doth not per-

proueth that oftentimes honestie is to be preserved aboue safetie or health. So that, had he in aimcrous

D all his orations and doings, joyned to his honestie, curtesie, and francke speeche, valliantnes in man, and ge warres, and cleane hands from briberye: he might deservedly have bene compared, not with wente briber.

excepting Photion. And besides, he did euer speake more boldely and plainely to the people Demossiblenes then any man els, and would openly contrary their mindes, and sharpely reproue the ATHE- in his grations NIAN'S for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations, Theopompus also writeth, that the people

which falle.

but there convinced him for promiting Philip of MACEDON to burne the arienall of ATHERS: fo by fentence of that court he was condemned, & fuffred for it. He did also accuse the Nume Theorides for many lewed parts committed, & amongst others, for that the taught slaves to deceiue their maisters: & so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought alfo, that he made the oration Apollodorus spake against the Prætor Tie motheus. & proued thereby that he was a detter to the common wealth, & fo a naughty man; & that he wrote those orations also intituled vnto Formio and Stephanus, for the which he was infilv reproued. For Formio pleaded against Apollodorus with the oration which Demosthenes selfe had made for him: which was even alike, as if out of one selfe cutters shoppe, he had solde his enemies swords one to kil another. And for his knowen orations, those which he made against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates: he caused them to give them vnto others, when he had R not yet delt in matters of state. For in deede when he did put them forth, he was not passing feuen or eight and twenty yeare olde. The oration which he made against Aristogiton, and the other also of libertie, against Ctefippus the sonne of Cabrias, he spake them, as he saith him selfe. (or as others write) openly vnto the people, bicause he intended to mary Chabrias mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a Samian woma, as Demetrius Magnesius writeth in his booke he made intituled Synonyma, and in that he wrote against AEschines: where he accuseth him that he delt falsely when he was Ambassador. It is not known whether it was euer recited or not, although Idomeners writeth, that there lacked but thirtye voices onely to have quit AFFchines. But in this me thinkes he spake not truely, and doth but conjecture it, by that the one & the other haue fayd in their orations against the crowne, in the which, nether the one nor the C other doe fay precifely, that this acculation proceeded to judgement. But let other that lyft decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was euident enough, to which parte Demost there's would incline in the common wealth: For the would neuer leave to reprove and withstand Philippes doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Philippes Court, then any man els, he was fent vnto him the tenth person with nyne others in ambassade . Philippe gaue them all audience one after an other: howbeit he was more carefull and circumfpect to aunfwer Demosthenes oration, then all the reft, But otherwise out of that place, he did not Demofthenes fo much honor, nor gaue him fo good entertainment, as to his other companions. For Philip shewed more kindnes, and gaue better countenance vnto Aschines, and Philocrates, then vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise Philip, and favd that he was a well spoken D Prince, a fayer man, and would drinke freely, and be pleafant in company: Demosthenes fmyled at it, and turned all those thinges to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For, the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out between them, bicause Philip of the one fide could not live in peace, & the Athenians on the other fide were still incenfed & stirred up by Demosthenes daily orations. Whereupon, the ATHENIANS first sent into the Ile of E v B OE A, (the which by meanes of certaine private tyrannes that had taken the townes, became fubicat againe vnto Philip) following a decree Demosthenes had preferred, & so went to expulse the MACEDONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send ayde vnto the Bi-ZANT INES, & VNto the PERINTHIANS, with whom Philip made warre. For he fo perswaded the E A THE NI ANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, & the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres touching the rebellion of their consederats: & he caused them to send them ayde, which kept them fro Demofihenes Philips force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of GRECE as Ambaffador, he did fo folicite & perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against Philip. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifthe Macedoteene thowfand footemen, all straungers, and two thowfand horsemen, besides the Citizens of enery citie which should also serue in the warres at their charge: and the money leavied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disburfed. Theophrastus writeth, that it was at that tyme their confederats did pray that they would fet downe a certaine summe F of money, what every citie shoulde paye: and that Crobylus an Orator shoulde make aunfwer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was

DEMOSTHENES.

infinite. Now all GRECE being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being vnite in one league together, as, the Evrorians, the ATRENIANS, the Co-RINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEV CADIANS, and the COROXRIETANS the greatest matter Demosthenes had to do, was to perswade the Thes ans also to enter into this league, bicause their contry confined and bordered with ATTICA, belides, their force and power was of great importance for that they caried the fame of all GR Exiat that time for the valliantest fouldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the THEBABS, and to make them breake with Philip. who bur lately before had bound them vinto him by manyigreat pleasures which he had done to them, in the warre of the Phocians; befides also that betwike A THENS & THERES, by reafon of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarells and debates, the which wish suery little thing were B foone renued. This notwithstanding, Philippebeing prowde of the victorie he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and initiaded the contry of Elaria; and was entred into Phocide: the Athenians were then to amaked with it; that no man durft occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole affemble standing in a doubt with great filence, Demosthenes onely stept vp, and did agayne give them counfell to feeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS; and fo did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to doe. Then with others he was fent Ambassador vnto Thebes: and Philippe also for his parte, fent Ambassadors vnto the THEBANS, Amyntas and Clearchus, two gentlemen MACERONIA:18, and with them, Daschus, Theffalus, and Thrafydeus, to auniwer and withftande the period afions of the ATHENIAN C. Ambaffadors. Thereuppon the Theban's beganne to adule them selves for the best, and layed permitteners before their eyes the milerable frutes and calamities of warre, their woundes being yet greene force of eloand vncured, which they gotte by the warres of Phocips. Notwithstanding, the great force quence in ned of Demosthenes eloquence (as Theopompus writeth) did so inflame the Thebans courage with with the Adefire of honor, that it trode under their feete all manner of confiderations, and did for ravilhe thenians, and them with the loue and desire of honestie: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of daunger, from Philippe all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason persuading the contrary. This acte of king of Maan Orator was of fo great force, that Philippe forthwith fent Ambassadors vnto the GRECI- cedam. ANS, to intreate for peace, and all GR ACE was vppe, to see what would become of this sturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of A THENS obeyed Demosthenes, doing all that he commaun-D ded them: but the gouernors also of THERES, and of all the contry of BOROTIA besides. And the affemblies also of the counsell of Thebes were as well gouerned by him, as the affemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and having a like authoritie to commaund both, and not vndeseruedly, as Theopompus sayth, but by just desert. But some fatall destinie, and the revolucion of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GRECE at that time, cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes Theouribron that did foreshewe and prognosticate what ende should ensue thereof. And amonge others, and foreshew. Apolloes Nunne gaue these dreadful oracles: and this olde prophecie of the SIBYLS was com- ed at Cheromonly fong in euery bodies mouth.

nea, by signes

VV hat time the bluddy battell shall be fought at Thermodon, God graunt I may be farre avvay or els (to looke theron) Have Egles vvings to fore above, among the clowvdes on hye. For there the vanquisht side shall weepe, and Conquerer shall dye.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle river of our contry of CHERONEA; the which Thering of falleth into the river of Cephifus: howbeit at this present time there is never a river nor brook or Hamon, in in all our contry, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that river which we call the contry of now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of Hereules, where the Charpenes. GRECIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that bicause it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloud at the day of the battel, it chaunged her name, & was furnamed Hæmon, bicause ranne bloud at the day of the batter, it chaunged her name, or was humanied the internation, on a daubter opinion of the human in the Greeke tongue, fignifieth bloud. Yet Duris writeth notwithflanding, that this sins of there Thermodon was no river, but that certainemen fetting vp their tent, and trenching it about, medon found a litle image of stone, whereuppon were engrauen these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called Thermodon, who caried an A MAZON hart in his armes, & that for this

GGGG iii

image of Thermodon, they doe fing fuch another olde oracle as this: Ye Ernes and Ranem tartsill the field of Thermodon:

There will be fore of carkeffes of men to feede upon. This norwithstanding it is very hard to tell the trothe of these things But Demost benest trusting to the valliantnes and power of the GRECTANS, and being manuelously incoraged to fee fuch a great number of valliant & resolute me, so willing to fight with the enemy he bad them be of good corage, & nor to buffe about such oracles, & to giuceare to those prophecies, And furthermore, he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the Nunne Pythia did leane vnto Philo. as fauoring him, & did put the THEBANS in mind of their Captaine Epaminondas, & the ATHE NIANS Of Pericles & perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinionathan fuch prophecies were no other but a fine cloke for cowards, & that taking no heede to them, R they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Vncil this present time. Demost hener shewed him selfe alwayes an honesteman: But when it came to the battel, he fled like a coward and did no valliant acte any thing auniwerable to the orations whereby he had per-

Demosthenes flieth from the battell.

Demosthenes word and de-

fwaded the people. For he left his ranck, & cowardly cast away his weapons to ronne the lighter, & was not ashamed at all as Pythias said of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, Good Fortune, Now Philip having wonne the battell, he was at that prefent for iovfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had droncke well with his friends. he went into the place where the ouerthrow was given, & there in mockery began to fing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred, (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres against him rising and falling with his voyce, and dauncing it in C measure with his foote:

Demosthenes, the sonne of Demosthenes Paanian did put forth this,

But afterwards beginning to waxe fober, & leaving his dronckennes, & that he had remebred him felfe what daunger he had bene in then his heare stood bolt vpright vpon his head. confidering the force & power of fuch an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme & life at a battell. Now Demosthenes fame was so great, that it was caried euen to the great king of Parsians court, who wrote vnto his Lieuetenants & gouernors, that they should feede Demosthenes with money, & should procure to entertaine him about all the men in GRECE, as he that could best withdraw Philip, & trouble him with the warres and mmults of GRECE. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of Demosthenes him felfe, D the which came to king Alexanders hands in the citie of SARDIS, and by other writings also of the gouernors & Lieuetenants of the king of Persia: in the which were named directly the king of Persia expresse sommes of money which had bene sent & given vnto him Now, the GRECIANS be-

ing thus ouerthrowen by battel, the other Orators, aduerfaries vnto Demosthenes in the com-

mon wealth, began to fet apon him, & to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not onely cleere him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honor him more then before, & to call him to affemblies, as one that loued the honor and benefit of his contry, So that when the bones of their contry men which were flavne at the battell of CHERONEA.

were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gaue him the honor to DemoGhenes praifeth them make the funeral oration in praife of the dead,& made no shew of sorow or griefe for the losse E they had received: (as Theopompus witneffeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary flaine as the manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel, but did honor him bassell of Cha ronea. that gaue it, Demosthenes then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees

he preferred to the people, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the sinister lucke & misfortune of his name, but did passe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew The death of Coragious againe, shortly after that he vnderstoode of the death of Philip, who was slaine im-Philip king of mediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHERONEA. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two last verses:

The vanquished bevvayles his luckleffe lot, And he that vvinnes, with life escapeth not.

Now Demosthenes hearing of thilips death, before the newes were openly known, to preset them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he wet with a cheerfull coutenace into the affembly of the could the other there, that he had had a certain dreame that promised great good hap, & that out of had vnto the ATHENIANS: &immediatly after the meffengers arrived that brought certain newes of king Philips death.

Thereupon the ATHENIANS made facrifices of joy to the goddes for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne vnto Paufanias that had flaine him. Demosthenes also came abroade in his Demosthenes best gowne, and crowned with slowers, seuen dayes after the death of his daughter, as AE- iny of his conschmes reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or mie, before charitie vnto his owne children. But in deede AEschines selfe deserueth more blame, to haue the some fuch a tender womanish hart, as to beleue, that weeping, and lamenting, are fignes of a gentle daughter.

and charitable nature, condemning them that with pacience and constancie doe passe away AEschinerre R fuch misfortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS againe. I can neither thinke nor fay that they plusary for did wifely to shew such open signes of ioy, as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, his fonde benor also to sacrifice to the goddes for the death of a Prince, that behaned him selfe so Princely and curteously vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For though in dede all cruelty and foroming be subject to the reuenge of the goddes, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a are signed of man, and while he lived to make him free of their citie, & now that an other hath flaine him, viie. they to be in such an exceeding iolitic withall, and to exceede the bondes of modestie so farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to fing fonges of victorie, as if they them selues had bene the men that had valliantly slaine him. In contrarie manner also, I praise and commend the constancie and corage of Demosthenes, that he leaving the teares and ametacion of his home trouble vnto women, did him felfe in the meane time that he thought praifeth pewas for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a moffhenes

man of corage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth, neuer to stowpe nor yeeld, constancie, for but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the common wealth, rejecting mourning, to all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his contrie, and to keepe his resource for his honor much more carefully, then common players vie to doe, when they play the partes of common con mich more carefully, then common players vie to doe, when they play the partes of trie benefit. Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they lift, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geue them iust occasion. But omitting

But thus farre I difgressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, bicause AEschines in his Oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too muche to womanish forow, Demosphenes

But now to the rest. The cities of GR ECE being againe stirred vp by Demosthenes, made a new Gretians league againe together: and the THEBANS also having armed them selves by his practife, did gainst Meoneday fet vpon the garrison of the MACEDONIANS within their city, and flue many of them. E The ATHENIANS prepared also to maintaine warre on the THEBANS behalfe and Demosthenes was dayly at all the affemblies of counfell, in the pulpit, perfwading the people with his Orations: and he wrote also into As IA vnto the king of PERSIAES Lieutenaunts and Captaines, to make warre with Alexander on their fide, calling him child, and Margites, as muche to fav, as foole. But after that Alexander having fer all his things at stay within his realme, came him felfe in person with his armie, and inuaded the contrie of Bonoria: then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, & Demostheres also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length. the poore Thebans being left vnto them selves, forsaken of euerie man: they were compelled them selues alone to beare the brunte of this warre, & so came their city to vtter ruine and destruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a maruelous feare and perplexitie, did sodain-Fly choose Ambassadors to send vnto this young king, and Demosthenes chiesly among others: who being affrayed of Alexanders furie and wrath, durst not goe to him, but returned from

mount Cytheron, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But Alexander sent to summone the ATHE-

GGGG iii

those reasons, if there be no reason (as in deede there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his

forow and trouble, without geuing him fome wordes of comfort, and rather to deuise some

matter to affwage his forow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke vpon fome plea-

faunter thinges: euen as they should keepe fore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours,

in offering them greene & darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his

troubles & grieues at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to joyne their private

grieues with common ioyes, to the end, that the better may obscure & take away the worse?

Alexender of Athens. Demofihenes tale of the sheepe and

DEMOSTHENES. 908 NIANS, to fend vnto him ten of their Orators, as Idomeneus and Duris both doe write: or eight. A required cerlyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callifthenes, and Charidemus. At which time. they wryte that Demosthenes told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the sheepe and woulses. how that the wouldes came on a time, and willed the sheepe, if they woulde have peace with them, to deliuer them their mastiues that kept them. And so he compared him selfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the contrie, vnto the dogges that kepe the flocks of sheepe, and calling Alexander the woulfe. And so forth, sayd he, like as you see these come maisters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that litle doe fell all that they have: fo I thinke you will all wonder, that delivering of vs, you will also deliuer your selues into the handes of your enemies. Aristobulus of Cassandra reporteththis B matter thus. Now the ATHENIAN'S being in consultacion, not knowing how to resolue: Demades having taken five talents of them whom Alexander demaunded, did offer him felfe, and promised to goe in this Ambassade vnto Alexander, and to intreate for them, either bicause he trusted in the loue the king did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he shoulde finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the blood of beaftes which he had flaine. Howfoeuer it happened, he perswaded the people to send him vnto him, and so handled Alexander. that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of ATHENS. Thereuppon Alexander being revired. Demades and his fellowes bare all the fway and authoritie, and Demosthenes was vnder foote. In deede when Agis king of LACED & MON, came with his armie into the

field, he began a litle to rowfe him felfe, and to lift vp his head : but he shrunke choller againe C

foone after, bicause the Athenians woulde not rise with the Laced EMONIANS, who were

ouerthrowen, and Aeis flaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded a-

gainst Cteliphon, and the plea was written a little before the battell of CHERONEA, in the yeare

when Charondas was Prouost of ATHENS: howbeit no sentence was given but ten yeres after

that Aristophon was Prouost. This was such an open judgement, and so famous, as never was

any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulacion one of the other, as

also for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue sentence thereof: who did not leave Demosthe-

ment of the crowne vnio

Harpalus a

nes to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the fauor and good will of the MACHD ONTANS: but they did not with standing so well quit him, that AEschines had not so muche as the fift parte of mens voyces and opinions D in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after sentence genen, he went out of ATHENS for sname, and trauelled into the contrie of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teache Rethoricke. Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alexanders feruice, came vnto At HENS, being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigali-Athems flying tie: and also bicause he feared Alexanders furie, who was growen seuere and cruell, vnto his chiefest servauntes. He comming now amongest the ATHENIANS, with store of gold and siluer, the Orators being greedie and desirous of the golde and siluer he had brought : beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receive & protect a poore suter that came to them for fuccour. But Demosthenes gave counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather drive him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres apon their backes, for E a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely vniust. But within sewe daies after, inventory being taken of all Harpalus goods, he perceiving that Demosthenes tooke great pleafure to fee a cuppe of the kings, and confidered verie curiously the facion & workemanshippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to judge what it weyed. Demosthenes peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavie: so he asked how many pownd weight it weyed. Harpalus smiling, answered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he fent him the cuppe, with the twentie talentes. This Harpalus was a verie wife man, and found straight by Demosthenes countenaunce that he loued money, and coulde presently iudge his nature, by feeing his pleasaunt countenaunce, and his eyes still vpon the cuppe. So

Demostheres Demostheres refused not his gift, and being ouercomen withall, as if he had received a garribribed by Harpalus with fon into his house, he tooke Harpalus parte. The next morning, he went into the affemblie premy talin. of the poople, having his necke bound vp with wolle and rolles. So when they called him by

his name to steppe vp into the pulpit; to speake to the people as he had done beforethe made afigne with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, & that he could not speake. But wife men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wefill that night, as he would make them beleue: but it was Harpalus argentlynanche which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people viderstoode that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him; but made a noyle and exclamacion against him. Thereuppon there rose vp a pleasaunt con-

vnto him. This did pearce his hart the more for forow, that he aunswered them; why, would

you not have me be forie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forfake the citie where in

which shewed no minde of a man of corage, nor were aunswerable to the noble thinges he

was wont to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of A-

THENS, he looked backe againe, and holding up his handes to the castell, sayd in this forte: O

Ladie Minerua, Ladie patronesse of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous

that if they had offred him two wayes at the first, the one to goe into the affembly of the peo-

ple, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he

had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to fuffer that medleth with the

affaires of the state, the feare, the enuie, the accusacions, and troubles in the same: he would

rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So, Demostheres continuing in his exile.

shed from ATHENS, they tooke parte with Antipater, and went from towne to towne with his

Ambassadors and frendes, perswading the GRECIANS not to sturre, neither to take parte

with the ATHENIANS. But Demosthenes in contrarie maner, loyning with the Ambassadors

fent from ATHENS into euerie quarter, to solicite the cities of GRECE, to seeke to recouer

F their libertie: he did aide them the best he coulde, to solicite the GRECIANS, to take armes

with the ATHENIANS, to drive the MACEDONIANS OUT of GRECE. And Phylarchus writeth.

that Demosthenes encountered with Pytheas wordes in an open affemblie of the people in a

ceited man, that fayd: why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath * fuch a golden * This concell nongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly banishe Harpalus, and fearing least king A- expressed lexander would require an accompt of the gold and filuer which the Orators had robbed and any other lanpilfred away among them: they made very diligent fearche and inquirie in euery mans house, guage, then in excepting Callicles house, the some of Arrenidas, whose house they would have searched by be sorth it no meanes, bicause he was but newly maried, and had his newespowse in his house, as Theo- asserted as pompus wryteth. Nowe Demosthenes desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree, 120720: alluthat the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were found ding to the faultie, and therewithall straight offered him selfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first which somist. whom the court condemned in the fumme of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put eth to delight him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which by pleasants he was condemned, as also for his fickely body. So he brake prison, partely without the priuitie of his keepers, and partely also with their confent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was told him that cer- Demosthenes

taine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would have hidden him felfe from them.

But they them selues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could & perswaded him to be of good cheere, & not to dispaire for the misfortune that was comen

deede I haue fo curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where fo good frends? So Demossbener he tooke his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most parte of his banishment in the ci- mokehis batheof E_{GINA} , or at the citie of $\check{\mathbf{T}}_{ROEZEN}$, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards $g_{rituou/ly,}$ the contrie of ATTICA, and weepe bitterly. And some have written certeine words he spake,

beaftes: the owle, the draggon, and the people ? Besides, he perswaded the young men that Three mile

came to fee him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, affuring them, this mount

king Alexander dyed, and all GRECE was vp againe: infomuch as Leosthenes being a man of great valure, had thut vp Antipater in the citie of LAMBA, and there kept him straightly be- Antipater besieged. Then Pytheas and Callimedon, surnamed Carabos, two Orators, and both of them bani- sieged of the

ing arrived at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither Gouernor, Priest, nor almost any townes R

man left in the city, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that Demetrius MA.

GNESIAN Wryteth, that Demosthenes then lifting up his handes unto heaven fayed, thathe

certaine towne of Arcadia. Pytheas having spoken before him, had said like as we presume it alwaies that there is some sickenesse in the house whether we doe see asses milke brought; so must that towne of necessitie besicke, wherein the Ambassadors of ATHENS doe enter. Demosthenes aunswered him againe, turning his comparison against him : that in decde they brought asses milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen so, the Ambassa. dors of Athens were fent, to heale and cure them that were ficke. The people at Athens vnderstanding what Demosthenes had done, they so reioyced at it, that presently they gaueorder in the fielde, that his banishment should be reuoked. He that perswaded the decree of his reuocation, was called Damon, P. E. ANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHE-NIANS fent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the city of AGINA. So Demofthenes be-

from exile.

fine of fiftie salenses re.

thought him selfe happie for the honor of that iorney, that the returne from his banishment was farre more honorable, then Alcibiades returne in the like case had bene. For Alcibiades was called home by force: & he was fent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwish ftanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people coulde not die spence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuised a way to deceive the lawe: for they had a manner to geue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and fette out the aulter of Inpiter fauior, for the day of the solemnitie of the factifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: so they gave him the charge to make this preparacion for the summe of fifty talents be- C ing the summe of the fine aforesayd wherin he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his restitucion to his contry and goodes. For the affaires of the GRE-CIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loft, was in the moneth Munichyon (to wit, Iulie) and in the moneth Boedromion next enfuing, (to wit, August) the garrison of the MACED ONIANS entred into the force of Munichya. And in the moneth Pyanepsion (to wit, the October following) Demosthenes died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that Antipater and Craterus were comming thither with a great armie, Demosthenes and his frends got out of the towne a little before they entred. the people, by Demades perswasion, having condemned them to dye. So, every man making shift for him selfe, Antipater sent souldiers after them to take them : and of them Archies was D Archias Phy. Captaine, furnamed Phygadotheras, as muche to fay, as a hunter of the banished men. It is rebunter of the ported that this Archies was borne in the citie of Thyries, and that he had bene sometimes

banishedmen. a common player of tragedies: and that Polses also who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES. (the excellentest crastes maister in that facultie of all men) was his scholler. Yet Hermippus

Orator Hyperides in the citie of ÆGINA, Aristonicus MARATHONIAN, and Himeraus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, which had taken fanctuary in the temple of Aiax: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and fent them vnto Antipater, who was at that time in the citie of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and some fay, that he did cut of Hyperi. des tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken sanctuarie in the Ile of CALAV-RIA, he tooke litle pinnafies, and a certaine number of THRACIAN fouldiers, & being comen thither, he fought to perswade Demosthenes to be contented to goe with him vnto Antipater, promising him that he should have no hurt. Demosthenes had a straunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedic contending with Archias, and that he handled him selfe so well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gaue him the honor to be the best player: howbeit that otherwise, he was not so well surnished, as Archia and his players, and that in all maner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when Archias came to speake with him, who vsing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by fayer meanes to leave the fanctuarie: Demosthenes looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without remouing, sayd vnto him: O Archias, thou diddest neuer perswade me when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou nowe perswade me,

doth recite him amongest the number of the schollers of Lacritus the Orator. And Demetrius

also wryteth, that he had bene at Anaximenes schoole. Now, this Archias having sounde the

henough thou promise me. Then Archias began to be angrie with him, and to threaten him. O, favd Demostheres, now thou speakest in good earnest, without diffimulacion, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou spakest in the clowdes, and faire from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I have written somewhat to my frendes. After he had fayd fo, he went into the temple as though he would have dispatched some letters, and did put the ende of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vie to write any thing, and held the ende of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he cast his gowne ouer his head, and layed him downe. Archias fouldiers seeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to scorne (thinking he had done so for saturb portion that he was affrayed to dye) called him coward, and beaft. Archias also comming to him; felfs, in the B prayed him to rife, and beganne to vie the former perswassions, to him, promising him that he temple of

ane with blood, and cruell murder. Hauing spoken these wordes, he prayed them to stay him

vp by his armeholes, for his feete began alreadie to faile him, and thinking to goe forward, as

his quill, as we have fayd before. But one Pappus, (from whom Hermippus hath taken his hifto-

would make Antipater his frende. Then Demosthenes feeling the poylon worke, cast open his Menune. gowne, and boldly looking Archias in the face, fayd vnto him: Nowe when thou wilt, play Calantia. Creons parte, and throwe my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my parte, O god Neptune, I do goe out of thy temple being yet aliue, bicause I will not prophane itwith my death: but Antipater, and the MACEDONIANS, have not spared to defile thy fanctu-

he past by the author of Neptune, he fel downe, and gening one gaspe, gaue vp the ghost. Now The death of touching the poylon, Arifo reporteth, that he fucked and drewe it vp into his mouth out of Demofficient

rie)wryteth, that when he was layed on the ground before the aulter, they founde the beginning of a letter which fayd: Demosthenes vnto Antipater, but no more. Nowe his death being thus fodaine, the THRACIAN fouldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they fawe him plucke the poyfon which he put into his mouth, out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a pece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the house that served him, being examined by Archias about it: tolde him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preservatise for him. Eratofthenes writeth, that he kept this poyson in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his artise. There are many writers also that do reporte his death diversly, but to recite them all it were in vaine:) fauing that there was one called Demochares (who was Demosthenes verie frende) fayd, that he dyed not so sodainly by poyson, but that it was the speciall fauor of the gods (to preserve him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that fo fodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele fo litle paine. Demosthenes dyed the fixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, The time of

October) on the which day they doe celebrate at ATHENS the feast of Ceres, called Telino - Demossibenes phoria, which is the dolefullest feast of all the yeare : on the which day also, the women remaine all day longe in the temple of the goddeffe, without meate or drinke. Shortly after,

the ATHENIANS to honor him according to his defertes, did cast his image in braffe, & made The Athenialawe besides, that the oldest man of his house shoulde for ever be kept within the pallace, and honored at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued these verses also apon the base of his i- die his

> Hadft thou Demosthenes had strength according to the hart. The Macedons should not have virought the Greekes such vivoe and finart.

For they that thinke, that it was Demosthenes him felfe that made the versesin the He of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyfon: they are greatly deceived. But yet alitle before my first comming to ATHENS, there went a reporte that such a thing happened, A certaine souldier being sent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the handes of Demosthenes statue, which had both his hands iowned together; and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diners leanes whereof either blowen of by winde by chaunce, or elle put there of purpose by the souldier, couered so this golde, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: vntill fuch time as the fouldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroade in euerie mans mouth, there were divers wife men that tooke occasion of this subject, to make epigrammes in the praise of Demosthenes, as one who in

E mage.

in the life of

death and ve

his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, Demades did not long enjoy the honor he though A he had newly gotten. For the inftice of the goddes, reuenger of the death of Demolthern brought him into MACEDON, to receive just punishment by death, of those whom he diffice neftly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwardes committed a faile whereby he coulde not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did ner fwade, and pray * Perdiesas, to make him felfe king of MACED ON, & to deliuer GRECE from bondage, faying that it hong but by a threde, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, Antipater. Dinarchus CORINTHIAN accified him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grieuously offended Cassander, that first he slewe his owne some in his armes, and then commaunded they should afterwards kill Demades, making him feele then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their owne contrie do first a of all betray them selues. Demosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleue him. Thus, my frend Sossius, you have what we can deliver you, by reading, or reporte, touching Demosthenes life and doings.

THE LIFE Marcus Tullius (icero.



Ciceroes pa-

S touching Ciceroes mother, whose name was Helma, it is reported she was a gentlewoman borne, & lived alwayes verie honeftly: but for his father, the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say that he was borne and brought up in a fullers shoppe: others reporte that he Came of Tullim Atina, who while ne inted was nonoted among the Volsces as king, and made verie sharpe and cruell warres with the ROMANES. But furely it feemes to me, that the first of that name called Cicero, was fome famous man, and that for his fake his offpring continued ftill that furname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men

scorned it, bicause Cicer in English signifieth a riche pease. That Cicero had a thing you the tippe of his nofe, as it had bene a litle wart, muche like to a riche peafe, whereupponthey furnamed him Cicero. But this Cicero, whose life we write of nowe, nobly aunswered certains

A of his frendes on a time geuing him counfell to chaunge his name, when he fifft made fire far office and beganne to practife in matters of state : that he woulde enderiour him felfe to make the name of the Ciceroes more noble and famous, then the Seases, or Catalia. After that, Cicero beinge made Treasorer in Sicile, he gaue an offering of certeine filuer ciero Que. plate vnto the goddes, and at large engraved on it his two first names. Marcan Tulling: and for in place of his third name, he pleasauntly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and facion of a riche peale. Thus muche they wryte of his name. Nowe for his birth, it Cientus was fayed that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the thirst daye of birth. Januarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of Roma doe vie at this present. wearely to make folemne prayers and facrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and profperiice of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurle, that In image ap didprognosticate vnto her she gaue a childe sucke, which in time to come shoulde doe great periodic cigood vnto all the ROMANES. Nowe though fuch thinges may feeme but dreames and fables unto many, yet Cicero him felfe shortly after proued this prophecie true: bicause that when he came of age to learne, he grewe so toward, and wanne suche same among the boyes, for cierous to his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereuppon came the other boyes fathers them with selues to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye witnesses of the reporte that went of him. of his sharpe and quicke witte to learne. But others of the rude and baser sorte of men were offended with their sonnes, bicause to honor Cicero, they did alwayes put him in the middest between them, as they went in the streetes. Cisero in deede had suche a naturall witte and vnderstanding, as Plato thought meete for learning, and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gaue him felfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte, nor any of the liberall sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his sirst young yeares he was apter, and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie, then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in Cicro another verses of eight staues, called Pontius Glaucus, extant at this day, the which he made when he bis Post. was but a boye. After that, being geuen more earnestlie vnto this studie, he was not onely thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the ROMANES in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendacion of his tongue continewe, euen to this daye, notwithstanding the great alteracion and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath lost the name and estimacion of it, bicause there were many after him that be-D came farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childishe studies, he became then Philoss scholler, the Academicke Philosopher, the onely scholler of all Clisoma- Ciers, Philosopher shus schollers, whome the Romanes esteemed so muche for his eloquence, and loued more has schollers for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave him selse also to be a follower of Mu-the Academick Philips tim Scauola, who at that time was a greate man in Rome, and Prince of the Senate, and who footen did also instruct Cicero in the lawes of Rome. He did also followe Syllafor a time, in the characters. warres of the Marsians. But when he fawe that the common wealth of Roms fell to civill the Scanda warres, and from civill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of GRECE, and alwayes studied with them, vntill Sylla had gotten the vpper hande, and that he faw all the common wealth againe at some stay. About that time, Sylla causing the goods of one that was sayd to be slaine, to be

folde by the crier: (beinge one of the outlawes and proscriptes, to witte, banished by billes

fette vp on postes) Chrysoganus, one of Syllaes freed bondemen, and in great fauour with his

maister bought them for the summe of two thowsande Drachmes. Therewithall the

some and heire of the deade person called Roseins, being maruelouslie offended, he shewed

that it was too shamefull an abuse; for his fathers goodes amounted to the summe of two

bundred and fiftie talentes. Sylla finding him felfe thus openlie touched with publike fraude

whome his frendes did counsell and perswade boldly to take upon him the desence of Roseina

cause: for he shoulde neuer have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring him

and deceite, for the onely granifyinge of his man: he procured Chrylogonus to accuse him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Orator durft speake in Roseius behalfe to defende Roseius pun

his cause, but shronke colour, searing Syllaes crueltie and seueritie. Wherefore poore Roseine in suc. the younge man, seeingeseperie man forfake him, had no other refuge but to goe to Cicere,

Cicero a 1

felfe into estimacion, asthis. Thereuppon Cicero determined to take his cause in hande. M and did handell it fo well, that he obteyned the thing he fued for: whereby he wanne him greate fame and credit. But yet being affrayed of Syllaes displeasure, he absented him selfe from Rome, and went into GRECE, gettinge it out that his trauell was for a difease he had vppon him. In deede Cicero was dogge leane, a little eater, and woulde also eate late, bicause of the greate weakenesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good lowde voyce; though it was somewhat harshe, and lacked grace and comelynesse. Furthermore he was so earness and vehement in his Oration that he mounted still with his voyce into the highest sunes; insomuche that men were affrayed it woulde one daye put him in hazard of his life. When

Cierro, Antio- he came to ATHENS, he went to heare Antiochus of the citie of ASCALONA, and fell in greate likinge with his sweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he milliked & his newe opinions in Philosophie. For Antiochus had then forsaken the opinions of the newe Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto. either through the manifest proofe of thinges, or by his certaine sudgement, or (as some fay) for that of an ambition or diffention against the schollers and followers of Clitomachus and Philo, he had reproued the refolucions of the Academickes, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the moste parte to the Stoickes opinions. Howebeit Cicero had most affection vnto the Academickes, and did studie that sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he sawe he were forbidden to practise in the common wealth at Rome, he woulde then goe to ATHENS (leauing all pleaes and Orators in the common wealth) to beflowe the rest of his time quietly in the studie of Philosophie. At length, when he hearde & newes of Syllaes death, and fawe that his bodie was growen to good state and health by ex-

Antiochus selfe also earnestlie perswadinge him to practise in the common wealth: hebe-

ganne againe to fall to the studie of Rethoricke, and to frame him selfe to be eloquent, be-

ing a necessarie thing for an Orator, and did continuallie exercise him selfe in making Ora-

tions vopon any speache or proposicion, and so frequented the chiefe Orators and masters

of eloquence that were at that time. To this ende therefore he went into As LA vnto

Dionyfius MAGNESIAN, and studied also with Menippus CARIAN: at RHODES he hearde .

pollonius Molon, and the Philosopher Fosidonius. And it is reported also, that Apollonius

rowas verie well contented with it, thinkinge that thereby his faultes shoulde be the better

corrected. When he had ended his declamacion, all those that were present were amazed

to heare him, and euerie man praised him one after an other. Howebeit Apollonius all the

while Cicero spake, did neuer shewe any glad countenaunce; and when he had ended, he

stayed a greate while and sayed neuer a worde. Cicero mishiking withall, Apollonius at length

fayed vnto him. As for me Cicero, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then that, I won-

were the two onely giftes and honor left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto

the ROMANES. Nowe Citero being verie well disposed, to goe with good hope to practife

at ROME, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For inquiring of the

der at thee: and yet I am forie for poore G R & CE, to fee that learning and eloquence (which B

ercife, and that his voyce became dayly more and more to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasaunt sounde, and yet was lowde enough for the constitucion of his bodie: receiving letters dayly from his frendes at ROMB, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer,

into Afia, and Rhodes, and amongest the Orators of Asia, he frequenced Xenocles Adramettin, and

ciero della wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercife fake, to declame in Grake, Cice

Grake.

Apollonius restimanie of

An Oracle giuen to Ciсето.

Ciceroes full practifing in

god Apollo DELPHIAN, howe he might doe to winne fame and estimacion the Nunne Po thias aunswered him he shoulde obtayne it, so that in his doinges he woulde rather follows the disposicion of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded verie warely, and discreetely, and did with willinglie feeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatlie effectived: for the commonlie called him the GRECIAN, and scholler, which are two wordes, the which the artificers, (and fuche base mechanicall people at Romm Phane ener readie at their B tongues ende. Nowe he beinge by nature ambicious of honour, and pricke forward also by the perswasion of his father and frendes: in the ende he beganne to pleade, and there

A obteyned not the chiefest place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practife, he was immediatly effected about all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciacion, hauing the selfe same defectes of nature at the beginning, which Demosthenes had: to reforme them, he carefully studied to counterfeate Reseises, an excellent commediant, and AEsope al. Reseive and to a player of tragedies. Of this AE sope men wryte, that he playing one day Atrius parte vpon a stage (who determined with him selfe how he might be reuenged of his brother Thre-

were offenfine vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious fcoffer and fpightfull

CILIANS milliked him verie muche, bicause he compelled them to sende come vnto Rome:

euerie man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him felfe, when his time expired, he went to

ROME, and by the way there happened a prety least vnto him. As he passed through the con-

trie of C AMPANIA, (Otherwise called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the

chiefest Romanes of all his frends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they favd

of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doinges: imagining that all Rome had bene

and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all thinges with the helpe and feruice

of men) shoulde be slothfull, and carelesse, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens.

I no fee nor gifte for his pleading, what cause soeuer he had in hande, but then speciallie,

fles)a feruaunt by chaunce having occasion to runne sodainly by him, he forgetting him selfe. striuing to shewe the vehement passion and furie of this king, gaue him suche a blowe on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Euen so Ciseroes words

B were of so great force to perswade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciacion. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heades, and cried in their Orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ryde, bicause they coulde not goe a foote: euen fo (fayed he) they crie out, bicause they can not speake. Truely pleasaunt tawntes doe cieero, a sine

grace an Orator, and sheweth a fine witte: but yet Cicero vsed them so commonly, that they Tawner.

man. He was chosen Treasorer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcetie of corne Cicero chosen at Rome: and the province of Sicile fell to his lotte. At his first comming thither, the Si- Question.

but after they had founde his diligence, iustice, and lenitie, they honored him aboue any Go- vicerous dilli-Cuernor that euer was fent from Rome. Nowe there were divers young gentlemen of Rome gence, inflice,

of noble houses, who being accused for fundrie faultes committed in warres against their honor, and martiall discipline, had benesent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Statte : for whome Cicero pleaded, and did so excellently defende their cause, that they were pardoned

full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: and where hast thou D bene Cicero all this while, that we have not feene thee at Rome? This killed his hart straight, when he sawe that the reporte of his name and doinges, entring into the citie of Rome as into an infinite fea, was fo fodainely vanquished away againe, without any other fame or speach. But after that, when he looked into him felfe, and fawe that in reason he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he fawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambicion he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praife, and to be ouermuche geuen to desire of honor and estima-cicero, ombicion: those two thinges continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eftsoones make tious, & defthim swarue from instice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowely to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men shoulde have ma-E ny fortes of instrumentes and tooles without life, to knowe the names of euerie one of them.

the places where they shoulde take them, and the vse whereto they shoulde employ them:

Therefore he gaue him selfe to knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the streetes ciero genen also they dwelt in, what parte of the citie focuer it was : their goodly houses in the contrie, to know mens

the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when lender; and he went abroade into ITALIB, wheresoeuer he became, Cicero coulde shewe and name Fendes. his frendes houses. He was not verie riche, and yet he had enough to serue his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loued him the better, bicause he tooke

when he defended a matter against Verres. This Verres had bene Prætor of Sicilia, and cientes dehad committed many lewde partes there, for the which the Sicilians did accuse him. "" againgth

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Citero taking apon him to defende their cause, made Verres to be condemned, not by pleas. A ding, but in manner without pleading, and in this forte. The Prætors being his Judges, and fauoring Verres, had made fo many reiornementes and delayes, that they had driven it of to the laste day of hearing. Cicero perceiuing then he shoulde not have day light to speake all that he had to fay against him, and that thereby nothing shoulde be done and judged the rose vp, and sayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought foorth the witnesses before the Iudges, and having caused their deposicions to be taken. he prayed they woulde proceede to fentence, according to their euidence geuen on that behalfe. Yet some doe reporte, that Cicero gaue many pleasaunt tawntes and girdes, in pleas ding the accusacion of the Sicilians against Verres. The Romanes doe call abore, Verres. There was one Cacilius, the sonne of a freed bondman, who was suspected to holde with R the supersticion of the Lewes. This Cacilius woulde have put by the Sicilians from following the accufacion of Verres, and woulde have had the matter of his accufacion only referred to him, for the profecuting of it against him. Cicero skorning his sute, sayd vnto him: what hath a I we to doe with a wine? This Verres had a fonne fomewhat aboue twentie yeares of age, who (as the reporte went) had a verie ill name for his beawtie. And therefore when Verres one day thought to mocke Cicero, faying that he was too womanly : his ease no faines

He spake is

bicaufe the

Iewes doe

Ciceroes

currefie and

paines to goe fo farre to fee him. For, he had as many men dayly at his gate euerie morning, as either Crassus had for his wealth, or Pompey for his estimacion among the souldiers both of them being at that time the chiefest men of Rome. Yea furthermore, Pompeys selfe came vnto Cicero, bicause his Orations stoode him to great purpose, for thincrease of his honor and authoritie. Nowe when Cicero came to make fute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinarie judge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe futers with him, yet was he first chosen affore them all: and he did so honestly behaue him selse in that office, that they did not so muche as once suspect him of briberie or extorcion. And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that Licinius Macer (a man that of him felfe was of great power, and vet favored and supported besides by Crassus) was accused before Cicero of thest and extorcion in his office: but he trustinge muche to his supposed credit, and to the greate succession in his office: but he trustinge muche to his supposed credit, and to the greate succession in his office: and labour his frendes made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded

children (faydhe) are to be reproued of that secretly at home. In this accusacion, Hortenfire the Orator durft not directly defende Verres: but touching the condemnacion of his fine. he was then contented to aunswere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory geuen him by Verres for his reward. Thereuppon Cicero gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but Hortensium Q

not understanding him, fayd he coulde no skill of darke speaches. Well, fayd Cicero, vet hast thou a fphinx in thy house. In the ende Verres being condemned, and a fine sette on his heade to the value of seuentie fine Myriades, Cicero notwithstandinge was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when he came to

be Ædilis, the Sicilians to thew them selves thankefull to him, both brought and sent him many prefentes out of Sicile. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owneyse, but onely bestowed their liberalitie in bringing downe the prifes of vittells at Rome. He had a goodly house within the confines of the citie of Arpos, a farme also by NAPLES, and an other about the citie of Pompeli: but all these were no great thinges. Afterwardes also he had the iovnter of his wife Terentia, which amounted to the fumme of twelue Myriades, and be- D

fides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereuppon he lived verie honestly and soberly, without excesse, with his familiar frendes that loued him, both GRECIANS and ROMANES, and woulde neuer goe to supper till after sunne fet, not so muche for any great businesse he had, as for the weakenesse of his stomake. But otherwise he was verie curious, and carefull of his person, and woulde be rubbed and nova-

ted, and he would vie also to walke a certaine number of turnes by proporcion: and so exercifing his bodie in that forte, he was neuer ficke, and befides was alwayes verie ftrong and luflie of bodie, able to abide great paines and forowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gaue Cierres great his fathers chiefe manfion house to his brother, and went to dwell him selfe in the mount Palatine: bicause suche as came to waite vpon him to doe him honor, shoulde not take the E

gaue them money largelie to bestowe in these vayne expences. Furthermore all THYSCAN beganne to rife, and the most parte of GAVLE also, lying betwene the Alpes and Tralle,

against him (the Judges being yet to gene their opinions) and there speedely triumed his heard, and put a newe gowne yppon his backe, as though he had bene fure to have bene mitte of his accusacion, and then returned againe into the market place. But Crasse wene to meete him, and tolde him all the Judges had condemned him. Licinius Macer sooks Licinius Mac

on his bedde, and neuer role after. This judgement wanne Cicero greate fame, for they

oraifed him exceedingly for the great panes he tooke, to fee inflice duck executed . An o-

ther called alfo Vatinius. (a bedlem fellowe, and one that behaved him felfe verie vnreue-

fuche a griefe and conceite vpon it, that he wear home to his house againe, laved him downe concentration

rently to the Magistrates in his pleadinge, and besides had a swollen necke came verie arrogantly one day vnto Cicero being in his Pretorial feare, and asked him a thing which Ci-B cere woulde not graffitte him there, but woulde thinke of it at better leafure. Thereuppon Vatinius tolde him, that he would not be scrupulous to graunt that, if he were Pratter. Cicero turning to him, auniwered him againe: no more haue I (fayd he) fuche a fwollen necke as thou halt. Towardes the ende of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired. there was one accused Manilius before him; that he also had robbed the common wealth. This Manilius was veriewell beloued of the common people, who were perfyaded that he was put in fute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to despighe Pomper with, whole familiar frende he was. So he required certaine dayes to auniwere the matter he was accused of : but Cicero woulde geue him no further respit, but to aunswere it the next day. The people therewith were maruelously offended, bicause the other Prators in suche like C cases were wont to geue tenne dayes respit to others. The next morninge when the Tribunes had brought him before the Judges, and also accused him ynto them; be befought Cicero to heare him pacientlie. Cicero made him aunswere, that havinge alwayes yied as muche fauour and curtefie as he possiblic might by lawe, vnto those that were accused, he thought he shoulde offer Manilius too great wrong, if he shoulde not doe the like to him:

wherefore, bicause he had but one day more to continewe Prætor in office, he had purposely geuen him that day to make his aunswere before him. For he thought that to leave Cicero with ... his accusacion to the hearing of an other Prætor, he coulde not have bene thought a man eifted the ofthat had borne him good will, and ment to pleasure him. These wordes did maruelouslie sended Trichaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euerie man speaking well of bunes. D him, they prayed him to defend Manilius cause. He willingly graunted them: and comming

Oration, and spake both boldly and sharpely against the chiefe men of the citie, and those speciallie that did enuie Pompey. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Conful, he founde as great fauour amongest the Nobilitie, as he did with the communaltie. For circio made they did further his fute, for the common wealthes fake, vpon this occasion. The chaunge Conful and alteracion of gouernment the which Sylla brought in, was thought straunge at the first among the people: but nowe men by processe of time being yied to it, it was throughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practised to subuert the gouernment, not for the benefit of the common wealth, but to ferue their owne conetous mindes, The confirma-E For Pompey being then in the East partes, made warres with the kings of Pontvs and Arme- ey of Caritine. NIA, and had not left sufficient force at ROME to oppresse these seditious persons, that sought

from the benche, standing at the barre like an Orator to pleade for him, he made a notable

nothing but rebellion. These men had made Lucius Catilina their Captaine: a desperate man casilines to attempt any great enterprise, suttle, and malicious of nature. He was accused before (be-wickednes. sides many other vile faultes) for deflowering of his owne daughter, and killinge his brother: and being affrayed to be put in fute for it, he prayed Sylla to put his brother among eft the number of the outlawes (or profcriptes) as if he had bene then aliue. These wicked tebells havinge chosen them suche a Captaine, were sworne and bounde one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleshe together, and had besides corrupted the most parte of all the youth. For Catiline their Captaine suffered euerie man F to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and

HHHH iii

and M.T. Ci cero created

Greattroubles at Rome, in the sime of Ciceroes Comsulfhippe.

creacion and the Decemui-

of the inhabitauntes. For the noblemen, and of greatest corage, had spent all their landes in playes and feafts, or in buildings and common workes, which they built at their owne charge to currie fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices : fo that thereby they became verie poore, and their goodes were in the handes of meanemen and wretches. Thus the state of Rome stoode in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might easely have procured, that durst have taken uppon him any change or alteracion of government, there was then suche division among them in the state. Catiline notwithstanding to provide him of a strong bullwarke to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with Caine Antonius, a man that of him selfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great firength and aide vnto him that h woulde attempt any thing. Divers noble and wifemen forefeeing that, did procure Cicero to fue for the Confulshippe. The people accepted him, and reiected Catiline. Antonius and Cicero thereuppon were created Consuls, although that Cicero of all the suters for the Consulshin was but only a Knightes fonne, and not the fonne of a Senator of Rome, Nowe, though the common people ynderstoode not the secret practise and meaning of Catiline: yet at the beginning of Ciceroes Consulthippe, there fell out great trouble and contencion in the common wealth. For they of the one fide, whom Sylla had by his ordinaunces deposed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no small men, neither fewe in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good will, alleaging many true and iust reasons against the tyrannicall power of Sylla: howebeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or e alteracion in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other fide preferred lawes and ordi-Alar prefer- naunces to further this deuise. They preferred the lawe to choose the Decemuiri, with soueraine power and authoritie through all ITALIE and SYRIA, and also through all the contries and provinces which Pompey had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to fell, and release all the landes belonging to the state of Rome, to accuse any man whome they thought good, to banishe any man, to restore the Colonies with people, to take what money they woulde out of the treasurie, to leavie men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many menof great accompt that fauored this law, but Antonius chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Conful with Cicero, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners : and sur- D thermore, it was thought that he was privile vnto Catilines conspiracie, and that he misliked it not, bicause he was so muche in det. And this was it that the noble men most seared of allother thinges. Thereuppon Cicero, to prouide first to preuent this daunger, graunted him the prouince of the realme of MACEDON: and the prouince of GAVLE being offered vnto him felfe, he refused it. By this good turne, he wanne Antonius like a hiered player making him to promise him that he would affist & aide him for the benefit of the common wealth, and that he would say no more, then he shoulde will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more flowtly to refift them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. Cicero therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reproue, and inuey against this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would E have established. But thereby he did so terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwardes attempted once againe to haue it to passe, & appointed the Consuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit Cicero being nothing abashed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did eloquence o. nerthrew the not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but further-Lear of the De- more they were veterly discoraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his eloquence. For Cicero onely of all men in Rous made the ROMANES know, how muche eloquence doth grace and beawtifie that which is honest, and how inuincible right and instice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wife Gouernor of a comman weale, should alwayes in his doinges F rather preferre profit, than to feeke to currie fauor with the common people: yet fo to vie his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also vnpleasant. And to proue his sweete

CICERO. & pleasant tongue, may be alleaged that which he did in the time of his Consulthing touching circum free the placing of men at the Theater to fee the pastimes. For before, the knights of Roma did fir mingled one with another amongst the common people, and tooke their place as they came, The first that made the difference between them, was * Marcus Otherat that time Prætor who, * other des made a law, by the which he appoynted feuerall feates for the knights, where they might from the first outside the same of the thenceforth fee the pastimes. The people tooke this grieuously, as a thing done to discounte- Tribune of nance them: infomuch that Otho comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common the people neople fel a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him for dending roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people of the Roman fell a whiftling lowder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their handes. Knight from R and so grew to wordes one with another: that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it, people

Civero vnderstanding it, went thither him selfe, & calling the people to the temple of the goddesse Bellona, he there so sharpely reproued them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receive Otho with clapping of their handes, and contended with the knights which of them should doe him greatest honor. But now againe, the rebells of Catilines conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stoode in) began to be lustie againe, and to gather together, boldely incoraging one another to broachetheir practife, before Pompey returned, who was fayd to be on the way towards Rome with his armye. But besides them, those souldiers that had served before in the, Syllaer sould warres vnder Sylla, being dispersed vppe and downe ITALY, (but specially the best fouldiers a- red with te-

in mong them dwelling in the good townes of THYSCAN) did ftirre vp Catiline to haften the enterprise, perswading them selves that they should once againe have goods enough at hand, to spoyle and ransacke at their pleasure. These souldiers having one Manline to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field under Sylla, conspyred with Catilin, and came to Rome to affist him in his fute: who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill Cicero, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes also did plainly shewe by earthquakes, lightning & thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides also, there fell out manifest conjectures & proofes by men that came to reueale them, how beit they had not power sufficient to encownter so noble a man, and of fo great power as Catilin was. Cicero therefore deferring the day of election, called Catilin into Cicero examin the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him . Catiline Supposing the Senate. there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and also bicause he would shewe

him self ready vnto them that were of his conspiracie: he gaue Cicero a gentle aunswer, & faid thus, What doe I offend, fayd he, if that beeing two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, & of power, hauing no head, I doe give it one? meaning vnder this darke aunswer, to signifie the people & Senate. This aunswer being made, Cicero was more affrayd then before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the fafetie of his body, & was accopanied with the chiefest men of Rome, and a great number of younge men besides, going with him from his house vnto the fielde of Mars, where the elections were made: & had of purpose lest open his jacket lose at the chol-F ler, that his brigantyne he had on might be seene, thereby to let euery man that saw him, know the daunger he was in. Euery man milliked it when they faw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to affayle him. But it fo came to paffe, that by voyces of the people, Catilin was againe rejected from the Confulthip, and Syllanus and Murana chosen Confuls. Shorely Syllanus and after this election, the fouldiers of THV SCAN being loyned, which should have come to Cati- full. lin and the day appoynted being at hande to broache their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of Rome to Ciceroes house (Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcel-

of importance. At night after supper, Crassis porter brought his maister a packet of letters, de- Leners F liuered him by a straunger vnknowen, which were directed vnto divers persons, among the broughts which one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed ynto Crasses him self. The casilines con effect of his letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in Rome made by Cattlin, and firein.

lu, and Seipio Metellus) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his mai-

fter presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter

HHHH iiii

CICERO 920 therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to faue him felfe. Craffus having A red his owne letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith vito Cicero, partly for feare of the danner, and partly also to cleere him felfe of the suspition they had of him for the friendthin that was betwirt him and Catiline. Citero counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning affembled the Senate very earely, and earling the letters with him he did deliuer them according to their direction, and commaunded they should read them out alowder All these letters, & every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore, Quintus Arrim, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, tolde openly the fouldiers and men of warre that were leavied in THYSCAN. And it was reported also, that Manlius was in the fielde with a great number of fouldiers about the cities of Thyscan, gaping daily to heare newes of some change at ROME. All these thinges being throughly considered, a decree pasfed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Consuls, to thend that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) provide for the safe. tie and preferuation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often feene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present seare and daunger. Now Cicero having this abfolute power, he referred all forreine matters to Quintus Metellus charge, and did him felf take vppon him the care and gouernment of all civill affayres within Rome. On the day time when he went up and downe the towne, he had fuch a trowpe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. Thereuppon Catiline would no lenger delay time, but refolued to goe him felfe vnto Manlius where their armie lay. But before he departed, he had drawen into his confederacie one Martine, & C an other called Cethegus, whome he commaunded betimes in the morning to goe to Ciceroes. house with short daggers to kil him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called Fuluia, who went ouer night vnto Citero, and bad him beware of that Cethegus, who in deede came the next morning betimes vnto him : but being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him

the more to be suspected. In thend Citero comming out of his house, called the Senate to the

temple of Iupiter Stator, (as much to fay, a stayer) which standeth at the vpper end of the holy

streete as they goe to the Mount Palatine. There was Catiline with others, as though he ment

to cleere him felfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that

place. And further, when he began to speake, he could have no audience for the great noyle

they made against him. So at length Cicero rose, and commaunded him to avoid out of Rome

faying, that there must needes be a separacion of walles betweene them two, considering that

Conful lawfully created, and did difplay his enfignes of warre, & fo went in this order to feeke

Manlius. When they were ioyned, he had not much leffe then twenty thou fand men toge-

ther, with the which he went to practife the townes to rebell. Nowe open warre beeing thus

would fit downe by him, but they did all rife from the benche where Catiline had taken his D

Fulnia benra; eth Catilines incens to kill Cicero.

the one yied but words, and the other force of armes. Catiline thereuppon immediatly deparsarted Rome. ting the citie with three hundred armed men, was no fooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundells of roddes before him, as if he had beenea

proclaimed, Antonius, Ciceroes colleage and fellowe Conful, was fent against him to fight with E him. In the meane space, Cornelius Lentulus surnamed Sura (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put of the Senate) affembled all the rest which were of Catilines conspiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be affraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had loft. It is reported that this furname of Sura was given him vpon this occasion. He being Treasorer in Syllaes Dictatorship, did fondly C. Lentulus waste and consume a maruelous summe of money of the common treasure. Sylla being offenwhy called SHTA. ded with him for it, and demaunding an accompt of him before the Senate: he carelelly and contemporoufly stepped forth, saying he could make him no other accompt, but shewed him the calfe of his legge, as children doe, when they make a fault attennys. And thereof it came F that euer after that they called him Sura, bicause Sura in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legge. Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the

A ludges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauor, he fave he had lost his money he had given to one of those two Iudges, bicause it was enough for him to be cleered by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incenfed by Catiline, and lastly marred by certaine wisards & false prognosticators that had moc- that should ked him with a vaine hope, finging verses vnto him which they had fayned and deuised, and raigne at false prophecies also, which they bare him in hande they had taken out of Sybilles bookes of Rome. prophecie, which fayd: that there should raigne three Corneli at Rome, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecie, Cinna and Sylla, and for the third, fortune layd it vpon him, and

therefore bad him goe thorow withall, and not to dreame it out losing oportunitie as Catiline haddone. Now this Lentulus vndertooke no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kil all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to fet fire of Rome by C. Rome, sparing none but Pompeys sonnes, whome they would reserve for pledges, to make their Lentulus, and peace afterwards with Pompey. For the rumor was very great and certein also, that he returned from very great warres and conquests which he had made in the East contryes. So they laved a plat to put their treason in execution in one of the nights of Saturnes feastes. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimstone, and a great number of armors and weapons into Cetheque house. Besides all this prouision, they had appoynted a hundred men in an hundred partes of the citie, to the ende that fire being rayled in many places at one tyme, it should the sooner ronne through the whole citie. Other men also were appoynted to stoppe the pypes and water conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill those also that came for water to Gouench the fire. In all this sturre, by chaunce there were two Ambassadors of the ALLOBRO-GES, whose contry at that tyme did much mislike of the ROMANES, and were vnwilling to be

subject vnto them. Lentulus thought these men very fit instruments to cause all GAVLE to re-

bell. Thereuppon practifing with them, he wannethem to be of their conspiracie, and gaue

them letters directed to the counsell of their contrie, and in them did promise them freedom.

Hefent other letters also vnto Catilin, and perswaded him to proclaime libertie to all bond-

men, and to come with all the speede he could to Rome: and sent with them one Titus of the

citie of CROTONA, to cary these letters. But all their counsells and purposes (like fooles that

neuer met together but at feastes, drincking droncke with light women) were easily found

out by Cicero: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wifely and discreetely sawe thorow

them. For he had appoynted men out of the citie to spie their doings, which followed them to

fee what they intended. Furthermore he spake fecretly with some he trusted, (the which o-

heard the euidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one Iunius Syllanus a Senator that gaue

ineuidence, that some heard Cethegus say they should kill three Consuls, and source Prætors.

Sulpitius a Prætor, that was fent into Cethegus house, reported that he had found great store of

darts, armor, daggers and swordes new made, Lastly, the Senate having promised Titus CRO-

TONIAN he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracie: Lentulus

thereby was continued, and driven to give vppe his office of Prætor before the Senate, and

chaunging his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miserable state. This being done,

Lentulus and his consorts were committed to warde, to the Prætors houses. Now growing to-

wards evening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was affembled, Cicero at

length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereuppon he was conueyed by

all the people vnto a friendes house of his hard by: for that his owne house was occupied by

F the Ladies of the citie, who were bufy folemnly celebrating a fecret facrifice in the honor of

the goddeffe, called of the Romanes the good goddeffe, and of the GRECIANS Gynecia, to

witfeminine: vnto her this yearely facrifice is done at the Confuls house, by the wife or mo-

E Pilo a Senator also, and that had bene Conful, tolde in manner the selfe same tale . And Caius

thers also tooke to be of the conspiracie) and knewe by them that Lentulus and Cethegus had practifed with the Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, and drawen them into their conspiracie. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he tooke the Ambassadors, and The confinded Titus CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambassadors of the Allo-BROGES, which had fecretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, Civero affembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly red the letters, and

ther of the Conful then being the Vestal Nunnes being present at it. Now Cicero being comen A into his neighbours house, beganne to bethinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with seueritie, according to their deserts, he was afraid to doe it: both bicause he was of a curteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authorities to punish (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the noblest houses of the citie, & that had besides many friends And contrariwise also, being remisse in so waightie a matter as this, he was affraid of the daunger that might enfue of their rafhnes, mistrusting that if he should punish them with lesse then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the styng and foight of a new emalice vnto their accustomed wickednes, besides that he him selfe should be R thought a coward and tymerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. Cicero being perplexed thus with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies. doing facrifice at home in his house. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the aulter where they had facrificed there sodainely rose out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amased all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestall Mines willed Terentia (Ciceroes wife) to go straight vnto her husband. & to bid him not to be affraid to execute that boldly which he had confidered of, for the benefit of the comon wealth: and that the goddesse had raised this great slame, to shewe him that he should have great honor by doing of it. Terentia, that was no timerous nor faint harted woman but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affayres of C the state, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewivery in the house, as Cicero him selfe reporteth: the went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to doe execut tion of those men. The like did Quintus Cicero his brother, and also Publius Nigidius, his friend and fellow student with him in Philosophie, and whose counsell also Cicero followed much in the government of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbitrement of the Senate, how these malesactors should be punished: Syllanus being asked his opinion first, said that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewife that followed him, were all of that minde, but Caius Cafar, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet such a one as by his behauior and the hope he had tooke fuch a course, that afterwards he brought D the common wealth of Rome into an absolute Monarchie. For at that time Cicero had vehement fuspicions of Cesar, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And some say, that it was brought so neare, as he was almost conuicted, but yet saued him selfe. Other write to the contrary that Cicero wittingly diffembled that he either heard or knew any fignes which were told him against Casar, being affraid in deede of his friends and estimation. For it was a cleere case, that if they had accused Casar with the rest, he undoubtedly had sooner saued all their lines, then he should have lost his owne. Nowe when Cafar came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners: he stoode up and sayde, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods: and as for their persons, that they should beflow them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of ITALY, as pleased Ci- E cerabeff would the warre of Catilia were ended. This fentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruelous eloquent to make it good: Cicero him felf added thereunto a counterpeale, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of Calar. His friends thinking that Calars opinion was the fafeft for Cicero, bicause thereby he should deserve lesse blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death: they followed rather the fecond. Whereuppon Syllanus also recanted that he had spoken, and expounded his opinion: faying, that when he spake they should be put to death, he ment nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could have, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was Catulus Luctatius, and after him Cato, who with vehement words enforced Cafars suspition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and corage: so that even upon the instant it was decreed by most voyces, that they should suffer death. But C.e/ar stept vp again, & spake against the confiscation of their goods, misliking that they should

a reject the gentleft part of his opinion, and that contrariwife they thould flicke unto the ferren rest onely: how beit bicause the greatest number prenailed against him he called the Tribunes to avde him, to the ende they should withstand it : but they would give no eare vnto him. Citethereupon yelding of him felf, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetche the prisoners: who were not all in one house; but enery Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take C. Lentulus, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy streete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefest men of the cirie, who compassed him round about, and garded his person. The people seeing that a quaked and trembled for feare, passed by, and sayd neuer a word; and specially the younge men who thought it had bene some solemne misterie for the health of their contry, that was so accompanied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terror and feare i So. The execute when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he deliueted Len- @inorthe rules into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to doe execution. Afterwardes allo Cethegue, and then all the rest one after another, whome he brought to the prison him selfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a trowpe together in the market place, who knewe nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were thinking they were yet aliue : he turned vnto them, and foake alowd, they lived. This is a phrase of speeche which the Romanes vse sometyme, when they will finely convey the hardnes of the speeche, to say he is dead. When night was comen, and that bed for the he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wayte voon dead. him no more with filence as before, but with great cryes of his praise, and clapping of handes Champail in enery place he went, and called him Sauior, and fecond founder of Rome, Befides all this, at enery mans dore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes, as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the toppes of their houses to doe him honor, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long trayne of the chiefeftmen of the citie, of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteyined many famous conquests to the Empire of Rome, both by fea and land) confessing between them selves one to another, that the ROMANES were greatly bound to many Captaines and generalls of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches, D fpoyles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke Citero onely, for their health and preservation, having saued them from so great and extreme a daunger. Not forthat they thought it fo wonderfull an acte to have striken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death: but bicause the conspiracie of Carilin being so great and daungerous an insurrection as euer was any the had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the rootes, with fo small hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall fedition. For the most part of them that were gathered together about Catiline, when they heard that Lentulus and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him; and Catiline him felfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him against Antonius the of Carilin flatne ther Conful with Gicero, he was flayne in the fielde, and all his armie defeated. This notwith- in banell by E standing there were many that spake ill of Cicero for this facte, and ment to make him repent it having for their heades Cafar, (who was already chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) "Die cafar chosen tellus and Bestia, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They, so soone as they were chosen Tri- Prain. bunes, would not once fuffer Cicero to speake to the people, notwith fanding that he was yet Bellia Triin his office of Conful for certaine dayes. And furthermore, tolet him that he should not beaut of the speake vnto the people, they did set their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they people. call at Rome, Roltra: and would never fuffer him to fet foote in it; but onely to refigne his of-

fice and that done to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went vp

to the pulpit voon that condition. So filence being made him, he made an othe, not like with

heard of before : Iwearing, that he had faued the citie of Rome, and preferued all his contry ***

and the Empire of Rome from veter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present,

confirmed it, and sware the like othe. Wherewithall Cafar and the other Tribunes his ene-

other Confuls other when they religne their office in like manner, but firaunge, and never comme

Syllanus fensence of the conspirators.

Cafar prinie so Casilines confpiracie.

Cafars opinion for the punishment of the conspirators. mies were so offended with him, that they deuised to breede him some new sturre & trouble. A

& amongest others, they made a decree, that Pompey should be fent for with his army to bridle

the tyranny of Cicero, Cato, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the

furtherance of the common wealth, opposing him selfe against all their practises, with the like

Confulthip vnto them, and the thinges he did in his office: that they gave him the greatest

honors that ever were decreed or graunted vnto any man living. For by decree of the people

he was called, father of the contry, as Cato him felfe had called him in his oration: the which

at that time, then any man befide him. This notwithstanding, he made him selfe enuved and

misliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or ment to doe: but onely bicause he did too

which made his sweete and pleasant stile, tedious, and troublesom to those that heard them.

name was neuer given to any man, but onely vnto him, & also he bare greater swaye in Roma B

authoritie and power that they had being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily breake all their deuises, but also in a goodfulfhip praily oration he made in a full affembly of the people, he fo highly praifed and extolled Cierres fed by Cato.

man called. Father of the

much boalt of him felfe. For he neuer was in any affembly of people, Senate, or judgement. much given to praise him self but every mans head was full still to heare the found of Catulus and Lentulus brought in for foorte, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owne prayses: the

Cicero fayth, Demofihenes Reepeth in his

as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But nowe, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous defire of honor in his head, ver did he normalice or enuy any others glory, but would very franckly praise excellent men, as ciero friend- well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plain- C ly in his writings. They have written also certaine notable wordes he spake of some auncient men in olde time, as of Aristotle: that he was like a golden flowing river: and of Plato, that if Iupiter him selfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of Theophrastus, he was wont to call him his delight: & of Demosthenes orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: the longest saide he. There be divers writers also, who to shewe that they were great followers of Demosthenes, doe followe Ciceroes saying in a certaine epistle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he faid that Demosthenes slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tel how highly he praifed him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against Antonius (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) PHILIPPIANS: to followe those which Demostheres wrote against Philip king of Mace- D DON, Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his tyme, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obteyned of Cafar, when he had the Empire of Rome in his handes, that Cratippus the Peripateticke Philosopher was made Citizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extant also of Ciceroes epiftles vnto Herodes, & others vnto his sonne, willing him to follow Cratippus in his studie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter also vnto Gorgius the Rethoritian, and forbad him his fonnes company: bicause he understood he intised him to dronkennes, & to other great dishonestie. Of all his epistles he wrote in greeke, there is but that onely written E incholler, and another which he wrote vnto Pelops BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to Gorgias, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to tawnt him in his letter: bicause (asit teemed) he was a man of very lewde life and convertation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to Pelops, finding him felfe greued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordeine some publike honors in his behalfe: that me thinkes proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely bicause he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded Munatim cause before the Judges, who shortly after accused Sabinus a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, what Munatine, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a miste I cast before the Judges eies, that made them they could not discerne the fault? An other tyme also, having openly prayled Marem Crassim in the pulpit, with good audience

A of the people: shortly after he spake to the contrary, all the cuill he could of him in the same place. Why, how now, sayde Crassus: didest thou not thy selfe highly prayse me in this place. the last day? I can not deny it, sayd Cicero: but in deede I tooke an ill matter in hand to shewe mine eloquence. An other time Crassus chaunced to say in an open affembly, that none of all the Crass of his house that ever lived above lx yeares; and afterwards againe repenting him felfe, he called it in againe, and fayde, Sure I knewe not what I did, when I fayd fo, Cicero aunfwered him againe: thou knewest well enough the people were glad to heare it, and there-

fore spakest it to please them. Another time Crassus liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philoso- The Stoicket phers, that fayd the wife man was euer riche: Cicero aunswered him, and bad him confider wife man was

whether they ment not thereby, that the wife man had all thinges. Crassus couetousnes was wereiche. defamed of every man. Of Crassis sonnes, one of them did much resemble Attims, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one daye this fonne of Craffus made an oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very muche. So, Cicero beeing asked how he liked it : me thinkes, fayde he, it is * Actius of Craffus . About this tyme , Craffus being .*

ready to take his iorney into Synia, he defired to have Cicero his friend, rather the his enemy, Atlim, is a Therefore one night making muche of him, he tolde Cicero that he would come and suppe of a Romente. with him. Gieero fayde he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friendes told him of and agos in Vatinius, how he was defirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, Greeke figniof Cicero, and will he come to support too? Thus he vsed Crassus. Now this Vitinius having a So the grace iwollen necke, one daye pleading before Cicero: he called him the fwollen Orator. Another of the equinotyme when he heard fay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: a vengeance on cation can not be experified him, fayde he, that hath lyed so shamefully. Another tyme when Casar had made a lawe for in any other the deuiding of the lands of CAMPANIA vnto the fouldiers: divers of the Senate were angry hanguage. with him for it, and among other, Lucius Gellius (a very olde man) faid, he would neuer graunt ir while he lived. Cicero pleasauntly aunswered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good olde man will not trouble you long. Another tyme there was one Octavius, supposed to be * an African * Bicanfe the horne. He when Cicero on a time pleaded a matter, faide that he heard him not: Cicero pre-have common fently aunswered him againe, and yet haft thou a hole bored through thine care. Another lytheir eares time Metellus Nepos told him, that he had ouerthrowen moe men by his witnes, then he had faued by his eloquence. I graunt faid Cicero, for in deede I have more faith, then eloquence in me. So was there also a younge man that was suspected to have poyloned his father with a tarte, that boafted he would reuile Cicero: I hadrather have that of thee, & Cicero, then thy

tarte. Publius Sextius also having a matter before the Iudges, enterteyned Cicero, with other of his Counfellers: but yet he would speake all him felfe, and give none of the Orators leave to fay any thing. In the ende, when they fawe plainely that the Iudges would discharge him. being ready to give fentence: Cicero faide vnto him, besturre thee hardily to day for to morrowe Sextius thou shalt be a private man. Another, one Publius Scotta, who would fayne have bene thought a wife Lawyer, and yet had litle witte and understanding: Cicero appealed to him as a witnes in a matter, and being examined, he aunswered he knewe nothing of it. Cicero replied to him againe: thou thinkest peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. E Againe, Metellus Nepos, in a certaine disputacion he had with Cicero, did many times repeate, who is thy father? Cicero aunswered him againe: thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to auniwer. This Nepos mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as futtle witted and vnconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exercise of his office, and went into Syriato Pompey, vpon no occasion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a fodaine. His Schoolemaister Philager also being dead, he buried him very honeftly, and fet a crowe of stone vpon the toppe of his tombe. Cicero finding it, tolde him thou hast done very wisely: for thy Maister hath taught thee rather to flie, then to speake. Another time Appius Clodius pleading a matter, faide in his preamble that his friende had ear-

neftly requested him to employe all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O goddes, laide Cicero, and hast thou shewed thy selfe so harde harted to thy friende, that thou halt performed none of all these he requested thee? Nowe to vie these fine tawnts and girds to his enemies, it was a parte of a good Orator: but so commonly to girde every man to

make the people laughe, that wanne him greate ill will of many, as shall appeare by some A examples I will tell vou. Marcus Aquinius had two fonnes in lawe, who were both banished: Cicero therefore called him Adrastus. Lucius Cotta by chaunce also was Censor at that tyme, when Cicero fued to be Conful: and beeing there at the daye of the election, he was a thurst, and was driven to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friendes stoode about him, and after he had dronke, he faide vnto them. It is well done of ye, fayde he, to be affrayed leaft the Cenfor should be angry with me, bicause I drinke water: for it was reported the Cenfor loued wine well. Another tyme Cicero meeting one Voconius, with three

fowle Daughters of his with him, he cryed out alowd: This man hath gotten children in despight of Phæbus. It was thought in Rome that Marcus Gellius was not borne of free parents by father and R mother, who reading certaine letters one daye in the Senate very lowde: Cicero fayde vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, o he, for this man hath beene a cryer in his dayes. Faustus, the some of Sylla Dictator at Rome, which sette yppe billes outlawing diuers Romanes, making it lawefull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had spent the moste parte of his fathers goods, was so fore in debt, that he was driven to fell his houshold stuffe, by billes sette up on every poste. Girero when he sawe them, yea mary saide he, these billes please me better, then those which his father fette vppe. These tawntes and common quippes without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill will that Clodius bare him, beganne vppon this occasion. Clodius was of a noble house, a younge man, and very wilde and insolent. He being in love C with Pompeia Cafars wife, founde the meanes secretly to gette into Cafars house, apparelled like a younge finging wenche, bicause on that daye the Ladyes of Rome did solemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in Casars house, which is not lawefull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but Clodius, who thought he shoulde not have bene knowen, bicause he was but a younge man without any heare on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to Pompeia amongeft the other women. He beeing gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of Casars mothers maydes of her chamber called Aurelia, who feeing him wandring vp and downe the house in this forte, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunswer, he faide he fought for Aura, one of Pompeias maides. The maide perceived straight it was no D womans voice, and there with al gaue a great shriche, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought every corner vp and downe, so that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blowen abroad in the citie, whereuppon Cafar put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accufed Clodius, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the facrifices, Cicero at that time was yet his friend, beeing one that had very friendly done for him at all

though it feemeth Cicero gaue not this euidence fo muche for the truthes fake, as to please enidence against Clodina his wife Terentia: for the hated Clodins to the deathe, bicause of his sister Clodia that would haue maried Cicero, and did fecretly practife the mariage by one Tullius, who was Ciceroes very friende, and bicause he repayred very often to this Clodia that dwelt harde by Cicero,

bandes breeches: allured Cicero to fette vppon Clodius in his aduersitie, and to witnesseagaynst him, as many other honest men of the citicalso did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thowfande lewde partes, that he brybed the people with money, that he had intifed and deflowred many women. Lucullus also brought forthe cer- F tayne Maydens which deposed that Clodius had deflowed the youngest of his owne sisters, the beeing in house with him, and maryed. And there went a greate rumor also, that he

Terentia beganne to suspect him. Terentia beeing a cruell woman, and wearing her hus-

times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would have offered him in-

iurie in the busie time of the conspiracie of Catiline, Clodius stowtly denied the matter he was burdened with, and faide that he was not in Rome at that time, but farre from thence. How-

beit Cicero gaue euidence against him, and deposed, that the selfe same daye he came home E

to his house vnto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This in deede was true,

A knewe his two other fifters, of the which the one was called * Terentia, and matted ento king "Some that Mareim: and the other Glodia, whome Metellas Celer had maried and whom they common- red rent le called Quadrantaria: bicause one of her Paramours sent her a purse ful of quadreness which are little peeces of copper money) in stead of filuer. Clodius was flaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them. that gaue euidence against him, and accused him. The Judges being affrayed of its got a great

number of armed men about them, at the day of his judgemet, for the fafetic of their persons: and in the tables where they wrote their fentences, their letters for the most part were confufedly fet downe. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: chain a and it was reported also that some of them were close fifted . Catalan therefore meeting with and formation

I some of them going home, after they had given their sentence, told them: sufely we had good gifts reason to be well garded for your safetie, for you were affraid your money should have benetaken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And Cicero fayd vnto Clodius, who reproued him that his witnes was not true he gaue against him: cleane contrary of Cicero for fine and twenry of the Iudges have beleved me, beeing fo many that have condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeve thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstanding, in this iudgement Cafar neuer gaue euidence against Clodius: & faid moreouers that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, how beit that he had put ber away, cafainoidis bicause he would that Cesars wife should not only be clean from any dishonesty, but also void; of the putting of all suspinion. Clodius being quit of this accusation and trouble, & hauing also found meanes. Despeta. To be chosen Tribune: he beganne straight to persecute Cieero, chaunging all thinges, and Closine hauf to be chosen I ribune: no beganne tranger to perfective diserse, channing art tinges, and for Tribune filtring up all manner of people against him. First he wanne the good will of the common of the people. people by deutling of newelawes which he preferred, for their benefit and commoditie: to Pife and Gaboth the Confuls he graunted great and large provinces : vnto Pifo, MACRDON, and to Ga-bining Conbinius, SYRIA. He made also many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a

great number of flaues armed. At that present tyme there were three notable men in Rome, Crassia, Pointwhich caried all the swaye: Crassus, that showed him selfe an open enemie vnto Givero: Pom- for three of pey the other, made muche both of the one and the other: the third was Cafar, who was pre-the greatest pared for his iorney into GAVLE with an armie . Cicero did leane vnto him, (though he knewe menin Rome, him no fast friende of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in Catilines confpira- with Clodinis D cie) and prayed him that he might goe to the warres with him, as one of his Lieuetenants, against citers Cafar graunted him . Thereuppon Clodius perceiving that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made fayer weather with him (as though he ment to reconcile him felfe vnto him) and tolde him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of Terentia, for that he had done against him, then of him selfe, and alwayes spake very curreously of him as occasion fell out, and sayde he did thinke nothing in him, nether had any malice to him, how beit it did a litle griene him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnes by his friend. These sweete wordes made Cicero no more affraied, so that he gaue vp

his Lieuetenancie vnto Casar, and beganne againe to pleade as he did before. Casar tooke this

in fuch disdaine, that he hardened Clodius the more against him, and besides, made Pompey

E his enemie. And Cafar him felfe also sayd before all the people, that he thought Cicero had put

was euer about him in euery place and streete he went, having a sight of raskalls and knaues

Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, vniustly to death, and contrary to lawe, without lawfull tryall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which Cicero was openly accused. There-fed of Cleding uppon Cicero feeing him felfe accused for this facte, he chaunged his viuall gowne he wore,

and put on a mourning gowne: and so suffering his beard and heare of his head to growe without any coeming, he went in this humble manner, and fued to the people. But Clodius

with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that fort, and oftentimes they cast durt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requelts he made vnto the people. This notwithstanding, all the knights of Rome did in manner The knights chaunge their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twenty Senate chairthowfand younge gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their heare about gedgements their eares, & were futers to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate affembled to decree for Chemose

IIII ij

A then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes praied his

that the people should mourne in blacks, as irra common calamitie. But the Confuls were a gainst it. And Clodius on thother side was with a band of armed men about the Senate. So the many of the Senators ranne out of the Senat, crying, & tearing their clothes for forow. Howbeit thefermen feeing all that, were nothing the more moned with pity and shame: but either Cicero must needes absent him selfe, or els determine to fight with Clodius. Then went Citero

to intreat Pomper to avde him : But he absented him selfe of purpose out of the citie, bicanse he would not be intreated, and laye at one of his houses in the contry neare vnto the citie of ALBA. So he first of all sent Pifo his sonne in lawe vnto he at to intreate him, and afterwardes Poper would went him felfe in person to him . But Pompey beeing tolde that he was come, had not the mosse chiro harte to suffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he hadbene past all shame to haue refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him suche pleasure, a and also done and sayde fo many thinges in his fauor. Howbeit Pompey beeing the sonne in

lawe of Cefar, did vnfortunately (at his request) forfake him at his neede, vnto whome he was bownde for fo many infinite pleafures, as he had receyued of him afore: and therefore when he hearde faye he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and woulde not speake with him . So Cicero feeing him felfe betrayed of him , and nowe having no other refugeto whome he might repayre vnto: he put him felfe into the handes of the two Confuls. Of them two, Gabinius was ever cruell, and churlishe vnto him. But Piso on thother side spake alwayes very curteously vnto him, and prayed him to absent him selfe for a tyme, and to giue place a litle to Clodine furie, and paciently to beare the chaunge of the tyme: For info doing the might come agayne another tyme to be the preseruer of his contry, which was C nowe for his fake in tumult and sedition . Citero vpon this aunswer of the Conful, consulted with his friendes: among the which Lucullus gave him advise to tary, and favd that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speede: for the people would shortly wishe for him agayne, when they had once bene beaten with Clodius turie and folly. Cicero liked best to followe this counsell. Whereupport having had a statue of Minerus a long tyme in his house, the which he greatly reueciteres exile renced: he caried her him felfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this infcription: Vntoc Minerua, Protector of Rome. So, his friends having given him fafe conduct, he went out of Rome about midnight, and tooke his way through the contry of LVKE by lande, meaning to goe

into Sicile. Whenit was knowen in Rome that he was fledde, Clodius did presently ba- D

nishe him by decree of the people, and caused billes of inhibition to be sette vppe, that no

man should secretly receive him within five hundred myles compasse of ITALY. Howbeit

diuers men reuerencing Cicero, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vfed him with all manner of currefie possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, fauing one citie onely in LVKE, called at that tyme HIPPONIVM, and nowe VIBONE: where aliás Vibone:

a Sicilian called Vibius, (vnto whome Cicero before had done many pleasures, and specially amonge others, had made him Maister of the workes in the yeare that he was Conful) would not once receyue him into his house, but promised him he woulde appoynt him? place in the contry that he might goe vnto. And Caius Virgilius alfo, at that tyme Prætor A wonder thewed vato cierret faint standing that many men came to see him for the goodwill they bare him and that the cities basinhisex of GRECE contended who should most honor him, he was alwayes sadde, and could not F

friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philosopher: faying, that Philosophie was his chiefest profession, & that for his eloquence he did not vie it, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans full power of reason from him, even like a culler, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in mater glory. ters of state, and to make them feele the felfe same passions that common people doe, by dayly frequenting their companie: vales they take great heede of them, and that they come to practife in the common wealth with this resolute minde, to have to doe with the like matters. that the common people haue, but not to entangle them selues with the like passions and moodes, by the which their matters doe rife. Nowe Clodius was not contented that he had ba-B nished Cicero out of ITALY, but further he burnt all his houses in the contry, and his house also fo in ROME standing in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and caused his goods to be folde by the cryer: fo that the cryer was occupied all dayelong crying the goods to be fold, and no man offered to buye any of them. The chiefest men of the citie beginning to be afrayd of these violent parts, and having the common people at his commaun-

dement, whom he had made very bold and infolent: he beganne to inney against Pompey, and

the ludges . Pompey him felfe also having gotten a great number of men about him, aswell of the citie of Rome as of other townes adjoyning to it, beeing strongly garded with them: he

came out of his house, and compelled Clodius to get him out of the market place, and then

at the charge of the common wealth. So Cicero returned the fixtenth moneth after his ba-

nishment, and the townes and cities he came by , shewed them selues so joyfull of his re-

turne, that all manner of men went to meete and honor him, with fo great love and affection, that Ciceroes reporte thereof afterwardes came in deede (hort of the very truth as it was,

For he fayde, that I TALY brought him into Rome vpon their shoulders. Infomuch as Cras-

fus him felfe, who before his banithment was his enemie, went then with very good will vn-

bicause he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate shoulde cancell all those thinges

that was there which he him felfe had done in the Ile of Cypris, and in the citie of By-ZANTIVM. Hercuppon there grewe fome straungenes betwixt Cicero and Cato, the which

F which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, bicause amongest the rest

fpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which every man els but him felf did commend. Pompey then was very angry with him selfe that he had so forsaken Cicero, and repented him of it, and by his friendes procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from Pompey chat his banishment. Clodius was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full dath fauer Ci-C consent orderned, that nothing should be established for the common wealth, before Cice- cero. roes banishment were first repealed. Lentulus was at that tyme Conful, and there grewe such Lentulus, an vprore and sturre apon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and Conful. Quintus Cicero (the brother of Cicero) was flayne and hidden under the deade bodies. Then the people beganne to chaunge their mindes. And Annius Milo, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venter vpon Clodius, and bringe him by force to be tryed before

called the people to give their voyces, for the calling home agayne of Cicero. It is reported D that the people neuer passed thinge with so great good will, nor so wholy together, as the home from har

returne of Cicero. And the Senate for their partes also, in the behalfe of Cicero, ordeyned nilbmens that the cities which had honored and received Citero in his exile, shoulde be greatly commended: and that his houses which Clodius had ouerthrowen and rased. should be reedified

E to him, and became his friende, faying: that he did it for the love of his fonne, who loved Cicero with all his hart . Nowe Cicero beeing returned , he found a tyme when Clodius was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friendes vnto the Capitoll, and there citero taketh tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which Clodius had written all his actes that he away the tables of clodihad passed and done in the tyme of his Tribuneship. Clodius would afterwardes haue accu- us after our of fed Cicero for it: But Cicero aunswered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, bi- the Capitolli cause he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was voyde, and of none effect. Therewith Cato was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked any of Clodius doings: (but to the contrary, veterly misliked all that he did) but

IIII iij

and gouernor of Sicile, who before had shewed him selfe his very greate friende: wrote E then vnto him, that he shoulde not come neare vnto Sicile. This grieued him to the harte. Thereuppon he went directly vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and there imbarked to passe ouer the sea vnto Dyrrachium, and at the first had winde at will: but when he was in the mayne fea, the winde turned, and brought him backe agayne to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoyfed fayle agayne, and the reporte went, that at his arryuall at Dyrrachiv mwhen he tooke lande, the earth shooke under him, and the sea gaue backe together: Whereby the Soothefayers enterpreted, that his exile shoulde not be longe, bicause both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet Cicero, notwithbe merie, but cast his eyes still towardes IT ALY, as passioned louers doe towardes the women they loue: shewing him selfe faynte harted, and tooke this aduersitie more basely,

Tribune, flain cufed of murder, prayed Cicero to pleade his cause. The Senate searing that this accusation

Cicero fearefull in warres,

Cicero plea-

in pleading.

Cicero chefen

Cicero pro-

gritie for the

He made a litle warre also, and draue away the theeues that kept about the Mountayne F Amanus, for the which exployte his fouldiers called him Imperator, to fave, chiefe Captaine. About that tyme there was an Orator called Cacilius, who wrote vnto him

notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted. familiaritie, and accesse one to another. Shortly after, Milo flue Clodius. Milo beeing acof Milo, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie besides) woulde moue some sedition and

vprore in the citie: they gaue commission to Pompey to see instice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and judgement also executed with fafetie. Thereuppon Pompey the night before tooke the highest places of the market place. by his fouldiers that were armed, whome he placed thereabout. Milo fearing that Citera woulde bee affraied to fee fuche a number of harnest men about him, beeing no viuall marter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cause well: he prayed him he woulde come betymes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to staye R the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For Cicero was not onely fearefull in warres, but timerous also in pleading. For in deede he neuer beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the best proofe and perfection, he never left his trembling and timerousnes. Infomuch that pleading a case for Mutius Murana (accufed by Cato, I ftriuing to excell Hortensius, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke

no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, fo that he was not fo well liked for his pleading, as Hortenfius. So, going to defend Mi. loes cause, when he came out of his litter, and sawe Pompey set aloft as if he had beenein a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in enery corner it so amated him, that he could scant facion him selfe to speake, all the partes of him did so C quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him, But Mile on the other fide stoode boldly by him him felfe, without any feare at all of the judgement of his cause, nether did he let his heere growe, as other men accused did: nether did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it feemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him . Yet many held opinion that this timerousnes of Cicero came rather of the goodwill he bare vnto his friends. then of any cowardly minde of him felfe. He was also chosen one of the Priestes of the Soothefayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of P. Crassus the younger, who was

flayne in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwardes, the prouince of CILICIA being appropried to him, with an armie of twelue thowfand footemen, and two thowfand fine hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to goe thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought CAPPA- D DOCIA agayne into the subjection and obedience of king Ariobarzanes according to his commission and commaundement given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuiled, in reducing of thinges to quietnes, without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were growen somewhat stowt and vnruly, by the ouerthrowethe Romanes had of the Parthians, and by reason of therifing and rebellion in Synia: he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions, and neuer ciceroes inter-received giftes that were fent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did

disburden the prouinces of the feaftes and banckets they were wont to make other gouernors.

before him. On the other fide also, he woulde euer haue the company of good and learned

ter to his gate, nor was feene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rife at the breake

of daye, and would walke or stande before his dore. He would curteously receive all them

that came to falute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man-

to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his ownegarments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any

man, nether did dispightfully set fine vpon any mans heade. Finding many thinges also be-

longing to the common wealth, which private men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne

vie: he restored them agayne vnto the cities, whereby they grewe very riche and wealthie;

and yet did he faue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no on

ther hurte, but onely constrayned them to restore that which was the common wealthes.

men at his table, and would vie them well, without curiofitie and excesse. He had never por B

CICERO.

from Rome, to praye him to fende him fome Leoperds, or Panthers out of CILICIA. bicause he woulde shewe the people some pastyme with them. Cicero boasting of his doinges, wrote to him agayne, that there were no more Leoperds in Cilicia, but that they were all fledde into CARIA for anger, that seeing all thinges quiet in CILICIA, they had leafure now to hunte them. So when he returned towardes Rome, from the charge of his gouernment, he came by RHODES: and stayed a few dayes at ATHENS, with great delight, to remember how pleafauntly he lived there before, at what time he studied there. Thisher came to him the chiefest learned men of the citie, and his frendes also, with whom he was acquainred at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honorable enterteinment in GRECE that could be : he returned vnto Rome, where at his arrivall he found great factions kindled.

the which men faw plainly would growe in the ende to civill warre. Thereuppon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in triumphe into the citie; he aunswered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow Cafars coche in triumphe. So he trauelled verie earnestly betwene Pompey and Cafar, eftloones wryting vnto C.efar, and also speaking vnto Pompey that was present, seeking all the meanes he coulde, to take up the quarrell and misliking betweet them circus ficketh two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speeche of agreement woulde take to pacific the place. So Pompey hearing that Cafar was not farre from Rome, he durst no lenger abide in west Pom-

ROME, but fled with divers of the greatest men in Rome. Cicero would not followe him when 29 and Carhe fled, and therefore men thought he would take parte with Cafar: but this is certaine, that far he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and could not eafely determine what way to take. Whereuppon he wrote in his Epistells: what way should I take? Pomper hath the juster and honester

into GRECE, and there to be quiet from them both. Cicero marueling that Cafar wrote not to

cause of warre, but Cesar can better execute, and prouide for him selfe and his frendes with cienter better safetie: so that I have meanes enow to sie, but none to whome I might repaire. In all ports of this sturre, there was one of Casars frendes called Trebatius, which wrote a letter vnto Cicero, Casars and told him that Cafar wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vndertooke: but if he excused him selfe by his age, that then he should get him

him him felfe, aunswered in anger, that he would doe nothing vnworthie of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: & to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now Cafar being gone into change gonth SPAYNE, Cicero imbarked immediatly to go to Pompey. So when he came vnto him, cuery man ome Pass

was very glad of his comming, but Cato. Howbeit Cato fecretly reproved him for comming vnto Pompey, faying: that for him felfe he had bene without all honestie at that time to have for-

faken that parte, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his first practife in the common wealth: but for him on thother fide, that it had bene better for the fafetie of his contrie, and chiefly for all his frendes, that he had bene a newter to both and fo to have taken thinges as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become Casars enemie, and by comming thither to put him selfe into fo great perill. These perswasions of Cato overthrewe all Ciceroes purpose and determination. belides that Pompey him selfe did not employe him in any matter of service or importance, But hereof him felfe was more in fault then Pompey, bicause he confessed openly that he did E repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all Pompeys pre-

paracions and counfells, the which in deede made him to be had in gealousie and suspicion.

Also he would euer be fleering and gybing at those that tooke Pompeys parte, though he had

no lift him felfe to be merie. He would also goe vp and downe the campe very sad and heavy.

but yet he woulde euer haue one geast or other to make men laugh, although they had as little

lust to be merie as he: and surely, it shall doe no hurte to call some of them to minde in this

place. Domitius being verie defirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to re-

commende him, he fayd he was an honest, wife, and sober man. Whereto Cicero presently answered. Why doest thou not kepe him then to bring up thy children? An other time when they commended Theophanes LESBIAN, (that was maister of all the artificers of the campe) F bicause he had notablic comforted the RHODIANS when they had received a greate losse of their nauy: fee, fayd Cicero, what a goodly thing it is to have a GRECIAN, master of artificers in the campe? When both battells came to joyne together, and that Cafar had in manner all

fav all Calars frendes were madde, and melancholy men. Why, of Cicero to him againe: doeff thou fay that they doe enuie Cafar? An other called Martine, comming lately out of ITALIE favd, that there ranne a rumor in Rome, that Pompey was befreged. What, & Cicero to him againe: and diddeft thou take shippe to come and see him thy selfe, bicause thou mightest beleue it, when thou haddest seene it? Pompey being ouerthrowen, one Nonius sayed there was yet good hope left, bicause they had taken seuen Eagles within Pompeys campe. Thy perswation were not ill, o Cicero, to we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. Labienus reposed all his trust in certaine Oracles, that Pompey of necessitie must have the vpper hand. Yea fayd Cicero. but for all this goodly stratageame of warre, we have not longe fince lost our whole campe. After the battell of Pharfalia, where Cicero was not by reason of his sickenesse: Pompey being B fled, and Cate at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, & had also prepared a great nauie : he prayed Cicero to take charge of all this army, as it

blace to Cicero, and offe red him the charge of the

perteyned vnto him, having bene Conful, Cicero did not only refuse it, but also tolde them he would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to have made him bene slaine: for the younger Pompey and his frendes called him traitor, and drewe their fwordes you him to kill him, which they had done, had not Cato stepped between them and him, and yet had he muche a doe to faue him, and to convey him fafely out of the campe. When Cicero came to Bryndysium, he stayed there a certaine time for Cafars comming, who came but flowly, by reason of his troubles he had in Asia, as also in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes being brought at length that Cafar was arrived at TARENTY M, and that he came by lande vnto BRYND VSI- C vm: Cicero departed thence to goe meete him, not miltrusting that Cafar woulde not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or speake any thing vnseemely to his calling. For Cafar feeing him comming towardes him farre before the rest that came with him: he lighted from his horse and imbraced him, and walked a great way a soote with him, stil talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor and made much of him. Infortuche as Cicero having written a booke in praise of Cato: Cafar on the other fide wrote an other, and praifed the eloquence and life of Cicero, matching it with the life of Pericles and Theramenes. Ciceroes booke was intituled Cato, & Cafars booke called Anticato, as much to fay, as against Cato. They say further, that Quintus Ligarius being accused to have bene in the field D against Casar, Cicero tooke vpon him to defend his cause: and that Casar sayd vnto his frendes

Cafar maruelously, he had so sweete a grace, and suche force in his words; that it is reported Guerret etaquenes, bow is Cafar chaunged divers colours, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a maraltered Cefer, unlous alteracion in all the partes of him. For, in thend when the Orator came to touche the battell of Pharfalia, then was Cafar fo troubled, that his bodie shooke withall, and besides. certaine bookes he had fell out of his handes, and he was driven against his will to fet Ligarim at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of Rome came to be a kingdom, Ci-E sero leaving to practife any more in the state, he gave him selfe to reade Philosophie to the young men that came to heare him:by whose accesse vnto him(bicause they were the chiefest under Cefar. of the nobilitie in Rome) he came against to beare as great sway and authoritie in Rome, as euer he had done before. His studie and endeuour was, to wryte matters of Philosophie dialogue wife, and to translate out of Græke into Latin, taking paynes to bring all the Græke wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall causes, vnto Latin. For he was the first man by report that gaue Latin names vnto these Græke words, which are proper vnto Philofophers, as, Φαιτασία, he termed, Vifio. Κατάθεσις Affenfus. Εποχί, Affenfus cohibitio. Καταλή Lis, Comprehensio. To atoucy Curpus individuum. To ausges Corpus simplex. To xever Vacuum, and many other fuche like wordes. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did deuise and vie F them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper termes: so that at length they came to be well taken, knowen, and understanded of euerie man. And for his readinesse

about him, what hurte is it for vs to heare Cicero speake, whome we have not heard of long

time? For otherwife Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know

him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when Cicero had begonne his Oration, he moued

in wryting of verses, he would vie them many times for his recreation for it is reported, that when focuer he tooke in hand to make any he would dispatch five hundred of them in a nights Nowe, all that time of his recreacion and pleasure, he would commonly be at force of his houses in the contrie, which he had neero vnto Thise or Lym, from whence he would wryte vnto his frends, that he led Laertes life: either spoken merily as his maner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, defiring to returne againe to be a practifer in the common wealth, being wearie with the present time and state thereof. Howsoever it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, onely to see Cafar to keepe him his frend, and would ever be the first man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwayes studious to vtter some newe matter to praise him and his doinges. As that was he fayd touching the flatues of Fomper, the which being onerthrowen, Cafar commaunded them to be fet up againe, and forther were. For Cicero fayd,

that by that curtesie in setting vp of Pompeys statues againe, he did oftablishe his owne, So. Cicero being determined to wryte all the Romana historie, and to mingle with them many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deutles which they doe write and reporte: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and private troubles that came you him at once: whereof notwithstanding he him selfe was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife Terentia, bicause the had made but small ac- cicerodid put compt of him in all the warres: fo that he departed from Roma having no necessarie thing and his vife with him to enterteine him out of his contrie, and yet when he came backe againe into I TA-

LIE, the neuer thewed any sparke of loue or good will towardes him. For the neuer came to BRUND VSIVM to him, where he remeyned a long time: and worse then that, his daughter having the hart to take folong a jorney in hand to goe to him, the neither gave her company

to conduct her, nor money or other furniture convenient for her, but so handled the matter, that Civero at his returne to Rome founde bare walles in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in det besides. And these were the honestest causes alleaged for their dinorse. But besides that Terentia denved all these, Cicero him selfe gane her a good occasion to cleere her felfe, bicaufe he shortly after maried a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as cieer maied Terentia fayd) for her beawtie: or, as Tyro his ferraunt wrote, for her riches, to thende that a young main with her goods he might pay his dets. For she was very rich, & Cicero also was appointed her den. gardian, the being left fole heire. Now, bicause he ought a maruelous summe of money, his

D parents and frends did counfell him to many this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too

olde for her, bicause that with her goodes he might satisfie his creditors. But Antonius spea-

king of this mariage of Cicero, in his aunswers & Orations he made against the Philippians:

he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whome he was growen olde, being

merie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the smoke

of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any feruice of his contrie or common

wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his fecond wife, his daughter dyed in labor of child, in

Lentulus house, whose seconde wife the was, being before maried vnto Pifo, who was her first

husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he tooke

her death so forowfully, that he put away his second wife, bicause he thought she did reioyce

inge gathered together, euerie man was affrayed that the citie woulde againe fall into civill

warres. And Antonius alfo, who was Conful at that time, did affemble the Senate, and made

some speache and mocion then to draw things againe vnto quietnes. But Cicero having vsed

example of the Athenians)a generall oblinion of thinges done against Cafar, and to affigne

vnto Brutus and Cassius some governmentes of provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded:

F divers perswasions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the

E at the death of his daughter. And thus muche touching the state and troubles of his house. Nowe touching the conspiracie against Cafar, he was not made privile to it, although he was cicero nos one of Brutus greatest frendes, and that it grieved him to see thinges in that state they were made pring to brought vitto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But the confirmation of the time past, as much as any other man did. But the confirmation of the in deede the conspirators were affrayed of his nature, that lacked hardinesse: and of his age, cafe the which oftentimes maketh the stowtest and most hardiest natures, faint harted & cowardly. Norwithstanding, the conspiracie being executed by Brutus and Cassius, Casars frendes be-

grudge beswext Anto nius and Ci-

but his person, to make all things well. Then Cicero condemning his dastardly feare, returned

111 mill beswexs Cicero & Antonius

frendflip.

drame of 0. one night that the Senators sonnes were called into the Capitoll, bicause supiter had appoinadopted some ted to shew them him, that one day should come to be Lord and king of Rome, and that the of lutin Ca- Romanes being desirous to see who it should be, ranne all vitto the temple: and that all the dainly the dores of the temple were open, & then that al the children rose one after an other, F & went and passed by the image of Iupiter, who looked vpon them all, and sent them discontented, fauing this young Cafar, vnto whom he put foorth his hand as he paffed by, and fayd:

for the people of them felues were forie, when they fawe Cafari bodie broughthrough the A market place. And when Antonias also did thew them his gowne all bebloodied, cut, & thrust through with fwordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and fought vp and downe the market place if they coulde meete with any of them that had flaine him; and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houses to fer them a fire, But the conspirators hauing preuented this daunger, faued them selves; and searing that if they taried at Rome, they should have many such alaroms, they for sooke the citie. Then Antonine began to looke aloft. and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make him felfe king; but yet most of all vnto Cicero, aboue all others. For Antonius perceiping that Cicero began againe to increase in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was Brutus very frend; he did millike to fee him come neere him, and befides, there was at that time fome gealoufie between them, for the B diverfitie and difference of their manners and disposicions. Gicero being affrayed of this, was

foorthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of

first of all in minde to go with Dolabella, to his prouince of Stria, as one of his Lieutenaunts. But they that were appointed to be Confuls the next yeare following after Antonius, two noble citizens, & Ciceroes great frends, Hircine, & Panfa: they intreated him not to forfake them. vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of Antonius, so he would remaine with them. But Cicero, neither beleuing nor altogether mistrusting them, for fooke Dolabella, and promised Hircius and Pansa, that he would spend the sommer at ATHENS, and that he would return again to Rome fo foone as they were entred into their Confulthip, With ciero faileth this determination Ciero tooke fea alone, to goe into GRECE. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not faile, and newes came to him daily from C Rome, as the manner is, that Antonius was wonderfully chaunged, and that nowe he did nothing any more without the authoritie & confent of the Senate, & that there lacked no thing

people out to meete him, that he coulde doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honor him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning Antonius affembled the Senate. and called for Cicero by name. Cicero refused to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was werie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before : but in deede, the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspicion of an ambushe that was layed for him by the way, if he D had gone, as he was informed by one of his verie good frends. Antonius was marueloufly offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore fent fouldiers to his house, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or else to fette his house a fire. After that time, Cicero and he were alwayes at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: vntill that the young Cafar returning from the citie of A-POLLONIA, came as lawfull heire vnto Iulius Cafar Dictator, and had contencion with Anto-

nius for the summe of two thowsande fine hundred Myriades, the which Antonius kept in his cicero and 0- handes of his fathers goodes. Thereuppon, Philip who had maried the mother of this young C.efar, and Marcellus, who had also maried his fifter, went with young Cafar vnto Cicero, and there agreed together, that Cicero should helpe young Casar with the fauour of his authoritic, E and eloquence, as well towardes the Senate, as also to the people: and that Casar in recompence of his good will should stande by Cicero, with his money and souldiers. For this young Cafar, had many of his fathers old fouldiers about him, that had ferued under him. Now there was an other cause that made Cicero glad to imbrace the frendshippe of this young Casar, and that was this. Whilest Pompey and Iulius Cafar were aline, and in good case: Cicero dreamed children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that so-

My Lordes of Rome, this childe is he that shall end all your civil warres, when he commeth to be Lord of Rome. Some fay, that Givero had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not : and that the next morning he went of purpose into the fielde of Mars, where these young boyes did exercise them felues, who, when he came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home, and that amongest them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him verie well, and muling at him the more, asked him whole fonne he was. The boy aunswered, that he was the fonne of one Offauius, (a man otherwife of no great calling) & of Accia, the fifter of Iulius Ca- Offauius, and far: who having no childe, made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all Accianthe pahis landes and goodes. After that time, it is reported, that Cicero was verie glad to speake to will Cafe.

he called him father. But Brutus being offended with him for it, in his Epistells he wrote vnto

D practifed by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to

minish the greatnes of his power: saying, that their contrie now stoode in no neede offorce,

R him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked Ciceroes frendshippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the fame yeare that Cicero was Conful. And these Octaving Co. be the reasons alleaged, why Cicero did fauor this young Cafar, But in truth, first of all the great for was borne malice he bare vnto Antonius, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in Cicerost Conmy opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young Casars frend : knowing that the force sufficient and power of his fouldiers, would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in manedging the affaires of the state, besides that the young man coulde flatter him so well, that

Atticus, he sharply reproueth Cicero, faying, that for feare of Antonius he flattered this young Cafar: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seeke for the libertie of Rome, as he did procure him felfe a louing and gentle maifter. This notwithstanding, Brutus brought with him Cueroes sonne that studied Philosophie at ATHENS, and gave him charge of men vnder him, and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed him selfe verie forward, and valliant. Now Ciceroes authoritie and power grew againe to be so great in Romb, as euer it was before. Ciceroes grew For he did what he thought good, and so vexed Antonius, that he draue him out of the citie, Power as

and fent the two Confuls Hircius and Panla against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young Casar should have sergeaunts to carie roddes and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his contry. After that Antonius had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were flaine, both the armies came vnto Cafar. The Senate then being affraied of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they

nor feare of defence, fith her enemie Antonius was fled and gone. Cafar fearing this, fent men fecretly vnto Cicero, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, Officialise Caand that when they thould be in office, he should doe and appoint what he thought good, ha- far such to be uing the young man at his commaundement, who defired no more but the honor only of the

name, Cafar him felfe confessed afterwardes, that being affrayed he should have bene viterly cast away, to have bene left alone: he finely served his turne by Ciceroes ambition, having perfwaded him to require the Confulship, through the helpe and affistance that he would geue him. But there was Cicero finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was conretented to fue for the Confulthin in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreable to it: wherefore his frendes presently reproued him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had vndone him selfe, and together also lost the libertie of his contrie. For this young man Octavius Ca-

(ar being growen to be verie great by his meanes and procurement: when he saw that he had the Confulthippe vpon him, he for fooke Cicero, and agreed with Antonius and Lepidus. Then Offenius Ceioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene for forfaketh lands left in common betwene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred Note the ficmen and yowards, whom they had appointed to be flaine. But the greatest difficultie and dif-kelnes of ference that fell out between them, was about the outlawing of Cicero. For Antonius woulde youth,

hearken to no peace betwene them, vnlesse Cicero were slaine first of all : Lepidus was also in of the Trism F the fame mind with Antonius: but Cafar was against them both. Their meeting was by the ci- wiri: Antotieof BOLONIA, where they continued three dayes together, they three only fecretly confulting in a place environned about with a litle river. Some fay that Cafar stuck hard with Cicero

Cicero apflaine.

the two first daves, but at the third, that he yeelded and for fooke him. The exchaunge they a. A greed voon betwene them, was this. Cafar forfooke Cicero: Lepidus, his owne brother Paulus. and Antonius, Lucius Cafar, his vncle by the mothers fide. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor blood, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or fauage beaft is fo cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he haue liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing. Cicero was at a house of his in the contrie, by the city of THYSCYLV M, hauing at home with him also his brother Quintus Cicero. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to goe to Astyra, a place by the sea side where Cicero had an other house, there to take fea, and from thence to goe into MACED ON VINTO Brutus. For there ran a rumor that Brutus was verie strong, and had a great power. So, they caused them selues to be conueyed thither B in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorow and griese, that they could not otherwife have gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but Quintus chiefly, who tooke

it most grieuously. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from

his house, and that Cicero his brother also had verie litle for him selfe: he thought it best that

Cicero shoulde holde on his iorney, whilest he him selfe made an arrant home to fetche suche

thinges as he lacked, and so to make hast againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought

it best so, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they

C.e/2rs house, & to kill him selfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to re-

from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduifed determinations, being perplexed

uenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned D

tooke leaue of ech other. Within few dayes after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his owne feruaunts, vnto them that made fearch for him: he was cruelly flaine, and his fonne with him. C But Mareus Tullius Cicero being caried vnto Asty RA, and there finding a shippe readie, imbarked immediatly, and fayled alongest the coast vnto mount Circe, hauing a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make fayle againe, he came a shore, cither for feare of the fea, or for that he had some hope that Casar had not altogether for saken him: and therewithall returning towardes Rome by lande, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight howe to resolue, and sodainly chaunging his minde: he wouldeneedes be caried backe againe to the fea, where he continued all night maruelous forowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe fecretly vnto Octavius

as he was, he put him felfe againe into his feruauntes handes, to be conveyed by fea to an other place called * CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleafaunt fommer house, where the read Caiese. North winds, called Etelia, doe geue a trimme fresh aver in the sommer season. In that place

also there is a litle temple dedicated vnto Apollo, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crowes, making a maruelous noyse, that came flying towardes Ciceroes matter fore-(bexed by

shippe, which rowed vpon the shore side. This shole of crowes came and lighted vpon the yard of their faile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that enery man judged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. Cieero notwithstanding this, camea crowes rate Cicero. shore, and went into his house, and layed him downe to see if he couldesseepe. But the most E parte of these crowes came and lighted upon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyle: and some of them got vnto Ciceroes bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills pluckt of the clothes that couered his face. His men feeing that, & faying to them felues that they were too vile beafts, if they would tarie to fee their maister flaine before their eyes, considering that brute beafts had care to faue his life, feeing him to vinworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they coulde to faue his life: partely by intreatie, and partely by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the fea. But in the meane time came

Herennius the murderers appointed to kill him, Herennius a Centurion, and Popilius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowfande men, whose cause Cicero had once pleaded before F the Iudges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) having fouldiers attending vpon them. So Ciceroes gate being thut, they entred the house by force, and missing him,

they asked them of the house what was become of thim. They auniwered they could not tell. Howbeitthere was a youngboy in the houle called Fhilologie, a flaue infranchifed by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought win the Latingongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he told this Herennius, that his servauntes carried him in a litter towards the sea. through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with woode or either fide: Powing the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, tanne about on the outline of the lanesty comments and Herennius on thother side entrouve lanes. Clean horizing him com-

ming, commanded his men to fet downe his litter, and taking his bear and life left hande, as faine by Hee his manner was , he flowtly looked the murderers in the faces, his headed mabeard being all white, and his face leane & wrinckled, for the extreame for owes he had taken; divers of them B that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, while the there are the grant with the state of the grant with the grant So Cicero being three score and source yeards of age; thrust his necke out of whatter, and had his head cut of by Antonius commaundement, and his hands allo willick receithe Orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Giero call the Orations hewidge against him, for the malice he bare him : & do yet continue the same name vitill this at sleet time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to Romes Antonius by thatince was bufily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers; who will make at a of them & faw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and profesioning were executed: and thereuppon commaunded his head and his hands should straight be let vp ouer the pul- cierres had pit for Orations, in the place called Roftra. This was a fearefull and hor fible fight vito the and hands feet

Romans, who thought they faw not Ciceroes face; but an image of Antonias life and difficillation: who among fo many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did the act only that had ration. fome thew of goodnes, which was this. He deliuered Philologus into the handes of Pomponia. A frame the wife of Quintus Cicero: and when the had him, besides other cruell to montes the made mismitudes him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne field of by lide morfells, and to broyle them, by remained and then to eate them. Some historiographers doe thus reporte it. But Tyro who was a flaud Quantum infranchised by Cierco made no mencion of the mention of infranchifed by Cicero, made no mencion of the treason of this Philologus, Howbeit I vndert of Philologus stoode that Cafar Augustus, long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, for burging who had a booke in his hande of Giceroes? and he fearing least his Vncle woulde be anotie to of his mailing finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. Cafar faw it, and tooke is D from him, and red the most parte of it standing, and then delinered it to the young boy, and favd vnto him : he was a wife man in deede, my childe, and loued his contrie well. After her specific co had flaine Antonius, being Conful: he made Ciceroes fonne his colleague and fellow Conful for his wish him in whole time the Sangte and the share and the sh with him, in whose time the Senate ordeyned, that the images of Antonius thould and crimin

be throwen downe, and depriued his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence foorth none of the house & familie of the Antony should euer after beare the christen name of Marcus. So, Gods iustice made the extreame renenge and punishment of Antonim, to fal into the house of Cz-Substitution and

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Gero with Demosthenes.



Demofibenes eloquence

His is as muche as we could gather by our knowledge touching the A Demofthenes . Furthermore , leaving the comparison a fide of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations : me thinkes I may fay thus muche of them. That Demostheres did whollie imploy all his win and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the arte of Rethoricke, and that in force; and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time and for grauetie and magnificent ftyle, all those also that onhis time and for grauette and magnine the profile and arte, all the ly wryte for theme or often and for tharpnesse and generalite learned in all

Sophisters and Maisters of Rethoricke. And that Cicero was a man generallie learned in all sciences, and that had studied divers bookes, as appeareth plainely by the sundrie bookes of B Philosophie of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his Orations he wrote in certeine causes to serue him when he pleaded: that he fought occasions in his bytalke to shewe men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discerne some sparke of their manners and condicions, For Demosthenes phrase hath no maner of finenesse, geatles, nor grace in it, bur is altogether graue and harshe, and smelleth not of the lampe, as Pytheas sayd when he mocked him: but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and there with also a sharpe and fower nature. But Cicero oftentimes fell from pleasaunt tawntes, vnto plaine scurrilitie: and turning all his pleadinges of matters of importaunce, to sporte and laughter, having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlynesse that became a man of his calling. As in his O- C ration for Calius, where he fayeth, it is no maruell if in so greate aboundance of wealth and finenesse he giue him selse a litle to take his pleasure; and that it was a folly not to vse pleasures lawefull, and tollerable, fith the famousest Philosophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicitie of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also, that Marcus Cato having accused Murana, Cicero being Conful, defended his cause, and in his Oration pleasauntly girded all the sect of the Stoicke Philosophers for Catoes sake, for the straunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: infomuch as he made all the people and Judges also fall a laughing a good . And Cato him felfe also smiling a litle, fayd vnto them that fate by him : what a laughing and mocking Conful haue we, my Lordes ? but letting that passe, it seemeth that Cieero was of a pleasaunt and merie nature: for his face shewed euer greate life and mirth in it. D Whereas in Demosthenes countenaunce on thother fide, they might discerne a maruelous diligence & care, and a penfine man, neuer weary with paine: infomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him selfe) called him a peruerse & froward man. Furthermore, in their writings

DEMOSTHENES and CICERO.

939

A is different, that the one speaketh modestly in his owne praise, so as no man can justly be of. Demosthant fended with him : and yet not alwayes, but when necessitie enforceth him for some matter of making of great importaunce, but otherwise verie discreete and modest to speake of him selfe. Citero in him selfei contrarie maner, ving too often repeticion of one felfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an efformation extreame ambition of glorie, when inceffantly he cried out:

Let speare and shield gene place to governe, And geue the tung the laurell Crowne.

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praise his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations als fo which he had wrytten or pleaded: as if he shoulde have contended against Isocrates, or Anaximenes, a maister that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of

For, as it is requifite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to feeke authoritie by his elo-

Which were both sierce and stowns in armes, And fit to wworke their enemies harmes.

quence: fo, to couet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base minde. And therefore in this poynt we must confesse that Demosthenes is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him felfe, that all his eloquence came onely but by practife, the which also required the fauor of his auditorie: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no leffe) that therefore woulde make any boaft of them selves. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authoritie Demosthmen C in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Infomuche as small cite errors in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Captaines, and they that had armies in their handes, stoode in neede of their eloquence. As their Ora-Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, they all were holpen of Demosthenes: and Pompey, and Otta- sions in the wins Cafar the young man, of Cicero: as Cafar him felfe confesseth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto Agrippa, and Macenas. But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condicion more, Authoritis (as it is reported, and so is it true) then when one is in authoritie: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. Demo-vices. thenes coulde neuer deliuer any suche proofe of him selfe, bicause he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not Generall of the armie, which he him felfe had prepared against king Philippe. Cicero on thother side being sent Treasorer into Sicile, and Pro- cicero at-D consul into CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in such a time as couetousnes raigned most: (info-finence from much that the Captaines & Gouernors whom they fent to gouerne their provinces, thinking it villanie and dastardlinesse to robbe, did violently take thinges by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he shewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gaue foorth many proofes of his curtesie and goodnes. Furthermore, Cicero being created Conful by name, but Dictator in deede, having absolute power and authoritie over all thinges to suppresse the rebellion and conspirators of Catiline: he proued Platoes prophecie true, which was: That the cities are fafe from daunger, when the chiefe Magistrates and Gouernors (by some good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wiledom and iustice. Demosthenes was reproued for his cor-E tuption, and felling of his eloquence: bicause secretly he wrote one Oration for Phormio, and an other in the selfe same matter for Apollodorus, they being both aduersaries. Further he was saker. defamed also for receiving money of the king of Phrsia, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of Harpalus. And though some peraduenture woulde obiect, that the reporters thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not possibly deny this that Demosthenes had no power to refraine from looking of the presentes which divers kinges did offer him, praying him to accept them in good parte for their fakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vsurie by trafficke on the sea, the extreamest yet of all other. In contrariemaner (as we haue fayd before) it is certeine that Cicero being Treasorer, refused the gifts which the Sicilians offered him, there : and the presentes also which the king of the CAP-

F PADOCIANS offred him whilest he was Proconsul in CILICIA, and those especially which his

frendes pressed upon him to take of them, being a great summe of money, when he went as a

banished man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him,

Cicerottyac and divers dettrines. Demofthenes and Ciceroes

Cicero.

bernexi Demosthenes and death.

Divers confer bicause by judgement he was banished as a theese. The banishment of the other was for as A of the banish honorable an acte as ever he did, being banished for ridding his contrie of wicked men. And moffhenes and therefore of Demosthenes, there was no speeche after he was gone: but for Cicero, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passe no decree by their authoritie, before Ciceroes banishment was reuoked by the people. In deede Cicero idlely

passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACED ON: and one of the chiefest acts that Demosthenes did, in all the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment. For he went vnto enery city, and did affist the Ambassadors of the GRECIANS. and refused the Ambassadors of the MACED ONIANS. In the which he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either Themistocles, or Alcibiades, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he B practifed before, and was euer against Antipater, and the MACED ONIANS. Where Lalius in open Senate sharply tooke vp Cicero, for that he fate still and fayd nothing, when that Octavius Cafar the young man made peticion against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe. and being so young, that he had never a heare on his face. And Brutus selfe also doth greatly reproue Cicero in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grieuous and

greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death of Cicero most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his seruauntes) feeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitiefully cut of. Whereas Demosthenes, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him : yet for that he had C prepared the poylon long before, that he had kept it long, and also vied it as he did, he can not but be maruelously commended for it. For fith the god Neptune denved him the benefit of his fanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he faued him felfe out of the fouldiers handes of the tyran, and also scorned the bloody crueltic of Antipater.

Demetrius.



Ho first likened arts to our sences, semeth to have respected especially Hos sences that one property of them both, in receiving objects of contrary qua- and arees doe lity: for, in the vie & end of their operacion, there is great difference. The senses receive indifferently, without discretion and judgement, white and blacke, fweete and fower, foft and hard : for their office is only to admit their feuerall objects, and to carie and referre the judge-

ment thereof to the common sence. But artes being the perfection of the case of the common sence. But artes being the perfection of the case of the common sence and allow those things onely which make for their operacion, regarding & eschuing the contraries. Thone chiefly, and for vie: thother by the way, and with intent to anoyde them. So Philicke dealeth with difeases, B Musicke with discordes, to thend to remoue them, and worke their contraties, and the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperature, inflice, and wisdom, doe not only confider honesties vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effectes of lewdnes, corruption,

and damage. And innocencie, which vannteth her want of experience in vidue practifes: men call simplicitie, and ignoraunce of thinges, that be necessarie and good to be knowen. And therefore the auncient LACED EMONIANS in their solemne feastes forced their ILOTES The mane of the bondinen, to ouercharge them selues with wine : and suche they shewed them vnto their of the Sparts youth, by the apparant beaftlines of dronken men, to worke in them an abhorring of to lothe flour dronker. fomevice. Wherin, although I can not much praise them for humanity or wisedom, that cor

rupt and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other yer (as I hope) C it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongest the rest I put in one or two paier of suche, as lining in great place & accompt, have increased their same with insamy. Which in truth, I doe not, to please & draw on the reader with variety of report : but as Ismenias the THEBAN Musitian shewed his schollers, both those that strake a cleane stroke, with, do so, & such as bungled it, with, do not fo: & Antigenidas thought men should like better, & with greater defire totend for skill, if they heard and discerned vitunable notes : so thinke I, we shall be the forwarder in The case of

reading & following the good, if we know the lines, and fee the deformity of the wicked. This definition treaty contained the lines of Demetrius, furnamed the Fortgainer, & M. Antony the Triumpir, the sinked & great examples to confirme the faying of Plato: That from great minds, both great vertues Plate: of & great vices do procede. They were both given ouer to women & wine, both valliat & liberal, with and both sumptuous & high minded, fortune served them both alike, not only in the course of their KKKK iii

Demetrius parentage.

The death of younger brother of De-Demetrius bartie.

Demetrius maners.

abide no e-

she East kings was to kill their owne children, viues, and mo.

thers. Demetrine

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an age) and he commonly followed Antigonus courte, and neuer practifed any villanie or treafon to him, neither was he thought such a man : yet Antigonus did somewhat suspect him, bicause of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great fielde, he sowed of these ferapinges of gold, and that of that feede, first of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the straw, and the cares of the wheate cut of, and that he being angrie and verie for it, some tolde F him that Mithridates had cut of these golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him into the realme of Ponr. Amigonus being maruelofly troubled with this dreame, after he had

fonne together, is a great safetie to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his great-

nes: fo gealous is a king to have a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breede.

lives, in attenting great matters, fortimes with good, fortimes with illsuccesse, in getting & A lofing things of great confequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, restoring both when they hoped not. But also in their ende there was no great difference, thone brought to his death by his mortal enemies, at the others fortune normuch vnlike. But now to our histo-

rie. Antigonus had two fonnes by his wife Stratonic, the daughter of Corraus, the one of them he named Demetrius, and the other Philip aftering fathers name. Thus farre the most wrvters doe agree : howbeit some holde opinion, that Demetrius was not the sonne of Antigonus. but his Nephewe. But bleause his father dyed leaving him a childe, and that his mother was straight maried againe vito Antigonus: thereuppon camerhe reporte that he was Antigonus fonne. Howfocuer it was, Philip, that was not much younger then Demetrius, dved. Now for Demetries, though he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing to high as his father, but yet to B passing and wonderfull faver, that no painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeat

to his likenes. For they faw a sweete countenance, mixed with a kinde of grauetie in his face. a feare with curtefic, and in incomparable Princely maiestic accompanied with a lively spirit and youth, and his wit and manners were fuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleafaunt vnto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasaunt in company having leasure and most genen to banketing, pleasaunt life, and more wantonly genen to follow any lust and pleafure, than any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull & diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And therefore he maruelously commended, and also endeuoured to follow Dionylius, (as much to fay, as Bacchus) aboue all the other goddes, as he that had bene a wife and valliant Captaine in warre, and that in peace invented and vsed all the pleasure that & might be. He maruelously loued and reuerenced his father, and it seemeth that the dutieful-

nes he shewed vnto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience & dutie of a sonne. than otherwise to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for proofe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father Antigonus, gening audience to certaine Ambassadors, and after he had done his duetie to him, and kiffed him: he fate downe by him even as he came from hunting, having his dartes in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then Antigonus calling the Ambassadors allowed as they went their way, having received their aunswere: my Lords, sayd he, you shall carie home this reporte of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we liue one with an other. As meaning to shewe thereby, that the agreement between the father and the D

So that the greatest Prince and most auncientest of all the successors of Alexander, boasted that he stoode not in feare of his sonne, but did suffer him to sitte by him, having a dart in his hand, So was this house onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kinges, least defiled with suche villanie, many successions after: and to consesse a troth, in all Antigonus rase there was not one, but Philip onely, that flue his owne sonne. But we have many examples of divers other houses of kinges, that have put their sonnes, wives, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinarie thing with them to kill them, and neuer flicke at it. For like as Geometricians would have men graunt them certaine proposicions which they suppose without E proofe: euen so was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the safetie of their

estate. But further, to showe you more plainly that Demetrius was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearely loued his frendes: we may alleage this example. Mithridates, the fonne of Ariobarzanes, was his familiar frend and companion (for they were both in maner of made his fonne sweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuv to that he would tell Wint he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed and therewith that he was determined to purthis young man Mithridates to death . Demetrius was marticlous fory for mand therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paffe the time away with Mithridates he durft not by word of mouth viter that he knew bicaufe of his other how heit taking him afide from his other familliers, when they were both together by them fellies,

he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, Mithridates loking on him: flie Mithridates.

he wrote on the ground with the end of this datt, out in the same and the wery fame night into Capparoc reand Demental thorety after it was his definite to fulfill Antigonus dreame. For he conquered many goodly familiar up. contries, and it was he onely that established the house of the kingdom of Power the which Mithridates the ROMANES afterwardes ouerthewe, about the eight fuccession. By these examples we may king of Ponto easily conjecture the good nature and curtefie of Demetrius. For like as the elements (according to Empedorles opinion) are ever at * ftrife together, but specially those that are hearest * Bicante he eache to other even fo, though all the fuccessors of Alexander were at continual warres to Jayd, that love gether, yet was it foonest kindled, and most cruell betwene them which bordeted nearest vn. were ever the rocche other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occasion of brawle together, efficient canas fell out at that time betwene Antigonus and Ptolomy. This Antigonus lay most commonly in Sus of generathe contry of PHRYGIA: who having intelligence that Ptolomy was gone into CYPAVs, and raping of all

that he ouerranne all Syria, winning by force or faier meanes, all the townes and cities subthat he other he fent his sonne Demetrius thether, beeing at that time but two and twenty C yeares of age, and it was the first time that ever he tooke charge as generall to his father in mu and Piomatters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of watres, fight ting a battell with an olde fouldier (trained up in the discipline of warres under Alexander the generall to great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was foone ouer- Anugonus.athrowen, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were flavne gainst Protefine thowfand men, and almost eight thowfand taken: and besides, Demetrius lost his tents & Demenius .. paulions, his gold and filuer, and to be short, all his whole carriage. But Ptolomy fent him all werthrowen in his thinges againe, and his friends also that were taken after the battell, with great curteous prolony, wordes: that he would not fight with them for all thinges together, but onely for honor, and The bounts

craued leave once againe to fight a battell with Ptolomy: he graunted him. So, shortly after

came Cilles, Ptolomyes generall, with a great puylantarinie, to drive him altogether out of Sr-

det, nothing regarding the treasure nor the honor he had gotten by this victorie; but onely

the benefit of his requitall of Ptolomyes curtefie towardes him. But yet he did nothing of his

gonus also from the citie of CHLENES, for the exceeding toy he had of this victorie, as also for

the great defire he had to fee his sonne. After that, he sent Demetrius into A RABIA, against a

Empire. Demetrius receiving them at his handes, belought the gods that he might not long fulnes of Pto-D liue a debter vnto Ptolomy for this great curtefie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now Demetrius tooke not this ouerthrow like a young man, though it was his first Demetrius fouldierfare: but like an olde and wife Captaine, that had abidden many overthrowes, he vfed great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe the cities & contries in his hands under obedience, and did traine and exercise his souldiers in armes, whome he had gathered togither. Antigonus having newes of the overthowe of his sonne Demetrius, faid no more, but that Ptolomy had ouercomen beardles men: and that afterwardes he should fight with bearded men. But now, bicause he would not discorage his sonne altogether, who

E RIA. For they made no great accompt of Demetrius, bicause he had bene once ouerthrowen before. Howbeit Demetrius stale apon him, gaue him charge on the sodaine, and made him so Demetrius affraid, that he tooke both the campe, & the generall, with feuen thowland priloners besides, victorie of and wanne a maruelous treasure of money: which made him a glad man, not so much for the gaine he should have by it, as for the oportunitie he had thereby to come out of Ptolomyes

owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiving full graunt and commiffion from him to dispose of all things as he thought good, he sent backe Cilles vnto Ptolomy, and Demenius

al his other friends besides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully bestowed on them. thankes unes F This misfortune and ouerthrow did veterly put Ptolomy out of all Syria, and brought Anti-

KKKK iiii

bout that time Seleneus, (whome Antigonys had driven from BABYLON) returning thithera.

fraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leysure enough to retyre with fafetie, and with a great boory of a thowfand camells, which he brought away with him. A.

Demetrius inuadeth Me

goe about to fer Grace at

sheriliberies Demetrius received them very curteoufly, and fent with them for pledge, one of the dearest

gaine, he came and conquered it without other ayde then of him felfe: and went with a great armie against the people and nations confining vpon the INDIAN s, and the provinces adiovning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereuppon Demetrius hoping to find Maso-POTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the river of Euphrates, & came vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, and there diftreffed the garrison of Selenem, that keptone of the castells or citadells of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in seuen thowsand soul. B diers to keepe them, he commaunded the reft of his men to get what they could, & to bringe it away with them. After that, he marched towards the fea to returne home, leaving thereby the Realme and kingdom of Seleucus in better state and safetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the contry from Seleucus, leaving him nothing in it. by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that Ptolomy lay at the leege of the citie of HALYCARNASSYS: whereuppon he drew thither with Antigoniu & speede to make him raise the seege, and thereby saued the city from him, Now, bicause by this exployte they wanne great fame, both of them, (Antigonus and Demetrius) fell into a maruelous desire to set all GR ECE at libertie, the which Ptolomy and Cassander kept in seruitude and bondage. Neuer king tooke in hande a more honorable nor infter warre and enterprise, then C that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GRECIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in confultacion what way to take, to bring their purpose and defire to passe, and having taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of Antigonus chiefest friends about him, told him that he should take the citie, and place a good garrison there for them selues, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GR ECE. Antigonus would not harken to that, but faid, that the loue and good will of men was a furer bridge, & that the citie of A THENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, ypon the toppe of a kepe or watche tower. Thus Demetrius hoysed sayle, having five thowsand silver talents, D and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie fayle, and failed towardes the citie of Athens: in the which Demetrius PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalfe of Cassander, & kept a great strong garrison there within the hauen and castell of MVNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde to further his iorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arrived in the hauen of PIR & A, the five and twenty day of the moneth Thargelion, (now called Maye) before any man knew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the citie, and lesse, that they might easily see them from thence: euery man prepared him selse to receive them, taking them to be Ptolomyes shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernors ynderstanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them selves: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, E and to repulse them, comming so sodainly vpon them. Demetrius having found the barre of the hauen open, launched in prefently. Then being comen to the view of them all, & standing vpon the hatches of his galley, he made fignes with his hand that he prayed filence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaymed alowed by one of his Heraulds, that his father had fenthim in happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, and to restore them againe to their auncient libertie and freedom, to enjoye their lawes and auncient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamacion made, all the common people straight threwe downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great showtes of ioy : praying him to land, and calling him alowde their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with Demetrius PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although R

he performed not that he promifed, and also sent Ambassadors vnto him to treate of peace.

friends his father had, Aristodemus MILESIAN, Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and fafety of Demetrius PHALERIAN, who, by reason of the chaunge and alteracion of the gonemment of the common wealth at A THENS, stoode more infeare of the people of ATHENS. than of his enemies. Therefore Demetrism regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conveyed (according to his defire) vnto THEBES, with good and fufficient fafe con- Demential

duct. And for Demetrius him selfe, although he was very desirous to see the citie, he saide he honoreth Dewould not come into it before he had first restored it vnto her auncient libertie and freedom, merius Phase and also driven away the garrison thence: and thereuppon he cast trenches round about the levius. castell of Mynychia. In the meane season bicause he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coafted towards the citie of MBGARA, within the which Caffander also kept a strong garrison.

B Demetrius bufily following these matters, was advertised that Cratesipolis, surnamed Polyperchon (who had bene Alexanders wife) a Lady of passing fame and beauty, and lay at that time in the citie of PATRAS, would be glad to fee him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the Magarians, tooke his iorney presently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stale from them, and made his tent to be set vp a good way from them, bicause this Ladie might not be seene when the came vnto him. Some of his enemies having present in- Dementure

telligence thereof, came and fet vpon him before he knew it. Demetrius was so scared, that he dayinger for

had no further leyfure, but to cast an ill fauored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising him selfe to slie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they miffed him, they tooke his tent, and Call his money in it. After that, the citie of MEGARA was taken and won from Cassanders men, Dementus where Demetrius fouldiers would have facked all: howbeitthe Athenians made humble city of Megainterceffion for them, that they might not be spoyled. Demetries thereuppon, after he had re, and refisdriven out Cassanders garrison, he restored it agains to her former libertie. In doing that , he rethin to her

called to mind the Philosopher Stilpo, a famous man in M & G A R A, though he lived a quiet and Silpo, a facontemplative life. He fent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of mount his, Stilpo aunswered him, they had not: For, o he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from sopher in Me me. This notwithstanding, all the flaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another Stillness feetime, Demetrius making much of him, as he was going his way faide vnto him: well, Stilpo, I ing: vnio Deleane you your citie free. It is true, O king, o he, for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly af-D ter, he returned againe vnto Athens, and layde seege to the castell of Municula, the which he tooke, and draue out the garrison, & afterwards rased it to the ground. After that, through

the intreatie and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh him felfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to affemble, and then pemeritares reflored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their contry, promising them besides, foreth the Ac that he would procure his father to fende them a hundred and fiftye thowfand busshells of their last of wheate, and as much woode and tymber as should serve to make them a hundred and fiftie liberise. gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through Demetrius meanes, recoursed the Democratia again. Democratian (to wit, their populer gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had loft it, and liued all the time

E was fought by the citie of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, under the government Oligarchia of a fewe gouernors in fight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, bicause they were vnder the gouernment of one man Demetrius PHALERIAN, that had absolute authoritie ouer them. But by this meanes they made their fauior and preserver of their contry, Demetrius (who seemed to have obteined such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberalitie) hateful and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeasurable honors which they gaue him. For first decreed of all, they called Antigonus and Demetrius kings, who before that time had alwayes refused to Demetrius the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatives graunted) they by the Athe-

fume to chalenge, nor to take uppon them. So unto them only they gaue the ftyle and names F of the goddes fauiors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whome they called Eponymos, bicause they did show the yeares of olde time, by the names of them that had bene Majors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordeyned in the counsell of the citie, that there should yearely

betwene their loffe and reftitucion from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that

that had deuided between them the Empire of Philip and Alexander, durft neuer once pre-

I tilled with it but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprouge up. And merefore the Poet Philippides (an enemie of the aforefave Stratockes) in one of this comedies Philippide writeth certaine verses against him to this effect. nie towards Cymen, where

The partie for wwhose wwickednes the veyle wwastent interreption and Which which the honor due to God did worship meinmolt warnes is a great be

Is he for wwhom our budding wines were blasted with the frost of the Those thinges and not our comedies have us so deorly soft

This Philippides was very well beloued of king Lylmachin, informuch that for his fake the bing had done many pleasures to the common wealth of ATHERS For he loued him! Codearwhat as often as he faw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warse) on matter of rear importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not any allows formuch effeeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued & effectived for his vertuous and honest condicions. He was no troublesom man nother was he interfed with the fineneffe of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him;

Refres, who belides was no great wife man, they made him a very foole. Demetrias being at

and girling him good countenance faid voto him; what wile thou have me give the of my things Philippides reven what it shall please thee, O king, so it be none of the lectes on thus philippides much we thought good to speake of him in bytalke, bicanse airbonest player of comedies, motable ainfould matche with a frameles and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was ano. fiver unto thet Democtides, of the village of SPHET TVS, that dreamed one a more strappeder kind of hoe chu, not defi-

noticourching the confectation of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of Apolla ving to heare mDEEPHES, that is to fay, that they should goe & aske the oracle of Devetrim: But, will here bu feetu.

with every effect and forme of the law as it was fet downe. In good howers the people ordevice that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of Athens, which shall goe vincoout saentrome C nior: and after that he hath done due facrifice vnto him he shall aske Demetring our faction, af-

rei what for the people thall with greatest holines and devotion, without delay, make confeeration of their holiest wifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to gaiethen, the people thal duely execute it. Thus, laying your Demetrius al thele foolish moc-

that time at leifure in ATHENS, he matried a widow called Eurydice, which came of that noble and auncient house of Miltiades, and had bene married before vnto one Opheltas Prince of Dements I the CYRENIANS, and that after his death returned agains to Athens. The Athenians were maint out very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honor that came to their citie, suppofing he had done it for their fakes. Howbeit he was foone wonne to be married, for he had Demurine many wines, but amongeft them all, he loued Phila best, and gaueher most honor and prehe-hadmany minence about them all partly for the respect of her father Antipater, and partly also for that there

fire had bene first maried vnto Craterus, whome the MACEDONIANS loued bestwhen he li- Phila Done. ued, and most lamented after his death, about all the other successors of Alexander. His father I suppose made him to marry her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meete Daugher, & for him: for he was maruelous young, and she very olde. And when Demetrius feemed not to Creatus wid-

The indgemen

Schmiddinger, see As

Where lucre may inserve withall. But fo much did Demetrius honor his wife Phila, and all his other wives he married, that he was not ashamed to keepea number of Curnsans, and other mens wives besides: so that he onely of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things paffed on in this fort he was commaunded by his father, to fight with Ptolomy for the Realme of CYPRVs. So there was no remedie but he must needes obey him, although other F wife he was very fory to leane the warre he had begonne to fet the G k actions at libertie the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from A-

THEMS, he fent vnto Cleonides Prolomyes generall, that kept the cities of County us and Sic -

be contented withall, his father rowned him foftly in the care with this faying:

VV hoze mariage bringeth store of gold.

Refuze no vvoman neve fo old.

Refuze not to become a thrall,

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of Euripides.

be chosen one by voyces of the people, whom they should name the Priest of their Sauios. whose name they should write and subscribe in all publike graunts and couenants, to showe the yeare : and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawen in the yeale or holy banner, in the which were fet out the images of their goddes, the patrones and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did confecrate the place, where Demetring first came out of his coche, and there did fet vp an aulter, and called it Demetrius aulter comming out of his coche : and vnto their tribes they added two other, the Antigonides and the Dame TRIADES. Their great counsell at large which they created yearely of fine hundred men, was then first of all brought into fixe hundred, bicause every tribe must needes furnishe of them

felues, fifty counfellers. But yet the straungest acte, and most new found invention of flattery.

cree, by the which it was ordeined: that those whome the common wealth should fend you

Anticonus and Demetrius, should in stead of Ambassadors be called Theori, as much to say, as

ministers of the sacrifices. For so were they called, whome they sent to Delphes to Apollo Pr.

theas, or vnto E LIDE, to Impiter Olympias, at the common and solemne feasts of all GRECE, to

doe the ordinary facrifices and oblations for the health and preferuation of the cities. This

the author of a decree, whereby they did facrifice vnto the goddes, to give them thankes for

the victorie : and meate was given amongest every tribe, in token of common ioy. But shortly

after the Messengers arrived, which brought report of the shipwracke and overthrowe. The

often as Demetrius came into the citie of A THENS, he should be received with all ceremonies

was that of Stratocles (being the common flatterer and people pleaser) who put forth this de-

of Stratocles

Stratocles in all things els was a desperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and diffolute life: & for his thameles boldnes, he feemed wholy to follow the steppes of Cleons foole hardines, and olde infolencie, which (when he lived) he shewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house called Phylacion. One day she having bought for his supper, bealtes heades and neckes commonly eaten, he fayd vnto her: why, how now? thou haft bought me C cruel faying. acates which we toffe like balls, that have to doe in the common wealth, Another time when the armie of the Athenians was ouerthrowen by sea, by the lle of Amorgos: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the streete of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands offlowers, as if the Athenians had wonne the battell: and was also

people werein an vprore withal, and fent for Stratocles in a maruelous rage. But he with a face of braffe came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, if I haue made you mery thefetwo dayes? Such was D Stratocles impudencie and railines. But, as the Poet Aristophanes fayth:

But vuhotter matters vuere that time in hand, Than fire that weafteth both by sea and land. For there was another that passed Stratocles in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as

and like folemnitie, as they vie in the feafts of Ceres and Bacchus: and further that they should giue vnto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnes and riches, at such time as Demetriso made his entry into the citie, so much money out of the common treasure, as should serve to make an image or other offring, which should be confecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And last of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit E the moneth of Ianuary) and called it Demetrion: and the last day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feaftes of Bacchus also called then Dionysia, they presently named Demetria. But the goddes by divers fignes and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these chaunges and alteracions. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order fet downe) they had paynted the images of Antigonus, and Demetrius, with the pictures of Iupster and Minerua: as they caried it 2 procession through the streete Ceranicus, it was torne a sonder in the middest by a tempest of winde. And furthermore, about the autters which were set vp in the honor of Demetrius and Antigonus, there grew a great deale of hemlocke, the which otherwise was vnposfible to growe there. On the feast day also of Bacchus, they were compelled to leaue the pompe F or procession for that daye, it was such an extreame hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell fuch a myll dewe and great frost upon it, that not onely their vines and olives were

of Munychion altered, & called Demetrien, for the VV anders Hemiockeshe vinall erbe, with the inyce po) foned of . fenders at A- delt withall that way. Thereuppon Demetrisis straight way tooke sea, and sayled with all the

armie towards Cyprvs, whereat his first comming he ouercame Menelaus Ptolomyes bins

ther. But shortly after, Ptolomy went thither in person with a great armie both by sea and land.

and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings and prowde words to eche other. For Ptob.

my sent to Demetrius to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his atmie came together

which would tread him under their feete, and marche upon his bellie, if he taried their com-

Battell by fea in the Ile of Cyprus.betwixt Deme-

ming Demetrius on the other fide fent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to lethin escape if he would sweare and promise vnto him to withdrawe his gatrisons which he hadin the effect of Coninthe, and Sycions. So the expectacion of this battell made thefetwe Princes not onely very penfine to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Princes ces, and kings: bicause the successethereof was vncertaine, which of them two should prenaile. But effery man judged this, that which of them obseyned the victorie, he should not go with Amigo- ly be Lord of the Realme of CYPRVs and SYRIA, but therewith also of greater power then all the reft Prolomy in person with fiftie fayle beganne to rowe against his enemie Demetrius, and commanded his brother Meneluss that when he fawe them fast grappled in fight together. he should lamche out of the hauen of SALAMINA, and give charge vpon the rereward of Demetrius shippes, to breake their order, with the three score gallies he had in charge, Demetrius on the other fide prepared tenne gallies against these three score, thinking them enowers

Demetrius victorye of

Lania, she fa-Santaken by upon the defeating of

A noterious flatterer in Antigonu

choke up the hauen mouth being but narrowe, so that none of the gallies that were within could come our: and furthermore; he disperfed his armie by land vpon the foreland poyut 6 which reacheinto the fea, and went him felfe into the maine fea with nyne score gallies, and gaue such a sierce charge vpon Ptolomy, that he valliantly made him sie. Who when he sawe his armie broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight gallies onely: for all the rest were significant. ther broken or funcke in fight; and those eight onely escaped, besides three score and sense which were taken, and all their fouldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers; and houshold feruaunts, his wines, his gold and filter, his armor, engines of batterie, and all fuch other warlike furniture and munition as was conneved abourd his carects and great (hippes riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped Demetrius hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among those spoyles also was taken that famous Curtisan Lamia. who at the first had her name onely, for her passing playing vpon the flute: but after the fellio D Curtifan trade, lier countenance and credit increased the more. So that euen then when her beautie through yeares fell to decaye, and that the found Demetrius much younger then been felfe : yet the fo wanne him with her fweete connerfation and good grace, that he onely liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victorie by fea, Menelaus made no morege Salamina yel- fiftance, but yeelded up SALAMINA & his shippes unto Demetrius, and put into his handes alfo twelue hundred horsemen, and twelue thowsand sootemen well armed. This so samous & triumphant victorie was yet much more beautified, by Demetrius great bountie and goodnes which he shewed in giuing his enemies slaine in battell honorable funeralls, setting the prison ners at liberty without ranfom paying, and giving moreover twelve hundred complet armors vnto the Athenians. After this, Demetrius sent Aristodemus MILESIAN vnto his father Antigonus, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. Aristodemus was the greatest flatterer in all Antigonus Court, who deuised then, as it seemeth to me, to addevnto this exployte the greatest slatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the lle of Cyprvs, he would in no wife have the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but commaunded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leave the shippe: but he himself got into a litle boate, and went vnto Antigonus, who all this while was in maruelous feare and perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily judge they are, which hope after to great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that Aristodemus was comming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keeps within dores him felfe, but fent his feruaunts and friends one after another to meete Arillote. F. mus, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went, But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and fostly wan

a fad countenance, and very demurely, speaking neuer a worde. Wherefore Antigonus hare being cold in his belly, he could fray no lenger, but would him felfe goe and meete with Arifodemus at the gate, who had a maruelous preasse of people following on him, besides those of the Court which ranne out to heare his auni wer. At length when he came neare vnto Anmeonus, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out aloved, God faue thee, O king Antigonus; we have overcome king Ptolomy in battell by fea, and have wonne the Realme of CYPR V S, with fixteene thowfand and eyght hundred prisoners. Then aunswered Antigonus, and God faue thee to: Truely Aristodemus thou hast kept vs in a trawnse a good while, but to munishe thee for the payne thou hast put vs to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good newes. Then was the first time that the people with a lowde voice called Antigonus and The full time

Demetrius kings. Now for Antigonus, his friendes and familliers did at that present instant pur Demenius on the royall band or diadeame uppon his heade: But for Demetrius, his father fent it vnto, were called him, and by his letters called him king. They also that were in A GYPT with Ptolomy, under-kinger. flanding that, did also call and falute him by the name of king; bicause it shoulde not seeme

that for one ouerthrowe received, their hartes were deade. Thus this ambition by icloufic & emulation, went from man to man to all Alexander's fuccessours. For Lysimachus then also be-

for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But Callander, though others wrote them selves kinges, he onely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increase of a newename, or chaunging of apparell, but it was such an C honor, as it lyft up their hartes, and made them fland upon them felues: and befides it fo framed their manner of life and conversation with men, that they grewe more prowd and stately, then ever they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apparelling them selues to playe their partes upon the stage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenaunce, their voyce, their manner of fitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their fubicats, when they had once taken away the vifer and

game to weare the diadeame, and likewise Seleucus, as often as he spake with the GRECIANS

diffimulation of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought fuch Notesbefore a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde. Antigonus therefore puffed vp with the glory of the vi- of flattery by ctorie of his sonne Demetrius, for the conquest of Cypris: he determined forthwith toset Milesen D voon Ptolomy. Him selfe led the armie by land, having his sonne Demetrius still rowing by the Anigonus & shore side with a great sleete of shippes. But one of his familliers called Medius, being asleepe Demenius had a vision one night that told him, what should be the ende and successe of this iorney. He Profession thought he sawe Antigonus ronne with all his armie who should have the vpper hande, and Medine

that at the first he ranne with great force and swiftnes: but that afterwardes his strength and dreame. breath fayled him fo much, that when he should returne, he had scant any poulse or breath, and with much adoe retyred agayne. And even foit chaunced vnto him. For Antigonus by land, was eftfoones in great daunger: and Demetrius also by sea was often in hazard to leave the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places, where was nether hauen, creekes. nor harbarough for his shippes. And at length, having lost a great number of his shippes. he was driven to returne without any attempt given . Nowe Antigonus was at that tyme litle leffe then foure fcore yeare olde, but yet his fatte and corpulent bodie was more combersom

to him then his yeares: therefore beeing growen vnmeete for warres, he vied his fonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wisely gouerne the waightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his youthfull partes, lauishe expences, and common dronkennes he gaue him selfe vnto. For in tyme of peace, he was given over to all those vices: but in tyme of warre, he was as so-

ber and continent, as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that Lamis beeing manifestly knowen to be Mystresse ouer him, one daye when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiffe his father; and that Antigonus finyling vpon him fayde what howe now Sonne, doest thou thinke thou art kissing of Lamia? Another tyme

Demetrius was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and fawe not his father: and then to excuse him selfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his

chamber, that he could not come to him . So I heard fayde Antigonus: but was it of Tua- A sos or Chios, that rewme? he spake it, bicause that in either of those two Ilands, there were excellent good wines. Another tyme Demetrius fent his father worde that he was not well. Thereuppon Antigonus went to fee him, and comming thither, he mette a faven younge boye at his doore. So he went uppero his chamber, and fitting downe by his bedde fide the tooke him by the hande to feele his poulfe. Demetrine tolde him that his feuer had left him but a litle before. I knowe it well, fayde Antigoniu: for I mette the younge boye euen at the doore as I came in . So Antigoniu did gently beare with his sonnes faultes, in respecte of his many other vertues he had. The voyce goeds that the SCYTHIANS, when

they are disposed to drinke dronke together, doe divers tymes twange the ftrynges of their

which otherwife the pleafauntnes of the wine woulde take from them . But Demetrius gane

him felfe to one thinge at one felfe tyme. Sometyme to take his pleasure, sometyme to deale

cially for the delight he tooke to inuent and denife them. For he had an excellent naturall

and inuention in handie craftes, in trifeling toyes and bables: as many other kinges that

haue given them selves to playe on flutes, others to paynte and drawe, and others also to

Turners crafte. As AEropus kinge of MACBDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and

pretyelampes. And Attalus, furnamed Philometor (to faye, as louer of his mother) that

woulde plante and fette Phisicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingewort, or Beares foote:

Hyoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolfe-

baine, and Dorycinum: for the which we have no Englishe worde: all these would he set

him selfe with his owne handes in the gardeins of his pallaice, and also gather them in tyme

of the yeare, to knowe the vertue and power of them . As Arfaces, the kinges of PARTHIA.

artificers workes which Demetrius practifed, shewed that they came from a king. For his

manner of workemanshippe had a certen greatnes in it, the which euen with the sutteltie

and finenes of his workes, shewed the trymme handeling of the workeman: So that they appeared not onely worthye the vinderstanding and riches of a king, but also the foreing and

making by the handes of a great king. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their greatnes, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more

true, then meete to be spoken: the enemies could but maruell when they sawe his gallies

rowing alongest the coaste, with fifteene or fixteene bankes of ores; and his engines of bat-

terie which they called Elepolis (to faye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration vnto those whome he beseeged, as the euents following did throughly witnesse. E

For Lysimachus who of all other kings did malice Demetrius most, comming to raise the seege from the citie of Soli in Cilicia, the which Demetrius beleeged: he fent vnto him to pray

that boasted they coulde them selues make their arrowe heades, and sharpen them. But the D

witte to deuise suche workes, as are made by witte and hande, and did not bestowe his witte C

bowes , as though that woulde serve to keepe the strength of their courage and hardines. E.

their dron-

in matters of waight, and in all extreamitie he euer vsed but one of them, and woulde nener myngle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for warres. For as he was a wife Cap-Demetrius a skilfull Captaine to leade an armie, fo was he also very carefull to prouide all thinges meete for their taine and an furniture, and woulde rather haue too muche, then too litle. But about all, he exceeded excellens. Shipuright. in sumptuous building of shippes, and framing of all sortes of engines of batterie, and spe-

Demetriu wonderfull

Demetriu befeged Rhodes

tepolis.

him to let him fee his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing uppon the fea. Demetrius graunting him, Lysimachus returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS also having long time defended his feege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leave some one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimonie & remembrance both of his power, and also of their corage and valliantnes. The cause why Demetrius made warre with the Rho-DIANS, was, bicause they were confederats with king Ptolomy, he brought against their walles the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tyle, more long then broade, and at the base on either side it was eyght and fortie cubits longe, and three score and fixe highe, ri- F fing still narrow even to the very top: so that the ypper partes were narrower then the nether. & within it were many prety roomes and places conucied for fouldiers. The forepart of it was

A open towards the enemie, & every roome or partition had windowes, but of the which they bestowed all kind of shot, bicause they were full of armed men, fighting with all sortes of weanons. But nowe, bicaufeit was fo well framed and counterpeated, that if gave no way, nor reeld of ether fide, which way foener they removed it, but that it floode fall and upright upon her foundacion, making a terrible novie and founde: that made the workers wonderfull to behold, as it was a maruelous pleasure for men to see it In this warre were brought white Del metrius two notable armors weying fortie pownd a peece, and made by one rolling and wino rer: who to frewe the hardness and goodness of the temper, fuffered then to be promet and subjections thot at at fix fcore paces, with the engines of their batterie; and albeit the atmoss were free by Zoilman

ar and hit, yet were they never pearfed, and but onely a little race or skretch feetie, as it were of R abodkin or penkinge, and had no more hurte. Demetrius alwayes ware one of them in thele warres, and Aleiman A LEANTAN the other, the strongest and valliantest wan he had in all wee hoaft, and sharonely caried a complete armour weying fixe foore pownder where affecting Alimus Al-

fouldiers ware none aboue three score. This Aleimus was flavnear Ringows Walking how building of ting by the Theater . In this feege the RHODIANS did valliantly defende them felices, that Della for foreigned merries could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithflanding , although he have the worth could not preuaile, but lose his tyme, yet was he the more obstinately beneargainfe the higher be euen with them: bicause they had taken a shippe of his in the while his wife phila had the difference fent vnto him certaine hangings of tapestrie, linnen, apparell, and letter & hard beaute of the Rho had fent them all vnto Ptolomy, affoone as they had raken them. But the remember dittale solle

C low the honest curtesie of the ATHENIANS: who having hitercepted corraine guiters of king-Philips that made warre against them, they opened all the letters they caried and red hears fauing onely his wife Olympiaes letters the fent him, the which they lene with the which they lene with the which they lene with the lene with the lene with the which they lene with the lene with the lene which they lene with the lene with led, as they were when they received them . Nowe though this pair did milet grene and of The great on fend him, yet he could not finde in his hart to ferue them in that forte; when he might have benien you done it not longe after . For by channee at that tyme , Protogenes an excellent paynter; borne to king Philip in the city of CAVNVs, did paynt them the draught of the citic of lat vs vs. Demetriks found borne in the this table in a house in the suburbes of the citie, being almost ended. The R HODTANS theretipo citie of caspon lending a Herauld vnto him, to beleeche him to spare the defacing of so goodly a works will an excel-

he returned them aunswer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images to be burne, then to D excellent and paffing a worke as that to be lofte, and brought to nothing Por it is reported, that Protogenes was leuen yeares drawing of the fame : and it is alfo fayde that spelles him Protogenes felfe when he fawe it did fo wonder at it, that his speeche fayled him, and the Roode muet a table of the longe tyme, and at last fayde: furely there is a wonderfull peece of worke; and of great labor I fungreally yet they want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paynt doereache vinto heat commended uen . This table afterwardes being brought to Rome, and hanged up with others, was thatte him fufe. ende burnt by fire . Nowe as the RHODIANS were defirous to be rid of this water and that De metrius also was willing to take any honest occasion to doe it: the Ambassadors of the Arbass NIANS came happely to serue both their desires, who made peace betweene them with these condicions . That the RHODIANS houlde be confederats with Antigonia and Demersing all Demenium

gainst all men, but Ptolomy onely. The A THEN IAN'S sent for Demetrine, which Daffander suggest con ladesh ming to laye feege to their citie. Whereuppon Demetrius immediatly hoyled layle towards the Rhodia ATHEN s, with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great number of men of warre buildess. fothat he did not only drive Caffander out of the province of ATTICA, but followed him even to the straight of THERMOPYLES, and there ouerthrew him in set battell and received the leuc tie of HERACLEA, which willingly yelded vnto him, and fixe thowfand MINCEDON'T ARE that Democrate came vnto him totake his part. So in his returne backe, he fet all the GR #614 NS ar liberne ton Grace. this fide the straight: he made league with the Bobottans, and tooke the citie of Canenal Es, and the castells of Phylnand Panacros, in the fronters and confines of Attricagination which Gaffander had left garrifons to keepe the contry in subjection: and after he had driven

F them out of the contry, he rendred the forts againe vnto the ATHENIANS. Therefore though it feemed the ATHENIANS had before bestowed to their vetermost power all kinds of honors that could be offered him, every man striuing for life to preferre the same: yet they found one.

density of

Curtificus,

Dometrisa Peloponnefue

Demetris maried Dei-

new denifes to flatter and please him. For they ordevned that the place behind the temple of A Mineras, called Parchenon (as who would fay, the temple of the virgin) (hould be prepared for his house to lye in ; and they sayd, that the goddesse Minerus did lodge him with her . Bur to fay truely, he was too ynchaft a gheft, to thinke that a mayden goddeffe would be content he shouldelye with her. And yet his father Antigonas perceiuing that they had lodged his fonne Philip on a time in a house, where there were three younge women, he sayde nothing to Philip him felfe, but before him he fent for the harbinger, and fayde vato him: wilt thou not remove my fonne out of this straight lodging & provide him of a better? And Demetring that should have reverenced the goddesse Minerai, though for no other respect, but bicause he called her his eldest fifter, (for fo he woulde the thoulde be called) he defiled all the castell where was the temple of their holy virgines, with horrible and abominable infolencies, both B towards younge boyes of honest houses, as also vnto younge women of the citie. So that this place feemed to be most pure and holy, at fuch time as he lave with his common Curtifans, Chryfis Bamis Demo, and Anticyra, It shall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of ATHENS. to tell perticularly all the abhominable partes he committed there, But Democles vertue and honeflie descrueth worthye and condigne remembrance. This Democles was a younge boye that had no heare on his face, of whole beautie Demetrius being informed by the furname he had, as commonly called through the citie, Democles the faver: he fought divers waies to intife him, both by fayor meanes, large promisses and giftes, and also with threates besides. But when he fawno man could bringe him to the bent of his bowe, and that the younge boye in the ende feeing bim to importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of ex- C craife where other children yied to recreate them selves, and that to avoide the common froques he went to wash him selfe in another secret stoone: Demetrius watching his time and hower of going thicher followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy feing him felfe alone & that he could not refift Demetrius, tooke of the couer of the ketle or chawdron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned him felfe. Truely he was vnworthy of fo lamentable an ende, but yet he shewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and contry. But he did not as another called Cleanets, the fonne of Cleomedon, who brought letters from Demetrius directed to the people, whereby, through Demetrius interceffion & request, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clerely remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely thamed and dithonored him felf, D but also troubled all the citie. For the people thereuppon released Cleomedon of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any moe letters from Demetrius But afterwards, understanding that Demetrius was maruelously offended with this decree: they did not onely reuoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a lawe, that the people of ATHENS should account all religious to the gods, and just vnto men, what sever it pleased Demetrius to order and appoynt. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the citie, that saide Stratocles was a mad man to preferre fuch matters. In deede, o Demochares furnamed LACONIAN, he were a mad man if he were otherwife : and he spake it bicause this Stratocles had many great pleasures at Demetrius hands E for this flatterie. Howbeit Demochares being accused and condemned upon these wordes, he was banished A THENS. See after what forte the A THENIANS vsed them selves, who seemed to be delivered from the garrison they had before, and to be restored vnto their former libertic and freedom. From thence Demetrius went into Peloponnes vs. and neuer an enemie of his durst tary his comming, but all fled before him, and left him their castels & townes. Thus De-

DEMETRIVS

MANYINEA: & for the fumme of an hundred talents given amongest them, he delivered the cities of Argos, Sicyone, and of Corinthe, from the garrisons that laye amongest them. About that tyme fell out the great feast of Juno in An Gos, called Herza. Therefore Demetring, to honor this feaste with the GRECIANS, married Deidamie (the Daughter F of AEacides, king of the Molossians, and fifter of Pyrrhus) and perswaded the Signania ANS to leave their citie, and to come and builde in an other goodly place neare visto its

metries wan vnto him selfe all the contry called ACTB, and all ARCHADIA, saving the citie of

A where they now doe dwell: and so with the place and situacion, he chaunged also the name 2std the tasks of the citie. For in steadeof Sicyone, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a gene- sityene, and rall affembly of the states of GRECE, which was kept in the straight of PELOPONNESVS, cal-called in Dez led Is THMOS: Demetrius was chosen Lieuetenant generall of all the GRECIANS, as Philip & Demetrial Alexander, (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only com- chosen gentle pare him felfe, but thought him felfe greater than they, bicause fortune smiled on him, and rall of all for that he had so good successe in all his affayres. Whereas Alexander did neuer take away the tirle and name of king from any other kings: nether did euer call him felfe king of kings, although he had given vnto divers of them the name and power of a king. And in contrary manner also, Demetrius laughed them to scorne which called any other Princes, kings, but his father and him selfe. Moreouer he tooke great pleasure to heare his statterers, who being at Demeritation banketts called for wine to drinke to king Demetrius, and then to Seleucus maister of the Ele- pride.

phants to Ptolomy Admiral to Lylimachus keeper of the treasure, and to Agathocles Siciliana gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but Lylimachus, laughed at these toyes when they were reported to them: but Lysimachus was very angry, & thought great skorne that Demetrius should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old cultom commoly to give an Evenuke the charge of keeping the treasure. So Lylinachus of all other Princes did beare him most malice, and bicause he would finely tawnt him for that he euer kept Lamia his Curtisan with him: vntil this present time, said he' I neuer saw harlot play in a tragedy before. Demetrius aunswered him as gaine, that his harlot was chafter, then Penelope his wife. So Demetrius departing for that C time out of Peloponnesus, tooke his jorney towards Athens, and wrote before to the A-THE NIANS. that when he came thither he would be received into the fraternitie of the holy mysteries, and that he ment they should shew him at one selfe time, all that was to be seene.e. uen from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptiess, bicause they made the brethren of the fraternitiesee them long time after that they had bene first received into the leffer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then neither was ever heard of before. For these smaller misteries in olde time were celebrated in the month of Nouember, and the greater in the month of August: & beside it was not lawfull to celebrate or vse these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of thother. When thele letters were openly red, no man durft speake against them, but Pythodorus the Priest, who caried the torche lighted when they D shewed these misteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuise of Stratocles it was enacted at an affembly of the citie, that the month of March in the which they were at that time. (hould be called and reputed November. And so, as they could best helpe it by their or-

misteries, whereby Demetrius was admitted to see the most straightest and secretest ceremonies. Therefore Philippides the Poet inueying against the facriledge, and impietie of religion Philippides

prophaned by Stratocles, made these verses of him: Into one mooneth his comming hither Hath thrust up all the yeare togither.

And afterwards bicause Stratocles was the procurer that Demetrius was lodged in the temple of Minerua within the castell:

dinaunces of the citie, they did receive Demetrius into the fraternitie of the misteries: & afterwards againe, this felfe month of March which they had translated into Nouember . became

fodainly August: and in the self same yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of these great

Of chaste Mineruaze holy Church he makes a filthie stevves; And in that Virgins very light his harlots doth abuse.

But yet of all the infolent parts done at that time in ATHENS, (although many were committed)none of all the reft greued the A THENTANS more, then this did: that Demetrius commaunded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very harde vnto them, both for the shortnes of the time appoynted them, as also for the impossibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had seene all this masse Demetring of money laid on a heapebefore him, he commaunded it should be given to Lamia, & among of a contained his other Curtifans, to buy them fope. The shame the ATHENIANS received by this gift, gre- to his carriued them more, than the loffe of their money: & the words he spake to the great contempt of fent to bay

Demetrius a Supper of her

them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some fay not with standing, that Demetrius did not alone viethe A THENIANS thus shamefully, but the THESSA. LIANS also in the same manner. But passing this ouer: Lamia of her selfe, & through her owner countenance, did get a great summe of money together of divers persons for one supper she made vnto Demetrius, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that Lycaus borne in the Ile of Samos, did fet downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain Lamia Elepa- Poet no lesse pleasantly, then truely, called this Lamia, Elepolis: to wete, an engine to take ci-

ties. And Demochares also borne in the citie of Soli, called Demetrius a fable, bicause he had Lamia euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer lightly a Lamia, as much to fay, as a witche, or forcereffe. So that the great credit & authoritie this Lamia had and the love which Demetrius bare her: did not onely cause his wives suspect and R enuy him, but made him hated also of all his friends & familliers. And therfore certen gentleme whom Demetrius fent in ambassade vnto king Lysmachus, he talking famillierly with them. & passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with thelyon, when through king Alexanders fury he was shut up in his denne with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that the king their maister had also certeine markes and bytings on his necke, of a vile beast called

Lamia. And to fay truely, it was a wonderfull thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife Philalo

much against his will, bicause she was too olde for him: how he was so rausshed with Lamia.

and did fo constantly loue her fo long together, considering that she was also very old, & past the best. Therefore Demo, surnamed Mania, (as much to say, the mad woman) pleasantly aun- C fwered Demetrius, asking her one night when Lamia had plaied on the flute all supper time. what she thought of Lamia? an old woman, O king, o she. Another time when frute was fer-& Demenius

ued in, after the bord was taken vp: doe you fee faid Demetrius, how many prety fine knackes Lamia sendeth me? My mother, aunswered Demo againe, will fend you moe then these, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this Lamia, that she overthrew Bocchoris judgement in a matter. In Æ GYPT there was a young man that had a maruelous fancievnto a famous Cur-A prety fute

tisan, called Thonis: who did aske him such a great summe of money to lye with her, that it Pon a loners was unpossible for him to give it her. At length, this amorous youth beeing so deepe in love dreame, and with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enjoyed her: fo that for the pleasure he she indeement renerfed by tooke by his conceyt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest loue was farisfied. This D Lamiathe Curtifan whome he had cast fancieto, hearing of his dreame, did put him in sure before Ciarifan. the Iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleasure the younge man had taken of her by imagination. Bocchoris hearing the fumme of her complaynt, commaunded the younge man to

him to lye with her. Then he badde him toffe it too and froe in his hande before the Curtifan, that she shoulde but onely have the shadowe and fight of it: for, the , imagination and The family opinion, is but a shadowe of truth. Lamia sayde this was no equal sudgement: for, sayth

she, the shadowe onely, or the fight of the money, did not fatisfie the couetousnes of the werfing Bac-thoris femilies. Curtifan, as the younge mans luft was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough spoken of Lamia, But now, the misfortunes and leafts of him we presently write of they do transport our E historie, as from a comycall into a tragicall theater, that is to saye, from pleasaunt and light The confpira- matter, into lamentable and bytter teares. For all the Princes and Kinges confpyred geneer of the kings rally agaynst Antigonus, and joyned all their force and armies together. Therefore Demetrius departed forthwith out of GRECE, and came to ioyne with his father, whose courage he founde more liuely and better giuen to this warre, then his yeares required: befides that Demetrius comming made him the bolder, and did life vppe his harte the more. And yet it seemes to me, that if Antigonus woulde but have yeelded vppe a fewe trifling thinges, and that he coulde or woulde have brydeled his ouer immoderate couetous defire to raigne: he had bothe kept for him felse all the tyme of his life, and also lefte after his deathe vnto his fonne, the supreamest dignitie and power, about all the other Kinges and F fucceffors of Alexander. But he was so cruell, and rashe of nature, and as insolent and braue in his doinges, as in his wordes: that thereby he stirred vppe, and brought vppon him as his

bringe before him in some vessell, at a daye appoynted, as muche me yas she didaske

A enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For even at that prefent time he faid, that he would as easely disperse and scatter a funder that conspiracie against him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke up the corne newly fowen, are eafely scared awaye with a stone, or making any little noyfe. So he caried to the field with him, about three fcore and tenne thow. Anthony the

fand footemen, tenne thowfand horfemen, and three score and fifteene Elephantes. His ene- his enem mies had three score and soure thowsande sootemen, and siue hundred horsemen more then he, with foure hundred Elephants, and fix score cartes of warre. When the two armies were

one neere vnto the other, me thinkes he had some imaginacion in his head that chaunged his hope, but not his corage. For in all other battells and conflictes, having commonly vied to looke bigge of the matter, to have a lowde high voyce, and to vie brave wordes, and fome-

B time also euen in the chiefest of all the battell to geue some pleasant mocke or other, shewing a certaine trust he had in him selfe, and a contempt of his enemie: then they sawe him oftentimes alone, and verie penfiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his armie together, and presented his sonne vnto the souldiers, recommending him vnto them, as his heire and fuccessor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the more, bicause that he neuer ysed before to imparte to any man the secrets of his counsell and determination, no not to his owne fonne, but did all things of him felfe; and then commaunded that thing openly to be done, which he had fecretly purposed. For proofe hereof it is faid, Demetrius being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe should remoue: and that Antigonus in anger auniwered him, art thou affrayed thou shalt not heare the found

of the trompet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill fignes and tokens that killed their harts. Demenius For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and deeme and that he asked him what word or fignall of battell they were determined to gene at the day of figners the battell. He auniwered that they were determined to gene. Impiter, and Victorie. Then faid

Alexander, I will goe to thine enemies that shall receive me. And afterwardes, at the very day

of the ouerthrow, when all their armie were fet in battell ray: Antigonus comming out of his

tent, had fuch a great fall, that he fell flat on his face on the ground, and hurte him felfe verice

forely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his handes to heaven, he made his prayers

vnto the goddes, that it would please them to graunt him victorie, or sodaine death without

E enemies: & the rest of them fled enery man. And when a great trowpe of men together went

with great furie to geue charge on that fide where Antigonus was : one of them that were a-

bout him, fayd vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for these men come to charge vs.

He aunswered againe: but how should they know me? And if they did, my sonne Demetrius

to fundrie peeces: they deuided Antigonus kingdome among them, and euerie man had his

part of all the prouinces and contries which Antigonus kept, adding that ynto their other do-

minions which they possessed affore. Nowe Demetrius slying with all possible speede that Demenius

might be, with five thowfand footemen and foure thowfand horfemen, he got to the citie of flight.

great paine, before he should see him selfe vanguished, and his armie ouerthrowen. When D both battells came to joyne, and that they fought hand to hand: Demetrius that had the most remember the parte of the horsemen with him, went and gaue charge vpon Antiochus the sonne of Seleucus, Pon the first and fought it out fo valliantly on his fide, that he ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to Anthorhus flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fledde, and out of time: he marred all, the some of and was the occasion of the losse of his victorie. For when he returned from the chase, he occasion with the information of the losse of the state o could not ioyne againe with their footemen, bicause the Elephants were between both. Then chasing the Selencus perceiuing Antigonus battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set vpon enemies, he them, but turned at one fide as though he woulde enuiron them behinde, and made them affrayed yet making head as he would charge them, only to geue them leafure to come on their nercone. side, as they did. For the most parte of Antigonus hoast did forsake him, and yeelded vnto his

will come and helpe me. This was his last hope, and still he looked enerie way if he could see his fonne comming towards him : vntill at length he was flaine with arrowes, darts, & pikes. The death of For of all his frendes and fouldiers there taried not one man by his bodie, but Thorax of the king Antigo-

citie of LARISSA in THESSALIE. Now the battell having suche successe as you have heard. the Kings and Princes that had won fo glorious a victorie, as if they had cut a great bodie intrarie maner also. Demetrius being affraved of his souldiers, least they would spoyle it against

his will: he fodainly departed thence, and fayled towardes GRECE, putting his greatest con-

fidence & affiance in the ATHENIANS, bicause he had left his wife Deidamia at ATHENS, with

shippes and some money, supposing he could goe no whether with better safety in his aduer-

fitie, then to ATHENS, of whose good wills he thought him selfe assured. Wherefore when

Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS came vnto him, and found him not farre from the Iles Cy-

CLADES, as he failed with great speede towardes ATTICA, and that they had declared vnto

fulnes of the 2017.ards De-

Ouergreat fignes of un frendship.

him, he should forbeare to come vnto their citie, bicause the people had made an ordinance to fuffer no moekings to come into ATHENS, and that they had fent Deidamia his wife hono-B rablic accompanied vnto the citie of MEGARA: then was Demetrius for verie anger & passion of minde, cleane out of countenaunce, although vntill that time he had paciently borne his aduersitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the harte, when he sawe (that contrarie to exspectacion) the ATHENIANS had deceived and failed him in his greatest neede, and that in his aduersitie he found their former frendshippe counterseate, and altogether diffembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most vncerteine and deceiueable profe of peoples good wills and cities towardes Kings and Princes, are the immefurable and extreame honors they doe vnto them. For fith it is fo, that the trueth and certainty of honor proceedeth from the good will of those that give it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people doe it not with good will and from their harts, confidering that for feare they doe the felse same things, which they will also doe for loue. Therefore graue and wife Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set up for them, or the tables or divine honors they doe decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes & deedes, and weying them truely, fo to believe and receive their honors for true, or otherwife to reject and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they doe accept these immesurable and extreame honors done vnto them, but those forces chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to doe them those honors. Demetrius feeing then how iniuriously the Athenians had vsed him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modeftly fent vnto them only to make his com- D plaints, and to demaund his thippes, among the which was that galley of fixteene banckes of owers. The which when he had received, he hoysed faile immediatly towards the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and there found all things to goe against him. For in euery place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or else revolted, & kept them against him. Therfore leaving Pyrrhus his Lieutenaunt in GR ECE, he tooke sea againe, & sailed towards CHERRONESVS, & there with the mischieues he did,& with the spoiles he got in king Lysimachus land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for Lysimachus, the other kings made no great accompt of him, neither did they sturre to geue him aide, bicause he was nothing inferior vnto Demetrius; and for that he was of greater power and possessions E then them selves, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, Seleucus sent vnto Demetrius, to require his daughter Stratonice in mariage, notwithstanding that he had a quireth Sira- fonne alreadie called Antiochus, by his wife Apama 2 PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnes of his effate and kingdom, was able enough to maintaine many fucceffors after him. And furthermore, he confidered with him felfe that he should have neede of

sonice (Dedaughter) in

Demetrius allyance, bicause he saw Lysimachus him selse matche with one of Ptolomyes daughters, & his sonne Agathocles with his other daughter. Demetrius seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, & failed with all his shippes Pliftmehm. directly towards Syria. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessitie to lande sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which Plistarchus the brother of Cassander kept at that F that time Go- time, being genen him by the other kings for his parte and porcion of the spoyle of Antigonus, after he was ouerthrowen. This Pliftarchus thinking that Demetrius landed not to refresh

A himselfe, but to forrage and spoyle bicause he would complaine of Seleutue for the allyance hemade with their common enemie, without the confent and privitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederats, he went purposely voto his brother Castander. Demetrius having intelligence thereof, fodainly innaded the land, and spoyled as farre as the citie of C YND Es, and Dementum caried away (which he had leavied) twolug hundred ralentes, which he found yet left of his fa- mundeth the there treasure: and then with all the speede he could possible he returned to his shippes, and housed fayle. Shortly after, his wife tibila also came vnto him. So Seleucus received them all necrounto the citie of Onosavs, and there their meeting was Princely, without forow or fufuicion one of the other. First of all Seleucus did feast Demetrius in his tene, in the middest of

hiscampe: & afterwards Demetrius feafted him againe in his galley, with thirteene bankes of B owers. Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and reloycing eche with other, being selected

warmed, and having no fouldiers to waite upon them : vntill at length Selencus with his wife marieth sma Strutonice departed, and tooke his way with great pompetowardes the citie of Antiochia min dange-Nowe for Demetrin, he kept the province of CILICIA, and fent his wife Phila vnto her bro- un ther Cassander, to aunswere the complaints and accusacions of Plistarchus against him. In the meane time Deidamia his wife departed out of GRECE to come vnto him: who after the had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a lickeneffe. Afterwardes Demetrius comming againe The death of infauor with Paolomy, by Seleucus his fonne in lawes meanes the maried his daughter Ptolemai - Deidania de. Hitherunto Seleucus vied Demetrius verie curteoully: but afterwards he prayed him to deliver him Ciricragaine, for a fumme of money that he offered him: but Demetrius plainly, Demerius denyed him. Then did Seleuem shew a cruell and tyrannicall couetousnesse: for in anger, and lemeide, Prowith florce threats and countenaunce he askedhim the cities of Tyr, and Sidon. But there- lomies daughin me thinkes he lacked honestie and civility: as though he that had under his obedience and we Subjection all that which lay betweet the Indians, and the sea of Synia, was in suche neede Differnion betweet De and pouerise "that for two cities onely, he shoulde drive his father in law from him, who had menius and fusteined so hard & bitter change. But thereby he rightly confirmed Platoes saying: that he Selences. that will be riche in deede, must endeuor him felfe not to increase his riches, but rather to di-

minish his couctousnes. For he shall neuer be but a begger, and needle, whose couctous defire hath no ende. This notwithstanding, Demetrius yeelded not for feare, but provided to replenish the cities with good garrifons to keepe them against him: faying, that though he had bene ouercome ten thow fande times more in battell, yet it should never fincke into his head that he shoulde be contented, and thinke him selfe happie to buy Seleusus allyance so deere. On thother fide, being advertised that one Lachares having spied oportunitie when the A-THENTANS were in civill warres one against the other, and that he had overcomen them, and did tyrannically vsurpe the gouernment: he then perswaded him selfe that he might easely

winne it againe, if he came thither upon the fodaine. Thereuppon he croffed the feas with a Demention great fleete of fhippes, without any daunger: but he had fuch a great florine & tempeft ypon iorney against the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most parte of his shippes, and a great number of his men besides. But for him selfe he scaped, and began to make a little warre with the ATHENI-ANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but lost his time : he fent some of his men to E gather a number of Thippes againe together, and he him felfe in the meane time went into Peloponnes vs, to laye fiege to the citie of Messena, where his person was in greate daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had fuch a blowe with a dare, that it his him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheeke. No twithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned againe into ATTIC A, and tooke the cities of ELHVSIN, and of RHAMwvs: and then spoyled all the contrie, & tooke a shippe fraight with corne, and hong up the marchaunt that ought it, and the maister of the shippe that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchauntes, that they should be affrayed to bring any more come thither, and so to

familh the citie, by keeping them from all thinges necessarie for their sustenaunce: and so it happened. For a bushell of falt was fold at ATHENS for fortiefiluer Drachmas, and the bushell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreame necessitie, the ATHENIANS had but a short ioy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they saw neere vnto Æ GINA, the which

vnto Demetrius a great number of thippes out of PELOPONNESV & OUT of CYPRV s. & dines other partes, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred faile they were

The Atherecide unte Demetrine.

of Epicurus, at the firaight fiege of A. shens to kepe his Schollers

to the Athe-

misfortunes.

their anckers, and fled prefently. Then Lachares for fooke the city, and feeretly faued him felfe: Nowe the ATHENIANS, who before had commaunded uppon paine of death; that no man should make any motion to the counsell, to treate of any peace with Demetrius: they did then vpon Lachares flying, prefently open the gates next vnto Demetrius campel and fent Ambaffai dours vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but bicaufe necessisse draue themeois. During this fo hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and straunge things but among others, this one is of special note. It is reported that the father and the sonne stranging their house, voide of all hope of life : there fell a dead ratte before them from the toppe of the B A rare desife house, and that the father and some sought who should have it to eate. Moreover, that at the felfe same siege the Philosopher Epicurus maintained him selse and his schollers, by gening them a proporcion of beanes euerie day, by the which they lived. Thus the citie of A THENS being brought vnto this extremitie. Demetrine made his entrie into it, and gaue commands dement to all the citizens, that they should affemble euerie man within the Theater: where he made them to be compassed in with armed fouldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came downe him selfe into the Theater, through high gallet ries and entries by the which the common players vsed to come to play their partes in tragedies, infomuche as the ATHENIANS were then worse affrayed then before: howbeit Demetrius presently pacified their feare, as soone as he beganne to speake vnto them. For he did C not facion his Oration with a hastie angrie voyce, neither did hevse any sharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curreoully told them their faults and discurtesie towards him: he fayd he forgaue them, and that he would be their frende againe: and furthermore, he canfed tenne millions of buthells of wheate to be geuen vnto them, and stablished such Gouernors there, as the people milliked not of. Then Democles the Orator, feeing that the people gaue out great showtes of ioy in the praise of Demetrius, and that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceede other in preferring newe honors for Des metrius: he caused an order to be made, that the hauens of PIREVS and MVNYCHIA should be put into Demetrius handes, to vie at his pleasure. This being stablished by voyces of the people. Demetrius of his owne private authoritie did place a greate garrifon within the force D called Mys EVM, bicause the people should rebell no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to set you the LACEDE MONIANS. But Archidamus king of LACED EMON, came against him with a pullant armie, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the citie of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his armie, and made an inrode to the citie of SPARTA, wherehe once againe ouerthrew the LACED EMONIANS in fet battell, tooke five hundred of them prifoners, and flue two hundred: infomuch that every man thought he might even then goe to SPARTA without any daunger to take it, the which had never yet bene taken affore by any. variable for But there was never king that had so often and sodaine chaunges of fortune as Demetrius, nor that in other affaires was euer so often litle, and then great: so sodainly downe, and vp againe: B fo weake, & straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduersities when fortune turned so contrarie against him, he was wont to crie out vppon fortune, that which AEschylus speaketh in a place: Thou feemst to have begotten me, of purpose for to showe

Thy force in lifting of me up, me downe againe to throw.

Nowe againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, first that Lysimachus had taken all his townes from him, which he helde in Asia: and on the other fide, that Ptolomy had won from him all the realme of CYPRVs, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman Archelochus fpeaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand wvater shows.

And in the other fire bestown.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of Sparra also out of his handes by these dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to have won it: the presently offered him hopes of other great and new thinges, by this occasion following. After the death of Cassander, Philinwho was the eldest of all his other sonnes, and left his heire and successor in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceased soone after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and warres together. Great differso that the one called Antipater, flue his owne mother Thessaloniea: and the other being A- tion and firise Transfer, called in to aide him Demetrius, and Pyrrhus, the one out of the realme of Epinvs, of Macedon, and the other out of PELOPONNES VS. Pyrrhus came first before Demetrius, and kept a great after the parte of Maced on for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his defire: fo that fander. he became a dreadful neighbour vnto Alexander him felfe, that had fent for him into his connie. Furthermore, when he was aduertised that Demetrius did presently vpon the receite of Alexander, his letters, fet forward with all his armie to come to aide him: the young Prince Alexander, Cassander, was twife as muche more amazed and affrayed, for the great estate and estimacion of Demetrius. So he went to him notwithstanding, and received him at a place called Deion, and there Demerius imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were nowe Magdon. in fo good state, that praised be the goddes he should not now neede his presence to aide him. After these words the one began to mistrust the other, So it chaunced one day, that as Deme- VVyles betrius went to Alexanders lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell treat Alehim of an ambush that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he Demering should thinke to be meric at the banket. But Demetrius was nothing abashed at the newes, and only went a litle foftlier, not making fuch haft as he did before, and in the meane time fent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to have them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than those of Alexanders side) enery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he rose from the table. By this meanes the men whome Alexander had appointed to affault him, they durst not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, Demetrius faining that he was not well at ease at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importaunce: and prayed Alexander to pardon him, that he could no lenger keepe him companie, for that he was driven of necesfitie to depart from him, and that an other time they woulde meete together, with better leafure and libertie. Alexander was verie glad to fee that Demetrius went his way out of M ACE-DON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feast one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered Demetrius occasion to haue Alexander in his hand, as he would with him felfe. For Alexander of purpose would not have his gard about him fearing least thereby he should teach Demetrius also to stand upon his gard. Thus Alexander turned his practife for an other, vpon him selfe: for he was determined not to suffer Demetrius to cape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So Alexander being bidden to fupper to Demetrius, he came accordingly. Demetrius rifing from the borde in the middest of supper, Alexander rose also, being affrayed of that straunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then Demetrius layd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With those wordes he went out of the dores, and Alexander that followed him was flaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of Demenius the which, one of them as they killed him fayd, that Demetrius had preuented them but one killeth Aleday. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next forme of Cafmorning the MACEDONIANS being maruelously troubled & affrayed of Demetrius great po- funder. wer, when they faw that no man came to affaile them, but that Demetrius in contrarie maner fent vnto them to tell them that he would speake with them, and deliuer them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bolde againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Nowe Demetrius needed not to vse many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto

DON, and thereuppon brought him backe into MACED ON, to take possession of the kingdom.

This chaunge was not milliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their

contrie, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of Cassander, against Ale.

Demerrins king of Ma-

> wander the great : for which cause they vtterly hated & detested all his iffue & posteritie, And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty & good nes of their grandfather Antipater: Demetrius received the frute and benefit, for his wife Philaes fake, by whom he had a fonne that should succeede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. Demetrius having this great good happe and fortune comen vnto him, he received newes also that Ftolomy had not onely raised his siege from the cities & SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, thathe had done them great honor, and bellowed great giftes vpon them. On the other fide also he was aduertifed, that his daughter Stratonice, who had before bene maried vnto Seleucus, was now maried againe vnto Antiochus, the sonne of the sayd Seleucus, and how that she was crow-

Antiochus.

the forme of

ried his mo-

ther in law

Stratonice.

with his fa-

thers good

Erafffiratus the Phificians care, to finde Prince An-Biochus lone. Satisho defaribeth the fignes and so-

ned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high provinces of Asia: and that Seleucus ma came to passe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince Antiochus (as loue ouercommeth all men) became in loue with his mother in law Stratonice, who alreadie had a fonnely Seleucus his father. She being young, & passing fayer, he was so rauished with her, that though he proued all the waves possible to maister his furie and passion that way : yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning him felfe to death bicause he found his desire abho-C minable, his passion incurable, & his reason veterly ouercome: he resolved to kill him selfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie his griefe, faining to haue fome fecret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloke it, but that Erafistratus the Phisitian easely found his griefe, that love, not sicknes, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. Erafiltratus being earnestly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he sate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any faver young boy or wife came to fee him, he earnestly looked Antiochus in the face, & carefully observed all the partes of the bodie, and outward mounts. which do commonly bewray the fecret passions & affections of the mind. So having marked him divers times, that when others came to fee him, what focuer they were, he still remeined D in one selfe state, and that when Stratonice his mother in lawe came alone or in companie of her husband Seleucus to visite him, he commonly perceived those signes in him, which Sappho wryteth to be in louers (to wit, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rowled to and fro, and then a sodaine swet would take him, his pulse would beate fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasse & traunse, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by these so manifest signes and declaracions, that it was only Stratonice whom this young Prince fanfied, and the which he forced him felfe to keepe fecret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him muche, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly loue he bare to his sonne, he ventred one day to tell E him, that his fonnes fickneffe was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impossible to be enjoyed, and therefore that he must of necessitie dye, for it was incurable, Seleucus was cold at the harte to heare these newes: so he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, aunfwered the Phisitian, bicause he is in loue with my wife. Then replied Seleucus againe, alas Erasistratus, I have alwayes loved thee as one of my dearest frendes, and wouldest thou not now doe me this pleasure, to lette my sonne marry thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I have no moe sonnes but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not doe it your selfe, fayd Erasistratus: if he were in loue with Stratonice. O, fayd Selencus to him againe, that it were the wil of the gods, some god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne parte, I would not only leaue him the thing he loued, but I would gene ! my kingdom also to saue his life. The Erasistratus seeing that the king spake these words from his hart, and with abundance of teares he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly,

A vour grace needeth not Eralistratus helpe in this. For being father, husbande, and king, your selfe also may onely be the Phisitian, to cure your sonnes disease. When Seleucus heard that.

he called an affemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to selencus lone crown his fonne Antiochus king of the high prouinces of Asia, & Stratonice Queene, to mar- vnto his fonne ry them together: and that he was perswaded that his sonne, (who had alwayes shewed him felfe obedient to his fathers will) would not disobey him in this mariage. And as for Stratonice, if the milliked this mariage, and would not confent vnto it bicaufe it was no common matter: then he prayed that his frendes would perfwade her she should thinke all good & comely that should please the king, and with all that concerned the general benefit of the realme and com-

mon wealth. Hereuppon Antiochus and Stratonice were married together, But now to returne B againe to the history of Demetrius. Demetrius came by the kingdom of MACEDON and THES-SALIB, by this meanes as you have heard, and did moreover possesse the best parte of PELO-PONNESVS, and on this fide the straight, the cities of MEGARA, and ATHENS. Furthermore he led his armie against the Bosotians, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that Cleonymus king of Sparta was come into the city of Thebes with his army, the

BOROTIANS encouraged by the faire wordes and allurement of one Pifis, borne in the citie of THESPIS, who at that time bare all the fway & chiefe authoritie among ft them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begon with Demetrius & determined to make warre. Therupon Demetrius wet to beliege the citie of Thebes, & layed his engines of battery vnto it infomuch as Cleonymus for feare, Itale fecretly out of the citie. Thereuppon the THEBANS being also af- The citie of C frayed, yeelded them felues vnto Demetrius mercie: who putting great garrifons into the ci-

ties, & having leavied a great fumme of money of the province, left them Hieronymus the historiographer, his Lieutenant & Gouernor there. So it appeared that he vsed them very cur- Hieronymus teoufly, & did them many pleasures, and specially vnto Piss. For when he had taken him prifoner, he did him no hurt, but received him very curteoufly, and yfed him well: and further- merius Lieumore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, campe maister) in the city of THESPIS, Shortly af- tenanns. ter these things were thus brought to passe, king Lysimachus by chaunce was taken by an other

fred him, went with a great army to inuade the contry of THRACIA, supposing he should find no man to withstande him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeir, so soone as D Demetrius backe was turned, the BOE OTIANS revolted againe from him, & therwithall newes was brought him, that Lysimachus was deliuered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speede, maruelously offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already discomsitted in battell, by his fonne Antigonus, & went againe to lay fiege to the citie of THEBES, being the chiefe city of al that province of Bonoria. But at that present time, Pyrrhus came & forraged all THESSALY, and entred even to the straight of THERMOPYLES. Therefore Demetrius was constrained to leave his sonne to continewe the siege at THEBES, whilest he him selsewent against Pyrrhus, who sodainly returned againe into his realme. So Demetrius lest ten thowsand footemen, and a thowfand horsemen in THESSALY to defend the contry, & returned with the rest of his army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called E-E lepolis, against the wall, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by litle & litle, with great labor, by reason of the weight and heavines of itrso that it could scant be driven forward two furlongs in two months. But the BOEGT IANS & the THEBANS did valliantly de-

barbarous Prince called Dromichetes. Thereupon, Demetrius, to take fuch a noble occasion of-

Demetrius angrily aunswered him againe: what needest thou to care? Is there any * corne to * corne me. be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, bicause men should not thinke he nothly distri-

be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithtranding, occasie mentionia not thinke he based to the fall ment to put others in daunger, and durst not venter him selfe; he fought with them, till at faultin, as It length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow head, that was shot at him from the thin was a wall. Wherewithall he fell very ficke, but yet raifed not his fiege, nor remoued his campe, but tooke the citie of THEBES againe by affault: the which being not long before againe repleni-

fend them felues: and Demetrius of a malicious minde & desire of reuenge, (more oftner then

needefull, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, & to hazard them selues;

so that there were daily a great number of them flaine. Antigonus his sonne perceiuing it:alas,

faid he, why doe we thus fuffer our men to be flaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore

962 thed with people, was in ten yeares space twife won and taken. Now he put the Thesansin A a maruelous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his coming into THEBE sife that these looked to have received the extreamest punishment the vanquished could have, through the iust wrath and anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after Demetrius had put thirtene of them to death, and banished somethe pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the bonour of Apollo: and bicause the ETO LIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES in the which of olde time they did vie to celebrate those sports aforesaid he caused them to be kept & solemnised at ATHENS as in a place where this god in reason should be best honored & reuerenced, bicause he was patrone of the citie, and for that the ATHENIAN'S maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into MACEDON& knowing that it was against his naure to liue idelly, & in peace & B feing on the other fide also that the MACED ONTANS did him more service, & were more obedient to him in warres. & that in time of peacethey grew feditious, full of vanity & quarrell he went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and after he had spoiled and destroyed their contry. he left Pantauchus his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. Demetrius him felie went

in the meane time with the rest of his army against Pyrrbus: and Pyrrbus also against him, but

they missed of meeting ech with other. Whereupon Demetrius passed further vnto the realme

of EPIRVs, the which he spoiled & forraged. Pyrrhus on the other side went on so farrethat he

met with Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the

a great hat with his diadeame vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered

with gold: but also that he did vie to weare certaine wollen shooes on his feete died in purple

colour, not wouen, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt vpon it. And furthermore, he had

sorney against

fword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end Pyrrhus had the upper hand, he put Pantauchus to flight, & flue a great number of his men, & tooke flue @ thow fand prisoners: the which was the chief ouerthrow of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus wan not the MACEDO NIAN sill will fo much for the mischieues & hurts he had done vnto them, as he got him felfe great fame & renowne with them, bicause him selse alone had with his owne hands done all the noble exployes of warre in that iorney: for the which, he was afterwardes had in great estimacion among the MACED ONIANS. Nowe many of them began to fay, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valliantnes of Alexander the great was to be seene: & that all the rest, (but specially Demetrius) did but countersease his grauerie & Princely countenaunce, like players vpon a stage that would counterfeate his countenaunce & gesture. And to say truly there was much finenes and curiosity about Demetrius, to make him a playing stocke in comon playes. For some say, that he did not only weare &

infolencie.

Demetrius cloke drawen with the fi-

long before caused a cloke to be made of a maruelous rich & sumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawen the figure of the world, with starres and circles of heaven, the which was not throughly finished by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was neuer king of MACEDON gure of the flares.

The plaine

after him that durft weare it: albeit there were many prowde & arrogant kings that succeded him. Now the MACED ONIANS were not onely fory, and offended to fee fuche things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more milliked this curious maner of life, & specially bicause he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gaue no au- E dience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would sharply take them vp that had to do with him. As he kept the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS two yeres, & would geue them no answere & vet made as though he loued them better, then any other people of G R E CE. Another time also he was offended, bicause the Laced Emonians had sent but one man only Ambassador vnto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the Ambassador of the LACED EMONIANS answere him very gallantly, after the LAC ONIAN maner. For when Demer der of Spare, trime asked him, how chauceth it that the LACEDE MONIANS do fend but one man vnto me? No more but one, faid he, O king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popularlike, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easelier speake with him, and that he would more curteously heare their complaints, Thereupon many came, and put vp their humble supplicacions and bills of peticion vnto him. Hereceiued them, & put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore luters were glad of that, and

A waited upon him at his heeles, hoping they should quickely be dispatched; but when he was woon the bridge of the river of Axius, he opened his cloke, & east them all into the river. This Axius fi went to the harts of the Macedonians, who then thought they were no more governed by aking but oppressed by a tyran: & it grieued the so much more, bicause they did yet remember (either for that they had seene them selves, or otherwise heard their foresathers say) howeenricous king Philip was in all fuch matters, and howe that one day as he paffed through the the praise of fireete; a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftioones humbly befought him to king Philips heare her, but he aunswered her he was not then at leasure. Whereuppon the poore woman the holde plainly cried out to him, leave then to be king. This word so nettled him, and he tooke such a freeche of a

esceit of it, that he returned presently to his pallace, & setting all other matters a part, did no - poore woman B thing elfe many dayes but gaue him felfe to heare all futes, & began with this poore olde woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, the to minister instice for Mars (as Timo The chiefest theus faith) fignifieth force, & is a tyran: but inflice & law, according to Pindarus, is Queene of office of a all the world. Moreouer, the wife Poet Homer faith not that Princes & Kings have received the custody of engines, & of munition, neither also strong & mighty ships of Impiter, to kepe them to destroy townes withall:but with them to maintaine law & justice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloody king but the iust & merciful Prince, Jupiters frend & scholler. And Demetrius boasted that he had a name and title contrarie vnto Iupiter, whom they called Policus. or Poliouchos, fignifying protector and preserver of cities: and that he was called Poliorcetet.a

Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: bicause he could Dementa C not discerne the truth from falsehod, which surned his injustice to glory, & injustry to honor; salled a Fort-But now to returne where we left: Demetrius fell into a great & daungerous fickenes in the ci-gainer. tie of PELLA, during which time he almost lost all MACEDON, by a sodaine invasion Pyrrhus made, who in maner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit fo fone as he recouered health again, he eafely draue him out, & afterwards made peace with him, bicause he would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his dores stil skirmishing fomtime here, somtime there) lose the oportunity, and weaken him selse to bring that to passe

which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the realmes his father had: & besides, the preparacion he made was no lesse sufficienthen the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had leanied & affembled an army of a hudred Demenia D thowfand footemen, lacking but two thowfand : and vnto them he had also well neere twelve armie o prethowsand horsemen, & had besides gotten aboue fine hundred shippes together, which were the reconst-

built part in the hauen of PIREVS, part at COBINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part a- ring of his bout PELLA. He him selfe in person went through their workehouses, & shewed the artificers realine ahow they should make them, & did help to deuise them: so that every man wondred not onely at his infinite preparacion, but at the greatnes & fumptuousnes of his works. For at that time there was no man living that ever faw a gally of fifteene or fixteene banks of owers. But this is true, that afterwardes Ptolomy, furnamed Philopator, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the Ptolomers which was two hundred foure score cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the worderfull poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required four e hundred ma-E riners, & foure thow and water me to row her, & besides all that she could yet cary about the

hatches, wel nere three thowfand fighting men. Howbeit this gally neuer ferued to other purpose but for show, & was like to a house that neuer sturred; & it was neuer removed out of the place where it was built but with maruelous a do,& great dauger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any feruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now, the beauty of Demetrius shippes did nothing hinder their swiftnes & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vse of them, but their swiftnesse and nimblenes descrued more

commendacion, then their fumptuousnes & statelines. Thus as this great power & preparacion was in hand, being fuch as neuer king before (fince the time of Alexander the great) had Three kings affembled a greater to invade A sin: thefe three kings, Ptolomy, Seleucus, and Lyfmachus, did all Seleucus Fioyne together against him. And afterwardes also, they sent Ambassadors vnto Pyrrhus in the Ptolomy and name of them all, to draw him to their fide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perswading confined ahim not to repose any trust in the peace Demetrius had made with him, to make accompt of it gainst Deme-

MMMM ii

DEMETRIVS. as a good & fureplace: for, they faid that Demetrius did not give him pledge that he would no. A uer make warre with him, but rather first tooke oportunity him self to make warre with whom he thought good. Prrhu confidering fo much, & finding their words true: there rofe a fharpe & cruell warre on enery fide against Demetrius, who tracted time, & stayed yet to begin. For at one selfe time, Ptolomy with a great fleete of shippes came downe into GRECE, and made all GRECE revolt from him: & Lysimachus also on THRACIAES side, & Pyrrhus vpon the borders of Epirvs, confining with the realme of Maced on, they entred with a great army, & spoiled

and facked all as they went. Thereupon Demetrius leaving his sonne Antigonus in GR ACE, he

returned with all possible speede into MACED ON, to goe first against Lysimachus. But as he was preparing to go against him, newes were brought him that Pyrrhus had already taken the citie of BERRHOEA. This newes being blowen abroad amongest the MACED ONIANS, all Demetrine R doings were turned topsie turney. For all his campe was straight full of teares & complaints, & his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him: fo that they would tary no lenger, but enery one prayed leave to depart, preteding to looke to their busines at home, but in truth to go & yeeld them selues vnto Lysmachus. Wherefore De-

metrius thought it best for him to get him as farre from Lysmachus as he could and to bend all his army against Pyrrhus: bicause the other was their contry man, & familiarly knowen among the most of them, for that they had served together under Alexander the great, and that as he thought, the MACED ONIANS would not preferre Pyrrhus a strauger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as soone as Pyrrhus had pitched his campe hard by him, the Maca-DO NIANS that had ever loved valliantnes, & had of ancient time efteemed him worthier to be C king, that was the best fouldier & valliantest in the field, and furthermore had heard the report

of his great elemency & curtefy he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had good will of long time fought but good occasion to for sake Demetrius, & to yeeld them selues vnto Pyrrhus, or to any other prince whatfoeuer he were. Then they fecretly began to steale aarmie forway one after an other, by smal companies at the first but afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the campe, that some of the were so desperat to go into his and goeth to tent to bid him flie, & faue himfelfe, bicause the MACEDONIANS were too weary with fighting

for his curiofity. And yet Demetrius foud these words more gentle, & modest, in respect of the vile & cruel words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & cast a black cloke about his face, in stead of his rich & stately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a D comon player when the play is done, & then fecretly stale away. When this was knowe in the campe, many of his fouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and every man tooke fuch hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peces, & drew their fwords to fight for it. But Pyrrhus coming in the middest of the tumult, pacified this sturre, & presently without blow given, wan al Demetrius campe: & afterwards he deuided the realme of MACEDON with Lysmachus, in the which

Demetrius had quietly raigned the space of seuen yeres. Now Demetrius being thus miserably

ouerthrowen, & turned out of all his realme: he fled vnto the city of Cassand RIA. There he found his wife Phila, who tooke it maruelous heavily, and could not abide to fee him againes private man, driven out of his kingdom, & the most miserable king that ever was of all other, Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, & detesting the fortune of her husband: E Phila, Deme- she being more constant in calamity then in prosperity, killed her selfe with poison she tooke, Demetrius went from thence into GRECE, purposing to gather together the rest of his shipwracks: and there affembled all his Captaines and frends that he had. So it seemeth to me, the coparison Menelaus maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, in these verses:

Demerriu fir aunge for

My state doth turne continually about on fortunes wheele, VV hose double dealing divers times inforst I am to feele: Resembling right the moone whose face abideth at no stay Two nights together, but doth chaunge in shape from day to day: At first she riseth small with hornes. And as in age she growves. VVith fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she showves. And when she commeth to the full, and shineth faire and bright. Among the goodly glistring starres the goodlyest in the night:

She fades and falles avvay againe, and runnes a counterpace,

Kntill she have forgone the light and figure of her face. This comparison might I say much better be applied vato Demetrius fortune, to his riffing and falling, and to his ouerthrowe and reliefe againe. For when every man thought his force and power veterly ouerthrowen, then began he to rife agains by repaire of fouldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and straight remined him with good hope. This was the fiest time that he was ever feene meanely apparelled, like a private man vp and downe the control without some shewe'or tokens of a king. And there was one that seeing him in this charges

THERE'S, pleafauntly applied thefe veries of Euripides vitto him; to we they but Deserting Of god immortall, novo becomme a mortall weight: Abus on Adarohim milete from I'menus bankes and Dirces freames he haunteth in our fighter mid per para emil banker R dard offer

Nowe when he beganne to have some hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kinges, and had gotten fouldiers about him, which made a bodie and them of royall power! herestored the THEBANS their libertie and gonernment againg. But the An THEN LANS Once more revolted from him, and did revoke the dignitie and Priefthooders Diphilus, who had bene that years created Priest of the fautours, in steade of the Government, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before: and made a lawe, that from thencefoorth the auncient and common Gouernors of their citie should be restored an gaine to their auncient manner: and they fent also into MACHDON vnto king Parrbus rather

to terrifie Demetrius (whome they fawe beginne to rife againe) then for any hope they had C he woulde come and helpe them. Howebeit Demetrius came against them with great furing and did straightly besiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS sent Crases the Philog crases the fopher to him, a man of great estimacion and authoritie, who so handled him, partely by in a schureth de distinct has a schureth de distinct has a schureth de treatie, and partely also through his wife perswasions and counsells he gaue him for his pron then from fit: that Demetrius presently raised his siege. Wherfore, after he had gathered together forman Demention ny fhippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thow fande footemen, and a fmall puma fige. ber of horsemen : he presently tooke sea, and failed towards As 1A, meaning to take the prouinces of Caria and Lydia from Lylimachus, and to make them to rebell against him. There Eurydice, fifter to his wife Phila, received him by the citie of MILETVM, having with her gon of Ptolomyes daughters & hers, called Ptolemeide, the which had bene affore affianced to him

money besides . But Demetrius receiving advertisement that Agathocles, Lyfmachus sonne

followed him with a great armie: he went thence into Phrygia, making account, and al-

fo hoping, that if he coulde winne ARMENIA, he might easely make MEDIA rebell, and then

that he woulde fee if he coulde conquer the high provinces of Asia, where he might have

many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. Agathocles followed him verienceres,

thocles did cut of his vittells from him euerie waye and kept him at fuche a straight, that his

he passed ouer the river of Lycus, the furie and force of the river caried his men downe the

streame, and drowned a greate number of them : and yet notwithstandinge these greate

troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entrie and comming in to his tent.

the first verse of the tragedie of Oedipus COLONIAN, wrytten by Sophoeles, chaunging onely

E and yet skirmishing divers times with him, Demetrius alway had the better : howebeit Jea-

D by Selencus meanes. So he maried Ptolemaide there, with the good will and confert of her mon Demention ther Eurydice. After his mariage he presently went into the field againe, and did set forwarded lemeite. to winne some cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others he tooke by force. A-

mongst them he tooke the city of SARDIS, whether came divers Captaines vnto him of king Lysimachus, who yeelded them selues, and brought him a greate number of men, and muche

men durst no more stray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they susteyned greate want of vittells, and then beganne his men to be affrayed, and to mistrust that he would make them Demonia followe him into Armenia and Media. The faminedayly increased more and more in his wombles in armie, and it chaunced befides, that miffing his waye, and failing to gage the forde well as

> Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus, To what a point hast thou now caried us?

I fome word.

miserie and calamitie, that coulde not but moue his greatest enemies to have compassion of

him. These letters somewhat softened Seleueus hart, insomuche that he wrote to his Gouer-

But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine, (a common thing, and A almost a matter of necessitie, it should so be) bicause that men being driven to neede and necefficie. doe frame them felues to eate all that comes to hande: whereupon he was driven to bring backe those few men that remained, having lost of all fortes (good and bad) not so fewe as eight thowsand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TAR sys, he commaunded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, bicause the contrie was subject vnto king Selenem; whom he would in no wife displease. But when he sawe it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to fuch extremitie and neede, & that Agathoeles had bard up the straights and passages of mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter vnto Selencia, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request vnto him, praying him to take pitie vpon his frend, whom spitefull fortune had throwen into such B

nors and Lieutenauntes of those partes, to furnish Demetrius person with all thinges neede-Pareche für full for a Princes house, and vittells sufficient to maintaine his men. But one Parocles, a grave wife man accounted, and Selenem faithfull frend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine Demetrius fouldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therin, & most to be accopted of but that he did not wisely looke into his affaires, to suffer Demetrius to remaine in his conv. confidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importance, and nowe he was brought to such dispaire and extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrarie to their na C ture) to be most desperat & hardie in greatest daungers. Seleucus being moued with these perfwafions, presently tooke his iorney into CILICIA with a great armie. Demetrius being aftonied with this fodaine chaunge, and dreading fo great an armie, got him to the strongest places of mount Taurus. Then he fent vnto Seleucus, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereaboutes, who lived according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to thend that he might yet there with fafetie end the rest of his life and exile. flaying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it woulde yet please him to vittell his men for the winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard harted vnto him as to drive him thence, lacking all needefull thinges, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall enemies. D But Selencus mistrusting his demaundes, sent vnto him that he shoulde winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the contrie of CATAONIA, so he gaue him the chiefest of his frendes for oftages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped vp all the wayes & passages going from thence into Syria. Demetrius nowe feeing him felfe kept in of all fides, like a beaft to be taken in the toyle: he was driven to trust to his owne strength. Thereuppon heouerranne the contry thereaboutes, and as often as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmish or conflict with Seleucus, he had ever the better of him: and fometime also when they draue the armed cartes with fithes against him, he ouercame them, and put the rest to slight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the passages to kepe him that he should not goe into Syria, and so kept them him selfe. In fine, finding his mens E. hartes lift up againe, and pretily encoraged: his hart also grewe so bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with Seleucus, and to fet all at fixe and feuen. So that Seleucus was at a straight with him felfe, and wist not what to doe. For he had returned backe the ayde which Lysmachas fent vnto him, bicause he was affrayed of him, and mistrusted him. On thother side also he durst not fight with Demetrius alone, being affrayed to venter him selse with a desperate man : and also mistrusting muche his vnconstant fortune, the which having brought him to great extremitie, raised him vp againe to great prosperitie. But in the meane space Demetriss fell into a great fickenesse, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almost vecely ouerthrowen his affaires. For his souldiers, some of them yeelded them seluesto his enemies, and others stale away without leave, and went where they listed. Afterwardes F when he had hardly recourred his health, and within forty dayes space was pretily growen to ftrength againe: with those few fouldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies,

A that he would goe and inuade CILICIA. But then fodainly in the night without founding a ny trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way: and having passed ouer mount

Amanus, he spoyled all the contry under it, as farre as the region of Cyrke 3 tica. But Selenem followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereuppon Demetrius fodainly armed his men. and went out by night to affault Seleucus, and to take him fleping when he mistrusted nothing.

So that Seleucus knew nothing of his stealing on him but late enough, vntil that certaine traitors of Demetrins campe that fled before, went quickly to advertise him finding him afleone.

and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then Seleucus in a male and feare withall, Dementu gotvp, and sownded the alarom: and as he was putting on his hose and making him ready he eryed out, (speaking to his friends and familliers about him) we have now a cruell and dains effication R gerous beaft to deale with. Demetrius on the other fide perceiuing by the great sturre & novie sinh to affault he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterprise was discouered: he retyred againe with weble speede, and the next morning by breake of day, Seleucus went and offred him battell. Demetrius prepared him felfe to ioyne with him, and having given one of his faithfull friendes the least ding of one of the wings of his armie, him felfe led the other, and ouerthrew fome of his enemies on his fide. But Seleucus in the middest of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the first ranckes of his are

mie, to make him felfe knowen vnto Demetrius men : perswading them to yeeld them selues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to give them battell, rather to faue them, then to spare Demetrius. Demetrius souldiers hearing him sayso, they Demetrius C did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. him. arm for foods Demetrius having fundry times before proued to many chaunges & overthrowes of fortune; ded them

shippes there. But when it was tolde him he had no vittells nor prouision left onely to serue

him that day: he began then to deuise some other way. At length, one of his famillier friends

Soligenes came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of golde about him in his girdell. So

rectly to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceived that the enemies kept watch

there and that there were great flore of fires hard by them: they then dispaired to passe any

further, least they should be seene. So they returned to the selfe same place from whence they

came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remayned also any life in

them as before, So, one among the rest tooke you him, to say, that there was no other way

to scape, but to put Demetrius into Seleucus hands, Demetrius therewithall drew out his sword.

and would have flaine him felfe: but his friends about him would not fuffer him but perfwa-

D hoping that with the same money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night di-

thinking yet to scape this last also, & to passe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which felice to Seare certaine straights of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, Pomerium where he determined to stay all night with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a fewe other street from of his houshold servaunts & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible. to take his way towards the citie of CAVNVs, to goe to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his

ded him to yeld him felfe vnto Seleucus. Thereuppon he fent vnto Seleucus, to tell him that he yelded him selfe vnto him. Seleucus was so ioyfull of the newes, that he sayd it was not Deme- Demenius E trius good fortune that faued him, but his owne: who besides many other happy good turnes related him.

MMMM iiii

the had done him, gaue him yet to honorable occasion and good happe, as to make the world lewent. to knowe his clemencie & curtefie. Thereuppon immediatly he called for his officers of houshold, and commaunded them to set up his richest paullion, and to prepare all thinges meete to receive him honorably. There was one Appolonides a gentleman in Seleutus Court, who fometime had bene very famillier with Demetrius: Him Seleucus fent immediatly vnto Demetrius, to will him to be of good chere, and not to be affrayd to come to the king his Maister. for he should find him his very good friend. So soone as the kings pleasure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meete him, but afterwards, every man strived who should goe meete him first, bicause they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of. F and growe in credit with Seleucus. But hereby they turned Seleucus pitie into enuie, and gauge occasion also to Demetrius enemies and spitefull men, to turne the kings bowntifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, faying, that certainly fo

walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or fit in, & fine parkes full of beafts where he might hune

moreouer, the king suffered his owne houshold servaunts that followed him when he fled to

remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto

him from Selencus, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that fo foone as Antiochus & Stra-

him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good words from Selencus, and that Demetrius him felf after fo great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to have yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, & to have good hope to recouer his state againe: behold, there came one of Seleucus Captaines called Panfarianao companied with a thowfand footemen & horfemen in all, who compaffed in Demetrization them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before, having charge given him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into CHERRONESY SOf SYRIA, whether he was brought, and euer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, Se. B

leucus sent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes house: and his ordinare fare was fo delicate, that he could wishe for no more then he had . And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasaunt

fasher Deme-

Demetrina starned his copleasure.

kennes, fell ficke of a difease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftye yeare old. There-Cherronelus. fore was Seleucus greatly blamed, and he him felfe also did much repent him that he so suspe-

tonice were come, they would make some good agreement and peace between them, Demetrim remaining in this estate, wrote vnto his sonne Antigonus, and to his friends and Lieuetenants which he had at CORINTHE, & ATHENS, that they should give no credit to any letters C written in his name, though his seale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne Antigonus, and all the rest of his forces, as if he him selfe were dead. When Antigonus heard the pitifull captinitie of his father, he maruelous greenously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for forrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but ynto Seleucus specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, & that he was ready to yeld up al that he kept to have his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make unto him, and in manner all Princes, but Lysimachus: who promised Seleucus a great summe of money to put Demetrius to death. But Seleucus, who of long time had no greatfancie to Lylimachus, but rather vtterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him . Wherefore he still delayed time, bicause B he would have Demetrius delivered by his fonne Antiochus and Stratonices meanes, for that Demetrius should be bownd to them for his deliuerie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them, Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning paciently tooke his hard fortune, fo did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gaue him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to give ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: for that in that fort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to avoid the greuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was fober: or els vader culler of dronkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him selfe that it was that manner of life he had long defired, and that through his vaine am- ! bition and follie till that time he could neuer attayne vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him felfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by fea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor loked for it. For what better ende can euill and vnaduised kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceiue them felues greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, bicause that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleasure as they would. So, Demetrise after he had beneshut vp in Cherrones vs three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, & dron-

cted him as he did, and that he followed not Dromichetes curtesie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had so royally and curteously intreated Lysimachus, whom he had taken priso-

ener in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his fonne Antigonus vnderstäding that they brought him the asthes of his bodie, he tooke sea with The function all his thippes, and went to meete them, to receive them in the Iles: and when he had recei- of Demening ned them, he fet up the funerall pot of golde (in the which were his embers) uppon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they passed, or harbered, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thether in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuove, to the very folemnitie of his funeralls. In this fort fayled all the whole fleete towards the citie of Coningres, the pot being plainely scene farre of standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it allowere A goodly younge men armed, which were as Pensioners to Demetrius, Furthermore, Xenophantus

the famousest Musition in that time, being fet hard by it, played a sweete and lamentable songe on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the sownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuove where the mourners doe knocke their breaftes, at the foote of euery verse. But that which most made the people of CORINTHE to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongest the shore side to see it: was Antigonus, whom

they fawe all beblubbored with teares, appartelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and no legaves, and cast them uppon the funerall pot, and had folemnized all the honors possible for the funeralls at Corinthe: Antigonus caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of De-C metrius that was deade, and was a newe citie, that had bene replenished with people, and built of litle townes which are about I or cos. Demetrius left two children by his first wife Phila, to wete, Antigonus, and Stratonice: and two other sonnes, both of them named Demetrius, the one furnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife Ptolemaide: and another by Deidamia

called Alexander, who lived in AGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another fonne called Corrhabus, by his wife Eurydice, and that his posteritie raigned by succession from the father to the fonne, vntil the time of Perfeus: who was the last king of Macedon, whome the Romanes ouercame by Paulus AEmylius, & wanne all the Realme of Ma-CED ON VIITO the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, give the ROMANE also leaue to come vppon the stage.

Perfeue king of Macedon (the last kin of Maced

HE LIFE mileonow, minima But Marcus Antonius." wed them 10.5mo מוכות ל 3

* Bicaufe that by his death he ended the ware which be ynformnately made against those of Creta. The liberali

flue, bicause he tooke Syllaes parte. His father was an other Antonius furnamed *Cretan, who was not fo famous, nor bare any great fway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in gining, as appearently an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his the wife would not let him whe his liberalitie and francke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to some money, having great neede: Antonius by chaunce had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him some water in a siluer basen, & after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment to have shauen it, and B then found an arrant for his man to fend him out, and gaue his friend the filuer basen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the

NTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whome Marine A

ther of M. Antonius.

tented. His wife was Iulia, of the noble house and familie of Iulius Casar: who for her vertue & chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. M. Antonius was brought vp vnder her, being married after her first husbands death, vnto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus, and others, for that he was of Catilines conspiracie against the common wealth. And this feemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and C mortall hate Antonius bare vnto Cicero. For Antonius felfe fayth, that he would never give him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat Csceroes wife: the which vindoubtedly was a flat lye. For Cicero denied buriall to none of them, whom heexecuted by law. Now Antonius being a fayer younge man, and in the pryme of his youth: he Antonius cor- fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a diffolute man, given over to all lust and infolencie, who to have Antonius the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences

feruaunts, seeking out this filuer basen. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife maruelously of

fended for it,& that the would examine all her feruaunts, one after another about it, to know

what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, & prayed her to be con-

mon women, in rioting & banketing, So that in short time, he brought Antonius into a maruelous great det, & too great for one of his veres, to wete; of two hundred & fifty talents, for all which fumme Curio was his fuertie. His father hearing of it, did put his fonne from him. and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperarest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischiefe in Roma: but at length he for sooke him, being weary of his rathnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent against Clodies. Therevonon he left IT ALY, and went into GRECE, and there bestowed the most parce of his tyme. fometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vied a manner of phrase (rain his in his speeche, called Asiatik, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and pleading the

was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of oftentation, foolifhe brauerie and Marik bray vaine ambition. After he had remayned there some tyme, Gabinius Proconful going into S to BIA. Derswaded him to goe with him . Antonius tolde him he would not goe as a private many Wherefore Gabinius gaue him charge of his horfemen, and so tooke him with him: So first of all he fent him against Aristobulus, who had made the Lavvasto rebell, & was the first man bus comen him selfe that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue Aristobulas out of all his holds: under Gabiand with those few men he had with him, he ouercame al the I w & s in set pattel, which were nine Procon-

many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke Aristober Syria lushim felfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards Ptolomy king of EGYPT, that had bene dri- Amonius atta uen out of his contry, went vnto Gabinius to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into EGYPT, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promised him if he would goe with him. Antonius tenne thowfand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, & Gabinius him felfe made it daintie to enter into this warre : although the couetouines of thele tenne thowfand talents stucke forely with him. But Antonius that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that defired also to gratifie Ptolomyes requelt: be went about to perswade Gabinius to goe this voyage. Now they were more affrayd

of the warre belides: bicause they were to passe through deepe sandes & defert places, where was no freshe water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses. Serbonides, which the AGYPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant Tables n breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the red sea, which breaketh our under the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this lide. So Antonius was fent before into Æ GYPT with his horsemen, who did not onely winne Antonius at that passage, but also tooke the citie of Parvarv M, (which is a great citie) with all the fouldi- in AEgyp ers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it fafe for all the rest of the armie, and the

hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selves seele

of the way they should goe, to come to the citie of PBLV SIVM, then they feared any dayinger

the frutes of Antonius curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when Ptolony fafter he had entred into the citie of PRIVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, would have put all the AGYPTIANS in it to the fword: Antonius withstoode him, & by no meanes would fuffer him to doe it. And in all other great battells and skirmishes which they fought, and were many in number, Antonius did many noble actes of a valliant and wife Captaine; but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victorie that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliantnes deserved. So was his great curteste also much commended of all, the which he shewed was to Archelaus. For having bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while Amonius on

belived: but after his death he fought for his bodye, and gave it honorable buriall. For the for the law respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a being dead. worthy man of all the fouldiers in the ROMANES campe. But besides all this, be had a noble amonia presence, and shewed a countenaunce of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, some abroad forehead, crooke nofed, and there appeared fuch a manly looke in his countenaunce. F as is commonly seene in Hercules pictures, stamped or graven in mettell. Now it had benea The house of

speeche of old time, that the familie of the Antony were discended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did Antonius feeke to confirme in from Hercules

ANTONIVS. all his doings: not onely refembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we have fayd before A but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abried before many people, he would alwayes weare his caffocke gyrt downe lowe vpon his hippes with a great fword hanging by his fide, and vpon that, some ill fauored cloke. Furthermore things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to least with one or other to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to fit with the fouldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them fouldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him a mongest them. And furthermore, being given to love: that made him the more defired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further every mans love, and alfo would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this that which most procured his rifing and advauncement, was his liberalitie, who gave all to the fouldiers, and kept nothing for him felfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did ouer-

throwe, by a thowfand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to give a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the Romanes call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marueling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to showe him what a maruelous masse of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to give vnto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the fpight of his man, I thought, fayd he, that Decies had bene a greater fumme of money then it is for this is but a trifle: and therefore he C gaue his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwardes. Nowe the ROMANES mainteyning two factions at Rome at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did joyne with Pompey being then in Rome: and the contrary fide taking part with the people, sent for Cafar to ayde them, who made warres in GAVLE. Then Curio Antonius friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte with Cefar, whose enemie he had bene before : he wanne Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongest the people, by reason of his clo-

quent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which Cafer gaue him: that Amonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this wasa great helpe and furtheraunce to Cefars practifes. For fo foone as Antonius became Tribune D he did oppose him selse against those thinges which the Consul Marcellus preferred: (who ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leaused and billed, should be given vnto Cneus Pompey, with further commission and authoritie to leavye others vnto them) and fer downe an order, that the fouldiers which were already leavied and affembled, shouldbe Sent into Syria, for a newe supplie vnto Marcus Bibulus, who made warre at that tymeagainst the PARTHTANS. And furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should leavy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not suffer Cafars letters to be received, and openly red in the Senate: Antemins having power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their mindes: for it appeared to them that Cofar by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of confideracion vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey, or Cafe, should leave their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete Fompey should leave his armie, but they all in manner commaunded Cafar to doe it. Then Antonius rifing vp, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cafar both, should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators iountly together gaue their whole confent, and with a great crye commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Confuls would not allowe of that. Therefore Cefars friendes preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls draue Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made greuous curies against him. After that, he tooke a flaues gowne, and speedily fled to Casar, with Quintus Cassius; ma hyered coch. When they came to Cafar, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand Rome unto

A oner head at Roun: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes, and were driven away in great daunger of their lives, as many as stoode with lawe and inflice. Hereuppon Cafar incontinently went into I TALY with his army, which made Gicero fay in his Philippides: that as Hellen was cause of the warre of Troy, lowas Antonius the author of the civill warres, which in deede was a starke lye. For Cafar was not fo fickle headed, nor fo eafily caried Cicoroppe away with anger, that he would fo fodainly haue gone and made warre with his contry vpon med for hing. the fight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled vinto him in miserable apparell, and in a hyered coche: had he not long before determined it with him felfe. But fith in deed Cafar looked of long time but for fome culler, this came as he wished, and gaue him just occasion of watre. But to fay truely, nothing els moued him to make warre with all the world as he did but one B felfe cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable defire to raigne, with a fenfeles couetoufnes to be the best man in the world, the which he could come of case not come vnto, before he had first put downe Pompey, and vtterly ouerthrowen him , Now, af- tonded to rer that Cafar had gotten Rome at his commaundement, & had driven Pampey out of ITALY, raigns. he purposed first to goe into SPAYNB, against the legions Pompey had there; and in the meane Casarambi time to make prouision for shippes and marine preparacion, to follow Pompey. In his absence, cante of the he left Lepidus that was Prætor, gouernor of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gaue civil ware. him charge of all the fouldiers, and of ITALY. Then was Antonius straight maruelously com- Cafe gone mended and beloued of the fouldiers, bicause he commonly exercised him self among them, Italy unto and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberall vnto them, according to C his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other mens evill willes, bicause that through negligence he would not doe them inflice that were injuried, & delt yery chur-

roade at ancher with a great armie, before the hauen of BRUNDVSIVM. For he manned out

fuch a number of pynnafies, barks, and other small boates about every one of his gallies, that

tonius loofing from the lande, and fayling with fafetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all

the coastes full of shippewracks. For the force and boysterousnes of the winde, did cast away

liftly with them that had any fute vnto him: and befides all this, he had an ill name to intife mens wines. To conclude, Cafars friends that gouerned vider him, were cause why they hated Casars gouernment (whichin deede in respect of him selfe was no lesse then a tyrannie) by reason of the great insolencies & outragious parts that were committed; among swhom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faultes, deserued most blame. But Cafar notwithstanding, when he returned from the warres of Spayne, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp against him: but contrarily, bicause he found him a hardy man, & a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefest affayres, and was no D whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he paffed over the IONIAN feavnto BRUNDWSLUM. being but flenderly accompanied: & fent vnto Antonius, & Gabinius, that they should imbarke their men as foone as they could, and passe them ouer into MACEDON. Gabinius was affrayd to take the fea, bicause it was very roughe, and in the winter time: & therefore setched a great compasse about by land. But Antonius feating some daunger might comes no Cafar, bicause he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he drawe away Libe, who

he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twenty thowsand footemen, and eyght hundred horsemen, and with this armie he hoysed sayle. When the enemies sawe him, Antonius is they made out to followehim: but the sea rose so highe, that the billowes pur backe their his own of gallies that they could not come neare him, and so he scaped that daunger. But withall he fell Brandssium, uppon the rockes with his whole fleete, wherethe fea wrought very highe: fo that he was and goeth with out of all hope to faue him felfe. Yet by good fortune, fodainely the winde turned Southwest, and blewe from the gulffe, driving the waves of the river into the mayne sea. Thus day

the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and diuers also cast away, and Antonius tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the citie of Lyssys, and brought Cafar a great f supplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pyriche with so great a power to

him. Now there were divers hotte skyrmilhes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought to valliantly, that he caried the prayle from them all: but specially at two severall tymes,

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his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he

was, for being knowen: but she taking the matter heauily, asked him if Antonius were well,

Antonius gaue her the letters, and fayd neuer a word. So when the had opened the letters, and

beganne to read them: Antonius ramped of her necke, and killed her. We have told you this

tale for examples fake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Nowe

when Cafar was returned from his last warre in Spayne, all the chiefest nobilitie of the citie

and to let Dolabella alone, who was marueloully offended with him. Now in truth, Calar made:

no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cafar aunswered one that

did accuse Antonius and Dolabella vnto him for some matter of conspiracie: tushe said he, they

C had brought Futuia letters from Antonius. So he was let in and brought to her muffled as he

foinning and housewivery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would clading widen Ballo rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great Fabrica ruled armies: fo that Cleopatra was to give Fuluia thankes for that the had taught Antonius this obe-

dience to women, that learned to well to be at their commaundement. Nowe, bicause Fuluia broad was formewhat fower, and crooked of condition, Antonius deuised to make her pleasaunter, & fomewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to. make her mery . As he did once, when Cafar returned the last time of all Conqueror out of SPAYNE euery man went out to meete him: and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the so deine there ranne a rumor through ITALY, that Cafar was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereuppon he returned with speede to Rome, and tooke one of

road many dayes iorney from Rome to meete him, where Cafar made maruelous much of Antonius, about all the men that came vnto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all IT ALY: and behind him, Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, the some of his Nece, who afterwards was called Cafar, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. D So Cafar being afterwards chosen Consulthe fift time, he immediatly chose Antonius his col- Cafa. & Antonius

league and companion: and defired by deposing him selfe of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But Antonius did stowtly

withstand it, and openly reuiled Dolabella in the Senate: and Dolabella also spared him as litle. Thereuppon Cafar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when Cafar attempted againe to substitute Dolabella Conful in his place, Antonius cryed out that the signes of the birdes were against it: so that at length Cafar was compelled to give him place,

benot those fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him. Antonius vnwares afterwards, gaue Cafars enemies iust occasion and culler to doe as they did: Aumini va asyou shall heare. The Romanes by chaunce celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, & Calar winings game

NNNN ii

being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was fet in the Tribune where they vie to make their mits occasion orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of to confine athis running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specific gainst him. ally that be chiefe Officers for that yeare; who running naked vp & downe the citie announted with the oyle of olyue, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius being one amonge the rest that was to ronne, Fleauing the auncient ceremonies & old customes of that solemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where Cafar was fer, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, having a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he

exorfions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore Cofar after his returne pardoned Dolabella, Colore to & being created Conful the third time, he tooke not Antonius, but chofe Lepidus, his colleague pidus, conful and fellow Conful. Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it. Antonius by but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, the Pompore and writeth him felfe that he would not goe with Cafar into the warres of A FRICK . bicaule he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet Casar did somewhat bridle his madnes and infolencie, not fuffering him to paffe his faulte fo lightly away. making as though he fawe them not. And therefore he left his diffolute manner of life, and married Fuluia that was Cloding widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in viel Pulvia.

compelled them to returne againe to fight: fothat the victorie fell on Cafars fide. For this cause he had the seconde place in the campe amonge the souldiers, and they spake of noother man vnto Cafar, but of him: who shewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of Pharsalia (which in deede was the last tryall of all, to give the Conqueror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him felfe did leade the right wing of his armie. and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valliantest man, and skilfullest souldier of all those he had about him. After Cesar had wonne the victorie, and that he was creof Cafars bas ated Dictator, he followed Pompey Steppe by Steppe: how beit before, he named Antonius gesell at Pharnerall of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest Mr man, and almost the onely man that remayneth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that tyme Tribune; and a younge man desirous of chaunge and innonation: he preferred a law which

the ROMANES call Nours tabulas (as much to fave, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obligacions and specialties, & were called the newe tables, bicause they were driven then to make

bookes of daily receit and expense) and perswaded Antonius his triend (who also gaped for a

good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But Trebellius & Asinius diffwaded from it al they could possible. So by good hap it chaunced that

Calia where

The dignisie

Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and tooke suche a conceite of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his Cosin Germane, & the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Conful with Cicero: & ioyning with Asinius, he refisted Dolabella, & fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market place where the people doe affemble in counfel, & had filled it ful of armed men, intending to have this law of the newe tables to passe by force. Antonius by comaundement of the Senate, who had given him authoritie to leavy men, to vie force against Dolabella: he went against him, & fought so valliantly that men were flaine on both sides. But by this meanes, he got the il will of the comon people, & on the other fide, the noble men (as Circrofaith) did not only millike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banckers & dronke feafts he made at vnfeafonable times, & his extreme wastful expences vpon vaine light huswives, & then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his dronkennes; thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundannee of wine which he had taken ouer D Antonius abo night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, & maske: and him selfe passed away the

time in hearing of foolish playes, or in marrying these plaiers, tomblers, teasters, & such fort of

whole affem folenty.

people. As for profe hereof it is reported, that at Hippias mariage, one of his leafters, he drank wine so lustely all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people affembled in counsel, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomaked with his surfet he had take, was compelled to lay all before them, & one of his friends held him his gowne in flead of a basen. He had another pleasaunt player called Sergini, that was one of the chiefest men about him, & a woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loued derely the caried her yo & downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, & had as many men waiting apon her litter, the being but a player, as were attending upon his owne mother. It greued honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number of cubbords ful of filuer & gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe or shewe of some triumphe: & that estsoones in the middest of his iorney he would set up his hales and tents hard by some greene groue or pleafaunt river, and there his Cookes should prepare him a sumpruous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnesed in trases to drawe his cares : and befides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, curtifans, & these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greued men much, to see that Cafar should be out of IT ALY following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with fuch great perill and daunger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authorities should commit such insolent and outragious parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracie against Casar increase more and more, and layed the revnes of the brydle vppon the fouldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldlier commit many

Anteniss Lu- was come to Cafar.he made his fellow ronners with him lift him vp. & so he did put this last. rell crowne vpon his head, fignifying thereby that he had deferued to be king. But Cafar mai seth the diaking as though he refused it, turned away his heade. The people were so rejoyced at it, that Cafars bead. they all clapped their hands for ioy, Antonius againe did put it on his head: Cafar againe refufed it, and thus they were striuing of and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a fewe of his followers rejoyced at it: & as oft also as Casar refufed it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they fuffered all things subjects should doe by commaundement of their kings: & yet they could not abide the name of a king, detefting it as the vtter destructio of their liberty. Cafar in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed

Confulsation ther of Anto-

among the people, for the marther of Çefar.

funeral oration in comendacion of Cafar, according to the auncient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he faw that the people were very glad and defirous also to heare Cafar spoken of, & his praises vetered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts and affections vnto pitie & compaffion. In

fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole affembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, & called the malefactors, cruell &

together. Then whe the fire was kindled they toke firebrands & ran to the murtherers houses to fet the afire, & to make the come out to fight. Brutus therfore & his accomplices, for fafety # of their persons were driue to fly the city. Then came all Casars friends vnto Antonius, & specially his wife Calpurnia putting her trust in him, she brought the moste part of her money into

gotten, and that they should appoint provinces, vnto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate

it naked, bidding any man strike of his head that would. This laurel crowne was afterwards put # vpo the head of one of Cafars statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of The

people liked his doing therein fo well, that they wayted on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. How beit Cafar did turne the out of their offices for it. This was a good in-Cofart death, coragement for Brutus & Cassus to conspire his death, who fel into a cosort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonio se print to it or not, Al the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only, He told them, that when they rode to meete C.elar at his returne out of SPAYNE, Antonius & he alwaies keping company, & lying together by the way, he felt his mind a farre of but Antonius finding his meaning, would harken no more vnto it, & yet notwithstanding neuer made Casar acquainted with this talke. but had faithfully kept it to him felf, After that they could whether they should kil Antoni- G

us with Cafar. But Brutus would in no wife confent to it, faying that ventring on fuch an enterprise as that for the maintenace of law & instice, it ought to be clere from all villanie. Yet they fearing Antonius power, & the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the cofpiracy, that when Cafar were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe Anionius in a talke out of the Senate house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed: and Cafar was flaine in the middest of the Senate. Antonius being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers flue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he fent his fonne vnto them for a pledge, & bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The felfe fame day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bad Brutus. The next morning the D Senate was affembled, & Antonius him felfe preferred a lawe that all things past should be for-

confirmed, and further orderned, that they should cancell none of Cafars lawes. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more prayfed, and better esteemed, then euer man was: bicause it feemed to every man that he had cut of all occasion of civil warres, and that he had shewed him felfe a maruelous wife gouernor of the common wealth, for the appealing of these matters of so great waight & importance. But nowe, the opinion he conceiued of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him felie the chiefest man if he might ouercome Brutus: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when Cafars body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a E

curfed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently toke Cefars body, & burnt it in the market place, with fuch tables & fourmes as they could get

A his houle, which amounted to the fumme of foure thowfand talents, & furthermore brought him al Calars bokes & writings, in the which were his memorials of al that he had done & ordevned. Antonius did daily mingle with them fuch as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home fome that were banished, and deliuered those that were prisoners: and then he sayde that all those thinges were so appoynted

and orderned by Cafar. Therefore the Romanes mocking them that were so moued, they called them Charonites: bicause that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe why so called but to faye, that thus they were found in Cafars memorialls, who had fayled in Charons boate, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, bicause he was Conful.

Conful, and Caises one of his brethren Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now thinges re- caise Anti-B mayning in this state at ROME, Offanius Cafar the younger came to ROME, who was the sonne nim Prater. of Iulius Casars Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remaynius Tribune, ning at the tyme of the death of his great Vncle that was flayne, in the citie of Apollonia, all three bree This young man at his first arrivall went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Ca-thren. fars friendes, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hande with him for money and other thinges which were left of trust in his handes, bicause Casar had by will bequeathed vnto the people of Rome, three score and fifteene filuer Drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heire stoode charged

withall. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, bicause he was very younge: and

both of them made friends of either fide to gather together all the old fouldiers through ITA-

LY, that were dispersed in divers townes: & made them large promises, & sought also to winne

lacke of corage, doe chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull

fayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to aduite him, if he looked to take such a charge in C hande, as to vidertake to be Cafars heire. But when Antonius faw that he could not shake him resex Antonia of with those wordes, and that he was still in hande with him for his fathers goods, but speci- us and Offaally for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all it will cost he had did been him from he for Tribung of the people and of the head of the spake and the spake of the people and of the spake of the people and of the spake of the people and was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when Octavius Cafar Talisus Caf beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor Cefar with: he threatned to fend him to prison, and moreouer desisted not to

put the people in an vprore. This young Cafar feeing his doings, went vnto Cicero and others, Offenine Ca which were Antonius enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he him felf friendly in fought the peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the olde fouldiers of with Cicero, the late deceased Casar, which were dispersed in diners cities and colonyes. Antonius being af-D frayd of it, talked with Octavius in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night came friends, Antonius had a straunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, & burnt his right Antonius hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cafar lay in waite to kil him. Cafar cleered him felfe vnto him, and told him there was no fuch matter; but he could not make Antonius beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were: infomuch that

the legions of their fide, which were already in armes. Cicero on the other fide being at that time the chiefest man of authoritie & estimation in the citie, he stirred vp al me against Antonius: fo that in the end he made the Senate pronouce him an enemy to his contry, & appoin-Antonius ind E ted young Cafar Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, & fuch other fignes as were incident to by the Senate the dignitie of a Consulor Prætor: & moreouer sent Hircius and Panfa, then Consuls, to drive Hircius and Antonius out of ITALY. These two Consuls together with Cafar, who also had an armye, went Panja Conagainst Antonius that beseeged the citie of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but

both the Confuls were flaine there. Antonius flying vpon this ouerthrowe, fell into great miferie all atonce: but the chiefest want of all other, & that pinched him most, was famine. How - basel by the beithe was of fuch a strong nature, that by pacience he would ouercome any adversitie, and stile of Mothe heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more conftant shewed he him selfe. Euery man that sedena.

Antonius paleth want or aduersitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in cirminal

deede they are ouerlayed with extremitie, and be fore oppressed, sew haue the harts to follow, we still a F that which they praife and commend, and much leffe to a woid that they reproue and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faynt hare, &c.

NNNN iij

withstanding his fine brim

ANTONIVS. example to the fouldiers, to fee Antonius that was brought up in all finenes and superfluitie fee & eafily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes; and moreouer it is reported that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tafted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to joyne with the legions that were on the other fide of the Mountaines, under Levidus charge: who Antonius tooke to be his friend. bicause he had holpen him to many things at Casars hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he faw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him felfe, and to goe vnto Lepidus. Since the ouerthrow he had at Modena, he fuffred his beard to grow at length and neuer clypt it, that it was maruelous long, and the heare of his heade also without koming: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this fort came hard to the trenches R of Lepidus campe. Then he beganne to speake vnto the souldiers, and many of them their hartes yerned for pitie to fee him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his wordes beganne to pitie him: infomuch that Lepidus beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaunded all the trompetts to found together to stoppe the fouldiers cares, that they should not harken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, & spake fecretly with him by Clodius & Lelius meanes, whom they fent vnto him difguifed in womens apparel, & gaue him counsel that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of fouldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would fay the word, Antonius would not fuffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his ari my to wade a ford, at a litle river that ranne betweene them: and him felfe was the foremost of

man that tooke the river to get over, feeing a number of Lepidus campe that gave him their

handes, plucked up the stakes, and layed stat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their

dement: he vied Lepidus very curteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though

in deede Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue Lepidus the name and

honor of the Captaine. Munatius Planeus, lying also in campe hard by with an armye: vnder-

standing the report of Antonius curtesie, he also came and joined with him. Thus Antonius be-

ing a foote againe, and growen of great power, repassed ouer the Alpes, leading into I TALE

with him seuenteene legions, and tenne thowsand horsemen, besides six legions he left in gar-

drinke luftely with him, and therefore in mockery was furnamed Cotylon: to wit, a bibber . So

Octanius Cafar would not leane to Cicero, when he faw that his whole trauail and endeuor was

onely to restore the common wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he sent certaine of his

friends to Antonius, to make them friends againe: and thereuppon all three met together, (to

rison among the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would D

Antonius was campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaun-

named Cosy-

wete, Cafar, Antonius, & Lepidus) in an Iland enuyroned round about with a litle river, & there The confpirasing of Cafar,

remayned three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eafily agreed, &did deuide all the Empire of Roma betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and faue their kinfmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their gredy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of bloud, and holines of R friendship at their feete. For Cesar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius also forsooke Lucius Cafar, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together fuffred Lepidus to kill his owne brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirme, that Casar & Antonius requested Paulus might be flain, & that Lepidus was conteted with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnatural,& crueller chaunge then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they did aswel kill those whom they did forsake & leaue vnto others, as those also which others left vnto them to kil:but fo much more was their wickednes & cruelty great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, & having no cause to hate them. After this plat was agreed ypon betwene the the fouldiers that were thereabouts, would have this friendship & league betwixt them confrmed by mariage, & that Cefar (hould mary Claudia, the daughter F of Fuluia, & Antonius wife. This mariage also being agreed vpon, they condened three hudred of the chiefest citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscriptio. And Antonius also comainA ded the so who he had genen comission to kil Cicero, that they should strik of his head & right Amonius hand, with the which he had written the inuective Orations (called Philippides lagainst Anto- quely mis miss. So whe the murtherers brought him Ciceroes head & hand cut of he beheld them along time with greation, & laughed hartily, & that oftentimes for the greation he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the fight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations (where when he was aliue, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamished his owne fortune, shewing him selfe (to his great shame and infamie) a cruell man, and voworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His vncle Lucius Cafar also, as they fought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fledde

vnto his fifter. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, the R floode at her chamber dore with her armes abroade, crying out ftill; you shall not kill Excise Lucius casars Cafar, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she sa . Life faued, by ued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of these Triumuiri grewe odious and hatefull to

the ROMANES, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, bicause he being elder then Antonius

Cafar, and of more power and force then Lepidus, gave him felle againe to his former riot and viot in him excesse, when he lest to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But setting aside the ill rete. name he had for his infolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt

in, the which was the house of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperature, mo- The praise of destie, and civill life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieved them to see the gates common- Pompey the ly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of straungena-

rtions, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tomblers, anticke dauncers, juglers, players, jeasters, and dronkards, quaffing and goseling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he gor by all kind of possible extorcions, briberie and policie. For they did not onely fell by the crier, the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, slaunderously deceived the poore widowes and young orphanes, & also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes; but vnderstanding also that the holy vestall Nunnes had certaine goods & money put in their custodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, and those also that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. Oftauins Cafar perceiving that no money woulde ferue Antonius turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money between them, and so did they

n also deuide the armie, for them both to goe into Macedon to make warre against Brutus and Casius: and in the meane time they left the government of the citie of Rome vnto Lepidus. When they had passed ouer the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Casar against Brutus: Galar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battell Ca- The udliansfar was overthrowen by Brutus, and lost his campe, and verie hardly faued him selfe by flying nes of Antofrom them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him felfe in his Commentaries, that he Braue. fled before the charge was geuen, bicause of a dreame one of his frends had. Antonius on the other fide ouerthrewe Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there him felfe at

the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrowe, whilest his men had the enemies in chase.

So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull servaunt of his owne called Pindaries, The death of whom he had infranchifed: bicause he knewe not in time that Brutus had ouercomen Casar. Cassius. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which Brutus was ouerthrowen, who

afterwardes also flue him felfe. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glorie of all this victorie, spe- annu flue

cially bicause Cafar was sicke at that time. Antonius having found Brutus body after this battel, bim fuse.

him: he made Hortensius to be flaine on his brothers tumbe. Furthermore, he cast his coate Amonius armor (which was wonderfull rich and fumptuous) vpon Brutus bodie, and gaue commaun- saue hone

dement to one of his slaues infranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, value Brains. F Antoneus hearing that his infranchifed bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicause it was verie riche, and worth a great summe of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall & tombe: he also put him to death.

blaming him muche for the murther of his brother Cains, whom he had put to death in Ma-

CEDON for reuenge of Ciceroes cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortenlins then in

NNNN iiii

After that Cefar was conneied to Rome, and it was thought he would not line long, nor feare A the fickenes he had. Antonius on thother fide went towardes the East provinces and regions to leavie money: and first of all he went into GRECE, and caried an infinite number of soul diers with him. Now, bicaufe euerie souldier was promised fine thowsande siluer Drachmas. he was driven of necessitie to impose extreame tallages and taxacions. At his first comming into GRECE, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the GRECIANS, but gaue him felfe onely to heare wife men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies & facrifices of GRECE. ministring iustice to euerie man, and it pleased him maruelously to heare them call him Philellen, (as much to fay, a louer of the GRECIANS) and specially the ATHENIANS, to whom he

did many great pleasures. Wherefore the MEGARIANS, to excede the ATHENIANS, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly fight: they prayed him to come & see their Senate house, & coun- R fell hall. Antonius went thither to fee it: so when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him. my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (4 he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke measure of the temple of Apollo Pythias, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Cenforinus Governor in GRECE. and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princeffes to excell one an other, gaue him verie riche presentes, and came to see him, curiously setting forth them selues, and vsing all art that might be to shewe their beawtie, to win his fauor the more: (Cefar in the meane space turmoyling his wits and bodie in civill warres at home, Antonius liuing merily & quietly abroad) he easely fell againe to his old licetious life. For straight C one Anaxenor a player of the citherne, Xoutus a player of the flutes, Metrodorus a tombler, and fuch a rabble of minstrells & fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in finenes & flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALIE) all these flocked in his court, & bare the whole sway: & after that, all went awry. For every one gave them selves to riot and

excesse, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the citie Sophocles speaketh

of in one of his tragedies: VV as full of sveete perfumes, and pleasant songs, With vvoefull vveping mingled thereamongs.

For in the citie of Ephesys, women attyred as they goe in the feaftes and facrifice of Baschus, came out to meete him with such solemnities & ceremonies, as are then vsed: with men D and children difguifed like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the citie was full of Iuey, & darts wreathed about with Iuey, pfalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their fonges they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and so was he vnto some, but to the most parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gaue a citizens house of MAGNESIA vnto a cooke, bicause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the ende he doubled the taxacion, and imposed a seconde vpon Asia. But then Hybraus the Orator sent from the estates of Asra, to tell him the state of their contrie, boldly fayd vnto him: if thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou shouldest also have power to gene vs two B fommers, two autumnes, and two haruests. This was gallantly and pleasauntly spoken vnto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwardes amplifying his speache, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose. Asia hath payed the two hundred

Hybreas wordes unto Antoniue. southing sheir great payments of

Antonisa

cruelsie in

Antenis

thowsand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leaused it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we viterly vidone. Hybraas words nettled Antonius roundly. For he vnderstoode not many of the thests and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires: not so muche bicause he was carelesse, as for that he ouersimply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without futtletie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confesse it vnto them whome his officers had done injurie vnto, by countenaunce of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offendors, as to reward well doers: and yet

A hedid exceede more in gening, then in punishing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vied, mocking and flouring of euerie man: that was remedied by it felfe. For a Amonito man might as boldly exchaunge a mocke with him, & he was as well cotented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him fo plainly, & truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight.

But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gaue him, not finding howe these flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of speach vnto him, as a fine deuise to make difference of meares with sharpe and tart sauce, & also to kepe him by this franke ieasting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be trouble-

fome vnto him, as men do easely mislike to have too muche of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would geue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so muche to please him, but bicause they were ignoraunt, and vnderstoode not so muche as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiese of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on himwho did waken and stirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer feene to any; and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worfe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. Antonius going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, sent to commaunde Cleopatra to appeare personally be- Amonius lone fore him, when he came into Cilicia, to aunswere vnto suche accusacions as were layed a- whom he sem gainst her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their warre against him. The for into Citi-

could possible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of Antonius, for he was a more curteous

Lord, then any that she had ever seene. Cleopatra on thother side beleving Dellius wordes, and

geffing by the former accesse and credit she had with Iulius Casar, and Cneus Pompey (the sonne

of Pompey the great) only for her beawtie: she began to have good hope that she might more

easely win Antonius. For Casar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, & knew

D not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to Antonius at the age when a womans

beautie is at the prime, and the also of best judgement. So, the furnished her selfe with a world

of gifts, store of gold and filuer, and of riches and other fumptuous ornaments, as is credible

enough the might bring from fo great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as A-

GYPT was. But yet the caried nothing with her wherein the trufted more then in her felfe, and

women also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes Nereides (which are the

mermaides of the waters) and like the Graces, some stearing the helme, others tending the

tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull paffing sweete sauor

of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of peo-

ple. Some of them followed the barge all alongest the rivers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her comming in. So that in thend, there ranne such multitudes of people one after

an other to fee her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperial seate

to geue audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples mouthes, that the goddeffe Penus

messenger sent vnto Cleopatra to make this summons vnto her, was called Dellius: who when it he had throughly confidered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetenesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather affured him felfe, that within few dayes the should be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into CILICIA, as honorably furnished as she

in the charmes and inchauntment of her passing beawtie and grace. Therefore when she was fent vnto by divers letters, both from Antonius him felfe, and also from his frendes, the made folight of it, and mocked Antonius fo much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but The ronder-

to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the failes of purple, full sumprusand the owers of filuer, which kept stroke in rowing after the founde of the musicke of flutes, cleopara, howboyes, citherns, violls, and fuch other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And Queene of now for the person of her selfe: she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tiffue, ap., AEgypt, goparelled and attired like the goddesse Venus, commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her, ing vito An on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe fet forth god Cupide, with Cydnus fl. litle fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and gentleous prepara-Cleopatra and

beavie.

An order fet nius & Cleo. The exceffine expences

Eight wilde boares rofted

in AEgyps.

Philotas a Philition, borne in Am of this feaft. Philosas, Phistien to she younger

landed, Antonius fent to inuite her to supper to him. But the fent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. Antonius therefore to shew him selfe curteous: vnto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her, & went to supper to her: where he found fuch passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongest all other thinges he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geuing light in eueric place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some fquare: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer books could mencion. The next night, Antonius fealting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she ouercame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse service: of his house, in respect of Cleopatraes sumptuousnes and finenesse. And when Cleopatra found & Antonius leasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not fo paffing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet fuche, as vpon prefent viewe did enamor. men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conversacion, that a man could not posfiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse. her curteous nature that tempered her words & dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quicked Furthermore, befides all these, her voyce and words were maruelous pleasant: for her tongue was an inftrument of muficke to divers foorts and pastimes, the which the eafely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto sew barbarous people by interpreter, but made them auniwere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the A- C. RABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBRYES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHE-ANS, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Æ GYPT could fearce learne the Æ GYPT IAN tongue only and many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Nowe, Antonius was so rausshed with the loue of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fuluia had great warres, and much a doe with Cafar for his affaires, and that the armie of the PARTHIANS, (the which the kings Lieutenauntes had genen) to the onely leading of Labienus) was now affembled in MESOPOTAMIA readie to inuade Sy-RIA: vet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he veelded him felfe to goe with Cleapatra into ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as Antiphon sayth: and that is, time. D For they made an order between them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to fay, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feafting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, I have heard my grandsather Lampry as report, that one Philotas a Philition, borne in the citie of AMPHISSA, told him that he was at that present time in ALEXANDRIA, and studied Phisicke: and that having acquaintance with and Cleorara One of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius house, (being a young man defirous to fee things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and faw a world of diversities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, sure you have great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (a he)not & many ghestes, nor aboue twelve in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be served in whole, or elfe it would be marred straight. For Antonius peraduenture will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or elfe hath had some other great matters in hand; and therefore we doe not dreffe one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are vicerteine of the houre he will fuppe in. Philotas the Philition tolde my grandfather this tale, and fayd moreouer, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serue the eldest some of the sayd Antonius, whome he had by his wife Fuluia: and that he fate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisition that was so full of words, that he made every man wearie of him at the bord: but Philotas to stoppe his mouth, put out a futtle proposition to him. It is good in some forte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euerie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a

ANTONIVS. Aman that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Philition was fo grauelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to fay, Young Antonius burft out in fuch a laughing at him. and was fo glad of it, that he fayd vnto him : Philotas, take all that, I geue it thee: Thewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and filuer. Philosas thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly boud to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have geven to many things, and of to great value. But muche more he maruelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him fer his marke and stampe upon them, and to locke them up. Philotat returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke them. Then the young contleman Antonius fayd vnto him; alas poore man, why doest thou make it nife to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of Antonius that geues them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleue me, take rather the readie money they come to: bicause my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the antike & excellent workemanship of them. This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to Cleopatra. Plato wryteth Plate with that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but Cleopatra deuided it into many kinds, For the were of foure kinds it in foort, or in matter of earnest, still deuised fundrienew delights to have Antonius at com- Chepara maundement, neuer leaning him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her fight. For Queene of at the would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be farmer. with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And somtime also, when he would goe vp and downe the citie difguifed like a flaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens windowes & their shops, and scold & brawle with them within the house: Cleopatra would be also in achamber maides array, & amble vp & downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the ALEXANDRIANS were commonly glad of this jolity, & liked it well, faying verie gallantly, and wifely: that Antonius shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenaunce: and the ROMANES a tragicall face, to fay, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the foolishe

sportes they made, reuelling in this forte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will

only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take Anionius s. none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause Cleopatra stoode by. Wherefore he lecretly com- fing in All-

maunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive vnder the war 27th. ter, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before; and so snatched up his angling rodde, and brought vp fish twife or thrife. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, the told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to fee the fifthing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fifther boates to fee this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line and Cleopatra straight commaunded one of her men to diue vnder water before Antonius men, and to put fome old falte fish vpon his baite, like vnto those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont. When he had hong the fish on his hooke. Antonius thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fella laughing. Cleopatra laughing alfo, said vnto him: leaue vs(my Lord) Æ 9 YPTIANS (Which dwell in the contry of PHARVS and CANOBYS) your angling rodde: this is not thy profession; thou must huntrafter conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe Antonina delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from ROME, that his brother Lucius, and Fuluia his wife, fell out first between them selues, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cafar, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driven This warre of to flie out of ITALIE. The seconde newes, as bad as the first that Labienus conquered all A- Lucius Ango SIA with the armie of the PARTHIANS, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syntagento alla control the contries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much a doc, a litleto route him official ca felfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe fleepe, and as a man may fay, comming out of far. a great dronkennes. So, first of all he bent him felfe against the PARTHIAMS, and went as farre Fasthe contrie of Pinonni CIA: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulcia. Whereuppon he ftraight returned towards I T A LIE, with two hundred faile; and as he went, tooke up his frendes by the way that fled out of I T ALIE, to come to him. By them he was infaw Cafar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other fide layed all the fault & home

den on his wife Fuluia: the frendes of both parties would not fuffer them to vnrippe any older

matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procine

since the death of his wife Fuluia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not

confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the lone he bare vnto this

that this Ladie Octania having an excellent grace, wifedom, & honeftic joyned vnto fo rares

beawtie, that when the were with Antonius (he louing her as fo worthy a Ladie descrueth) the

should be a good meane to keepe good love & amitie between ther brother and him. So when

ÆGYPTIAN Cleopatra. Thereuppon euerieman did fet forward this mariage, hoping thereby

and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this vprove in IT ALTE, in hope thereby town The death of draw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune, his wife Falura going to meete with Antonia. fickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of Sickone and therefore Offanius Cafar, and he were the easelier made frendes together. For when Antonius landed in ITALIE, and that then

of this warre, fearing to make matters worfe between them: but they made them frendesun gether, and deuided the Empire of Roug between them, making the fea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces Eastward, vnto Antonius: and the contries All the Empire of Rome denided be-Westward, vnto Cafar: and left A FRICKE vnto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after an other should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selves Tillis mene she feemed to be a found counfell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which Triumiri. Offania, the fortune offered thus. There was Offania the eldelt fifter of Cafar, not by one mother, for the halfe lifter of came of Ancharia, & Cafar him felf afterwards of Aceia. It is reported, that he dearly loued his far, odenebfifter Ottawia, for in deede the was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Gains Marcellus, who dyed not long before: and it feemed also that Antonius had bene widower enem

Cafar & he had made the matche between them, they both went to Rome about this mariage. for marring of widowes. fars halfe fi-

not Cafars

far, diemake

offered von. derfull ereas fake, refufed

Alex at Rome although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate difpenfed with the law, and so the mariage process ded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and fo made many an inrode rid offmin, iffto I TALIB with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Octavius Cz. Captaines two notable pirats, Menas, and Menecrates, who fo scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a fayle. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had delt verie frendly D with Antonius, for he had curteously received his mother, when the fled out of I TALLE with Amonius and Fullis and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three too gether by the mount of Milena, youn a hill that runneth farreinto the fea : Pompey having his Thippes ryding hard by at ancker, and Antonius and Cafar their armies upon the shoare side dis Sexus Pom- rectly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicili and San DINIA, with this condicion that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirats, and make it fafe for paffengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to Rome some of them did feafe an other and drew cuts who should beginne. It was Pompeius chaunce to inwhite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: & where shall we supper There, said Pomper and thewed him his admirall galley which had fix bankes of owers: that (fayd he) is my fathers Sexus Pom- fiousettiev haut left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, bicause he had his fathers house, that Peint taunt to was Fompey the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and their built bridge of wodde to convey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Mifena hard Sexual Port there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middelt of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius loue vnto Cleopatra: Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his care, said vnto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides ? Pomper har uing pawfed a while vpon it, at length aunswered him: thou shouldest have done it, and neuer have told it me, but now we must content vs with that we have. As for my felfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feat him in their campe, and then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made fent Ventidius before into Asia to flay the Parthians, and to keepe them they should come

no further : and he him felfe in the meanetime, to gratefie C.clar, was contented to be chosen Inline Cafars prieft and facrificer, & fo they joyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sportes and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: Antonius was cuer inferior vnto Casar and alway loft which grieued him much. With Antonius there was a foothfayer or aftronomer of E-GYT, that coulde cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Gleopatra, or else for that he founde it fo by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it felfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamifhed, and obscured by Casars fortune: and therefore he counselled him viterly to leave Amenim told

his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy Demon faid he, (that is to fare, that his R (av. the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee) is affraied of his; and being coragious & high fortune year when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere wnto the other. infinite value Howfoeuer it was, the euents enfuing proued the ÆGYPTIAN'S words true. For it is faid, that as often as they two drew cuts for pattime, who should have any thing, or whether they plaied Anunium at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cockefight, or quailes surrous in that were taught to fight one with an other: Cefars cockes or quailes did euer ouercome. The middle and the surrous of the su which fpighted Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward flew of it: and therefore of the mind of the made in outward flew of it: and therefore be beleved the AGYPTIAN the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house vnto far. Eafar, & went out of ITALIE with Octavia his wife, whom he caried into GRECE, after he had

had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at ATHENS, newes came vnto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had ouercome the PARTHIANS in battel, in the which also were flaine. Labienus, and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captaine king Orodes had, For these good newes Orodes king he feasted all A THENS, and kept open house for all the GRACIANS, and many games of price of Parth were plaied at ATHENS, of the which he him felfe would be judge. Wherfore leaving his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the show place (or listes) where these games were played, in a long gowne and slippers after the GRECIAN facion, and they caried tippestaues before him, as marshalls men do cary before the Judges to make place; and he himselfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. Af-

ter that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Olive, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsydra, bicause of an Oracle he had recei-Dued that fo commaunded him. In the meane time, Ventidius once againe ouercame Pacorus, Venudius no (Orodes sonne king of PARTHIA) in a battell fought in the contrie of CYRRESTICA, he being of the Para come againe with a great armie to inuade Syria: at which battell was flaine a great number this of the PARTHIANS, & among them Pacorus, the kings owne some slaine. This noble exploye The death of as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romans, of the shame and losse they king of Par had received before by the death of Marcus Craffus: and he made the PARTHIANS flie, and thines fames glad to kepe them felues within the confines and territories of MES OFOTAMIA, and MEDIA. after they had thrife together bene ouercome in feuerall battells. Howbeit Ventidius durft not vnderrake to follow them any further, fearing least he should have gotten Antonius displeasure by it, Notwithstanding, he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them E againe: amongest whome he besieged Antiochus, king of Commag ana, who offered him to give a thowfand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promifed ever after to be at Antonius commaundement. But Ventidius made him aunswere, that he should send vnto Antonius. who was not farre of, and would not fuffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this litle exployt should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenaunt Ventidius. The fiege grew verie long, bicause they that were in the towne, feeing they coulde not be received you no reasonable composition: determined valliantly to defende them selues to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet receiued great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochiu, and to take three hundred talentes for composition. Penname in only men of F Thus after he had fet order for the state & affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: the Romanus,

and having given Ventidius suche honors as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumphe that min for the PARTHIANS. Ventidius was the only man that euer triumphed of the PARTHIANS VI- Parties.

News difswext Antonius and 0-Etavisu Ca

OEtania paeifieth the quarrell betvixt Anto. niss . and her brother Offasine Ca

she horfe of the minde. Antonius fent for Cleapatra into Sy gane great provinces umzo Cleopatra. Antizoniu king of Iscie,

beheaded by

swinnes by

Cleopatra, &

sheir namer.

fron to achieue to great matters. And yet to fay truely, he did fo well quit him felfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cafar : to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them felues For Softius, one of Antonius Lieutenauntes in Syrra, did notable good feruice : and Canidian. whom he had also left his Lieutenaunt in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he also ouercome the kinges of the IBBRIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conquelts vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the same of Antonias power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding. grewe to be maruelously offended with Cafar, vpon certaine reportes that had bene brought I vnto him : and so tooke sea to go towards I TALIE with three hundred faile. And bicause those of BRYNDYSIVM would not receive his armie into their haven, he went further vnto TAREN-TVM. There his wife Offania that came out of GRECE with him befought him to fend her vnto her bother: the which he did, Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a fecond daughter by him, and yet the put her felfe in iorney, and met with her brother Office wines Cafar by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, Macenas and Agrippa with him. The wirder of She tooke them afide, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not fuffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and vnfortunatest creature of all other. For now, faid she, euerie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the fifter of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worlf councell of take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your felues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes have affigned the victorie, or overthrowe. But for me, on which fide focuer victorie fall, my ftate can be but most miserable still. These words of Octavia so softned Cafars harte, that he went quickely vnto TARENTVM. But it was a noble fight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many Thippes aflore in the roade, quietly and fafe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindeneffe of frendes, louinglie imbracing one an other, First, Antonius feasted Calar, which he graunted vnto for his fifters fake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that Cafar should geue Antonins two legions to go against the PARTHIANS: and that Antonius should let Casar have a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the proces. Besides all this, Ottauia obteyined of her 10 husbande, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thowfande armed men. After they had taken leave of eache other, Cafar went immediatly to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to gette Sicilia into his handes. Antonius also leaving his wife Octavia and litle children begotten of her, with Cafar, and his other children which he had by Fuluia: he went directlie into A sia. Then beganne this peftilent plague and mischiefe of Cleopatraes loue (which had flept a longe tyme, and feemed to have bene viter-Plato calleth lie forgotten, and that Amonius had geuen place to better counsell) agains to kindle, and escupiscences to be in force, so soone as Antonius came neere vnto Syria. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as Plato termethit, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the vnreyned lust of concupifcence) did put out of Antonius heade, all honeft and commendable thoughtes: for he fent Fonteius Cavito to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Vnto whome, to welcome her, he gaus no trifling things: but vnto that the had already, he added the provinces of Phoenicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the lle of Cyprvs, and a great parte of Cilicia, and that contry of INRIE where the true balme is, and that parte of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS doe dwell, which stretcheth out towardes the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the Ro-MANE S. But now, though Antonius did eafely geue away great feigniories, realmes, & mighty nations ynto fome private men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmest (as from Antigonus king of the Inwas, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had fuffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romanes, as the vnmeasurable honors which he did vnto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggranate their malice & il wil towards him, bicause that Cleopatra having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter; he named his sonne Akwander, & his daughter Cleopatra, and gaue them to their surnames; the

A Sume to the one, & the moone to the other. This not withflanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, faid that the greatnes & magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared most not where the ROMANES tooke, but where they gave much : & nobilities was multiplied amongest men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in diness places: and that by this meanes his first auncester was begotten of Hersules, who had not less the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman; searing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children but that he gaue it vnto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in divers places. Nowe when Phraortes had flaine his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdoms Phraorte many gentlemen of PARTHIA forfooke him, and fled from him. Amongft them was Manufes, flue his father problems and of great authority among his contry men, who came was described by Order king B anoble man, and of great authority among his contry men, who came vnto Amonius, that we of Prifes ceined him, & compared his fortune vnto Themistocles, and his owne riches & magnificence vnto the kings of Persia. For he gaue Monefes three cities, Larissa, Arethysa, & Hiera POLIS, which was called before BOMBYCE. Howbeit the king of PARTHIA (hortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon Phraortes vnprouided. For he sent vnto him, & told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, so he would but only redeliuer the standerds & ensignes of the ROMANES, which the PARTHIANS had wonne in the battell where Marcus Crassus was flaine, & the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he sent Cleopatra backe into ÆGYPT, & tooke his way towards ARABIA & ARMENIA. & theretooke 1 a general muster of all his army he had together, & of the kings his cofederats that were come by his comaundement to aide him, being a maruelous number : of the which the chiefest was Artanafdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with fix thowsande horsemen, and seven thowland footenen. There were also of the Romanus about three score thowland footmens Antonius & of horsemen (Spaniards & Gavles reckoned for Romans) to the number of ten thous great of pulfand, & of other nations thirty thow fand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light art fant army. med footemen. This fo great & puisant army which made the Indians quake for feare dwelling about the contry of the BACTRIANS, and all As IA also to tremble: served him to no purpole, & all for the loue he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lye all winter Annulus with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for hast, to put all in hazard, being so the lower and to the lower of the lowe D rauished & enchaunted with the sweete poyson of her loue, that he had no other thought but classana. of her, & how he might quickly returne againe:more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made having comen eight thowfand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and inuade MEDIA, before the PARTHEAN'S should stirre out of their houses & garrisons: he could tary no lenger, but led them forthwith vnto the province of ATROPATENE, leaving ARMENIA on the left hand, & forraged al the contry. Furthermore, making all the haft he coulde, he left behinde him engines of battery which were carried with him in three hudred carts, (among the which also there was a ramme foure score foote long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get againe for money if they were once lost or marred. For the hie prouince As ra haue no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of battery. This notwithflanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent specdily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them, in charge with one Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the citie of PHRAATA, being the chiefest and greatest Antonius Secitie the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight founde his seguither de ownefault, and the want of his artillerie he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hande: " or " on Media. for he was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the sworde with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the citie, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, rose to some height. In the meane time king Phraortes came downe with a great armie: who understanding that Antonias had left his engines of batterie behind him, he fent a great number of horfemen before, which enuironed Tatianus with all his cariage, and flue him, and ten thow fand men he had with him, After this

0000 ii

The Parties the barbarous people tooke these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners. A amongst whom they tooke also king Polemon. This discomfiture maruelously troubled all As. toning army, to receive fo great an overthrow (beyond their expectacion) at the beginning of their iorney: infomuche that Artabazus, king of the Armantans, dispairing of the good lieceffe of the ROMANES: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was him selle the first procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other fide, the PARTHIANS came coragiously vnto Antonius campe, who lay at the fiege of their chiefest citie, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens harts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enlignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping therby he should easely allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he B had marched about a dayes iomey from his campe, he faw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to geue him the onset, & to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he fet out his fignall of battell, & yet caused his tents and fardells to be truffed vo as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched be-

fore the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshald like a cressant or halfe moone:

and commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were nere enough voto their enemies to fet voon the voward, that then they should fet spurres to their horses,& Battell bebegin the charge. The PARTHIANS standing in battell ray, beholding the countenaunce of the twext i're Parshian

ROMANE sas they marched: they appeared to be fouldiers in deede, to fee them marche in fo good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the rankes a like space one from an o- C ther, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking neuer a word. But so soone as the allarom was given, the horsemen sodainly turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the first received their charge coragiously, for they were joined never the within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to joine with them showing out allowde, & ratling of their armors: the PARTHIANS horses and them selves were so affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMANES could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed the hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chased them fiftie furlonges of, and the horsemen also thrise as farre: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about foure score men only slaine. But this did D much discorage them, when they conidered with them selves, that obtaining the victory, they had flaine so few of their enemies: and where they were ouercome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the carriage was taken. The next morning, Antonius army truffed up their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe; and by the way in their returne they met at the first a sewe of the PARTHIANS ; then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, & troubled them on euery fide, as freshly & coragiously, as if they had not bene ouerthrowen: so that the Romans very hardly got to their campe with fafety. The MEDES on the other fide, that were befieged in their chiefe city of PHRAATA, made a fally out vpon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and draue them for searc, from the mount they E men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troublesome vnto both parties, and the ende thereof muche more fearefull. For Antonius could looke for no other of his side, but famine: bicause he could forrage no more, nor fetche in any vittells, without great loffe of his men. Phraortes on the other fide, he knew well enough that he could bring the PARTHIANS to anything els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the ROMANES continued their fiege all winter long,& made warre with him still:that his me would for sake him,& specially bicause the time

Decimacion a kept. Antonius was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deutded his of the yere went away apace, & the ayer waxed clowdy, & cold, in the equinoctial autumne. F Therupon he called to mind this deuise. He gaue the chiefest of his gentleme of the PARTHE ANS charge, that when they met the Romanes out of their campe, going to forrage, or towater

A their horfe, or for fome other provision: that they should not distresse them too muche, but The config thould fuffer them to carie fomewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and har- the Parthian

greatest and most dreadfull enemies he could have to wit: winter, and famine, the which they

thould hardly away withall, though the PARTHIAN'S did the best they could to aide & accom-

pany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant.

dines, for the which their king did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these spains the first baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer vnto them, and to talke with them a horsebacke, greatly blaming Antonius selsewill that did not gene their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, then to faue the lives of fo goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the

B for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he woulde not fende vnto the king of PAR-THIA, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so curteously voto his men. whether they spake it of them selues, or that they were their maisters words. When they told them the king him felfe fayd fo, and did perswade them further not to seare or mistrust them: then Antonius sent some of his frends vnto the king, to make demaund for the delivery of the enfignes and prisoners he had of the ROMANES, since the ouerthrow of Crassius: to the ende it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they shoulde thinke he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the daunger he was in. The king of PARTHIA answered him: that for the enfignes & prisoners he demaunded, he should not breake his head about it; notwithftading, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner,

C and without daunger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men some time to truffe vp their cariage, he raifed his campe, & tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his fouldiers and men of warre, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake vnto them at his remouing, but willed Domitius A Enobarbus to do Ausnius 100 it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, & thought that he did it in disdaine of them : but sumeth from the most part of them presently understoode the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore the temps of the Parthias.

they thought it their dueties to carie the like respectivnto their Captaine, that their Captaine

did vnto them : and fo they became the more obedient vnto him. So Antonius was minded to returne the fame way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a D fouldier to him, borne in the contry of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequenting the PARTHI-ANS of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had also shewed him selfe very true & faithfull to the ROMANES, in the battell where Antonius engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came vnto Antonius, to counfell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heavily armed, vnto fo great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compasse him round about: and that this was Phraortes fetch to offer him fo frendly codicions & curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: how beit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woddes & mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he should finde great plenty of all things needefull E for his army Antonius hearing what he faid, called his counsel together, to consult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to gene them cause to thinke he mistrusted them:and on thother side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places wel inhabited, where he might be prouided of al things necessary: therfore he asked the MAR-DIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The MARDIAN gaue himself to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or fight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, & trusting therin, fuffred the fouldiers to march in diforder as every ma lifted. The MARDIAN perceiving that the dammes of a river were newly broken vp, which they should have passed over, & that the F river had overflowen the bankes and drowned all the way they shoulde have gone: he geffed Straight that the PARTHIAN'S had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMANES for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad Antonius looke to him felfe, and told him 0000 iii

dee fer upon Antonius in

that his enemies were not farre from thence. Antonius having fet his men in order, as he was: A. placing of his archers & fling men to refift the enemies, & to drive them backe: they discried The Parties the PART HIANS that wheeled round about the army to compasse them in on every side. & to breake their rankes, & their light armed men gaue charge apon them. So after they had hurr many of the Romanes with their arrowes, and that they them selues were also hurt by them with their dartes and plummets of leade: they retyred a litle, and then came againe and gane charge. Vntill that the horsemen of the GAVLES turned their horses, & fiercely gallopped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as al that day they gathered no more together. Therby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darters and fling men, and made his army march in a square battell:commaunding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to affaile them, they shoulde B drive them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PART HIANS foure daies after, feeing they did no more hurte to the ROMANES, then they also received of them: they were not fo hotte vpon them as they were commaunded, but excusing them selues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, Flauius Gallus, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came vnto Antonius to pray him to let him

ANTONIVS.

haue fome moe of his light armed men then were alreadie in the rereward, and fome of the

horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe some notable exploite. Antonius

graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to fet vpon the

taile of the army, and to skirmish with them: Flanius coragiously made them retire, but not as

thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Capteines that had the leading of the

panies: and when they were flaine, they fent him others also. So that by their beafflinesse and

lacke of confideracion, they had like to have made all the armie flie, if Antonius him felfe had

not come fro the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the mid-

dest of them that fled, untill they came to front of the enemies, & that they stayed them from

chasing any further. Howbeit at this last consist there were slaine no lesse the three thowsand

men, and fine thowsande besides brought fore hurt into the campe, and amongest them also

Flavius Gallus, whose body was shorthrough in source places, whereof he died. Antonius went

to the tents to visite & comfort the sicke & wounded, and for pities sake he could not refraine B

they were wont to doe before, to retire and joyne presently with their army, for he ouerrashly of

of Flavine

rereward, seeing Flauius stray too farre from the army: they sent vnto him to will him to retire. but he would not harken to it. And it is reported also, that Titim himselfe the Treasorer, tooke the enfignes, & did what he could to make the enfigne bearers returne backe, reuiling Flauius Gallus, bicause that through his folly and desperatnes he caused many honest and valliant men to be both hurt & flaine to no purpose. Gallus also fel out with him, and commaunded his men to flay. Wherefore Titius returned againe into the army, and Gallus stil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then feeing him felfe enuironned of all fides, he fent vnto the army, that they should come Canidina and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which Canidaus, a man D fault, Antenius Capof great estimacion about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where they should haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they fent him aide by small co-

Flanisus Gallus flaine. Antonius care of them that were

wounded.

she fouldiers unte Ante-

from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenaunce they coulde, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dreffed, and not to trouble him felfe for them, most reuerently calling him their Emperour & Captaine: & that for them felues, they were whole & fafe, so that he had his health. For in deede to fay truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Captaine that had fo great & puisant an army as his together, both for lufty youths,& corage of the fouldiers, as also for their pacience to away with so great paines & trouble. Furreurence of thermore, the obedience & reuerece they shewed vnto their captaine, with a maruelous earnest loue & good wil, was so great: & all were indifferently (as wel great as smal, the noble ment as meane men, the Captaines and fouldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme Antonius good will & fauor, aboue their owne life & fafety: that in this point of marshall discipline, the auncient Ro- # There and MANES could not have don any more. But divers things were cause therof, as we have told you before: Antonius nobility & ancient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality & maenificence,

gnificence, & his familiarity to fport & to be mery in company; but specially the care he tooks

at that time to help, vifite, & lament those that were ficke & woulded, leing every man to have that which was meete for him: that was of fuch force & effect, as it made them that were ficke & wounded to loue him better, & were more desirous to do him seruice, then those that were whole & fould. This victory fo encoraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and houered about the Ro-MANES campe, thinking that they would presently flie, & then that they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater nuber of the PARTHIANS, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then forty thowfand horse, bicause their king sent thither even the very gard

R about his person, as vnto a most certaine and assured victorie, that they might be partners of about his perion, as vinto a more certaine and anuted victories, that they high the fpoyle and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king him felfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battell. Then Antonius desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a uer came to blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did disswade him from it. fight in the Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his armie: in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driven backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that those which

had ouercome, prayed him to be of good chere: the other also to cleere them selues, willing-

ly offred to take the lotts of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind

of punishment it should please him to laye vpon them, so that he would forget any more to

millike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift vp his hands to heaven, and

to come not to fight, but to spoyle and make hauock of all: when they came neare them, they

were fore hurt with their flings and darts, and fuch other iauelings as the Romanes darted at

them, & the Parthians found them as rough and desperat in fight, as if they had bene fresh

men they had delt withall. Whereuppon their harts beganne againe to fayle them. But yet

on them with their arrowes, bicause the Romanes could goe downe but fayer and softly. But

then againe, the fouldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed

they could have but litle corne, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it, and befides that,

that men doe commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were neuer eaten be-

D when the ROMANBS came to goe downe any steepe hills or mountaines, then they would fee

made his prayer to the goddes, that if in exchaunge of his former victories, they would nowe fende him some bitter aduersitie: then that all might light on him selfe alone, and that they Antonius cha would give the victorie to the rest of his armie. The next morning, they gave better order on ritable prayer euery fide of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to returne againe to affaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought

knee on the ground, and fo fet downe their shields before them: and they of the second ranck The Romants

them that were naked or light armed, in the middest amongest them, and did kneele of one also couered them of the first rancke, and the third also couered the second, and so from ranck couring ato rancke all were covered. Infomuch that this manner of covering and theading them felues gainfifies. with shields, was deuised after the facion of laying tiles vpon houses, and to sight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most stronge desence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth upon it. When the PARTHIANS faw this countenaunce of the ROMANS fouldiers E of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that forte vpon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with tranell: they layed downe their bowes, & tooke their speares & launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMANES fodainely rose voon their feete, and with the darts that they threwe from them, they flue the formost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these daungers and lets, Antonius armie could winne no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffred great famine: for

they had no instruments to grynd it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had beneleft behind, bicause the beast's that caried them were either dead, or els imployed to cary them that were fore and wounded. For the famine was fo extreame great, that the eight parte of a in Antonius F bushell of wheate was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the waight of filuer. In the ende, they were compelled to liue of erbes and rootes, but they found few of them

0000 iii

A deadly erbe

ANTONIVS. fore: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their witts. For A he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him, and he knewe no manner of thing, but onely bufied him felfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another. as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe ouer, men were builty frouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly, bicause they lacked wine, which was the onely sourraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men dye dayly, and that the PARTHIANS left The valliant- them not, nether would fuffer them to be at rest: he oftentymes cryed out sighing, and sayd:

Ostenne thow and He had the valliantnes of tenne thow and GRECIANS in such admiratishowfand Gra on, whome Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrvs: bicause they had comen ? a farder iorney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many tymes Xenophon brought away

The Parchi. ans very futzell and craf-

Mithridates a Parthian, bearayeth vn to Antonius the confiraagainst him.

told, then them felues, and yet came home with fafetie. The PARTHIANS therfore feeing that three of the Romanes, and contrarily that they them selues were oftentymes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell agains to their olde craftie futtelties. For when they found any of the Romanes scattered from the armieto goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittells: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes vnbent, saying, that them selues also did returne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeir that they should yet have certaine MEDES that would follow them a dayes iorney or two to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding C them with this talke, they gently tooke their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMANES began againe to thinke them selues safe. Antonius also vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, bicause also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cofen vnto Monezes that fled vnto Antonius, and vnto whome he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake the Parthian, or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a famillier of Antonius, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and fayde, that Monezes had sent him to Antonius, to require the honor and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he D had vsed this ceremonious speeche, he asked Alexander if he sawe those highe Mountaines a farre of, which he poynted vnto him with his finger. Alexander aunswered he did. The PAR-THIANS (fayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, under the which ly eth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceived with their craftie futtill wordes, will leave the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if Antonius take the lower way , let him affure him felfeto runne the fame fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates having sayd, he departed. Antonius was maruelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therfore called for his friends, to heare what they would fay to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his E opinion, aunswered : that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had sayd. For, fayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be stonye and painefull, yet there is no other daunger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So Antonius chauging his first mind and determination, removed that night, and tooke the Mountaine way, commaunding enery man to provide him felfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessells to cary water in, some were driven to fill their falletts and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Nowe they marching forwarde, worde was brought vnto the PARTHIANS that they were remoued: whereuppon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the ROMANES, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were euen done. For, beyond expectacion, they had gone that night, two hundred

A and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them wherly dispaire: but moste of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst bicause they were forced to fight as they marched to drive their enemies backe, yet creeping on full. The woward of the armie by chaunce met with a river that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was falt and venemous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the gutts of those that had dronke ittand made them maruelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And not withflanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before yet they would not be ruled but sielently thrust them backe that would have kept them from drinking and so dranke? But Material going vo and downe among ft them, prayed them to take a little pacience for a while,

for hard by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drinke. & that from & thereeforth the way was fo ftony and ill for horfemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he cansed the retreate to be sowned to call them backe that sought and com-

manaded the tents to be fet uppe, that the fouldiers might yet have shadow to refresher here with So when the tents were let vp, and the PARTHIAN salforetyred according to their man-Her; the gentleman Mithridates before named, returned againe as before, and Mexanderin like manner againe brought ynto him for Interpreter. Then Mithridates aduited him sharestter the armie had reposed a litle, the Roman as should remove forthwith and with all possible freede get to the river: bicaule the PARTHIANS would goe no further, butyet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander caried the report thereof vnto Antonius, who gave him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe vpon Mithridates. Mithridates tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So Antonius rayled his Antonius campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, & the PARTHIANS neuer trout- great librar bled any of them by the way: but amongest them selves it was as ill and dreadfull a night as e- thridate detier they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throates the care he

they carred: and at 1619gth, they let your september that state that dealed it among them felues. Amonitus fol-eariage, they brake goodly tables & riche plate in peeces, and deutided it among them felues. dies through Thereuppon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprore: For the residue of them were constanting. affraid it had beneathe PARTHIANS that had given them this alarom, and had put all the armie out of order, Infomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his flaves infranchifed that was of his gard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his sword through freez minde. him when he would bid him, and cut of his head: bicause he might not betaken aline of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the hart, that they burft out a weeping for forrow. The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he fought for was hard by and that he did geffe it by a fweete moyft wind that breathed voon them, and by the aver which they found fresher then they were wont, and also for that they fetched their wind more at libertie; and moreouer, bicaufe that fince they did fet forward, he

thought they were neare their iorneys ende, not lacking much of day. On the other fide also,

Antonius was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetouines and villany of certaine of his fouldiers. Therefore Antonius R to let his armie againe in order, and to pacific this vprore, founded the trompet that every man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the PARTHIAN'S drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereuppon the fignall of battell was given to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer them selves as they had done before with their fhields with the which they received & defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes; who neuer durft any more come to hand ftrokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spyed the river. There Antonius placed his armed men you the fands to receive and drive backe the enemies, and first of alligot ouer his men that were ficke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left

F to refift the enemies, had leyfure enough to drinke fafely, and at their pleafure. For when the PARTHIANS faw the river, they vinbent their bowes, and bad the Romanus paffe over without any feare, and greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all paffed ouer the

for the money they had, and belides that, robbed the sumpters and carrage of such money as had of his fafthey carried: and at length, they fet upon Antonius flaues that draue his owne fumpters and The numb of

thians,

river at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward againe, not greatly train. fting the PARTHIANS. The fixt daye after this last battell, they came to the river of Aranes. which deutdeth the contry of Armenia from Madia: the which appeared vnto them very daungerous to passe, for the depth and swiftnes of the streame. And surthermore, there range a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambushe thereabouts, and that they would come & fet your them whilest they were troubled in passing ouer the river. But now, after they were all comen fafely ouer without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other fide, into the prouince of Armenia: then they worshipped that land, as if it had bene the first land they had seene after a long and daungerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy hauen: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced eache other for the great joy they had . But nowe, keeping the fields in this frutefull contry for the plentifull of all things, after fo great a famine and want of all thinges: they fo crammed them felues with fuch plenty of vittells, that many of them were cast into flyxes and dropfics. There Antonius mustring his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thowsand footemen, and foure thowland horsemen, which had not all bene slavne by their enemies; for the most part of them dyed of ficknes, making feuen and twenty dayes iorney, comming from the citie of 18. fenerall PHRAATAINTO ARMENIA, and having overcome the PARTHIANS in eighteene severall batbattels fought tells, But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, bicause they folwith the Pa lowed no long chase : and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia, had The mechany referred Antonius to end this warre, For if the fixteene thowfand horsemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at these battells, considering that they were armed and apking of Arparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted also with their fight: When the ROMANES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, & that their ARMENIANS had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered them selues againe in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often, after they had bene so many times ouerthrowen. Therefore, all those that were of any credit and countenaunce in the army, did perswade and egge Antonius to be reuenged of this Armenian king. But Antonius wifely diffembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worfe counter naunce, nor did him leffe honor then he did before : bicaufe he knew his armie was weake,& lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into Armenta with a great army, and lo with fayer wordes, and sweete promises of Messengers, he allured Artabazus to D. come vnto him : whome he then kept prisoner, and led in triumphe in the citie of ALEXAND DRIA. This greatly offended the ROMANES, and made them much to millike it: when they faw that for Cleopatraes fake he deprined his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great hafte he made to returne vnto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great paines, forcing them to lyein. the field all winter long when it fnew vnreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thowsand of his men, and so came downe to the sea side with a small companye, to a certaine place called med and love love and forrow. So that he was at fuch a straight, that he wist not what to doe, and therefore

king for Clea-

Cleopatra come to Bla:-

VV arres be-Medes.

BLANCBOVEG, which standeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for Cleopatra. And bicause she taried longer then he would have had her, he pined away for to weare it out, he gaue him felfe to quaffing and feafting. But he was so drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to fit at the table till the feast were ended: but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the sea side to see if she were comming. At length she came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to give vnto the fouldiers. But fome faye notwithstanding, that she brought apparell, but no money, and that she tooke of Antonius money, and caused it to be given amonge the fouldiers in her owne name, as if the had given it them. In the meane time it chaunced, that the king of the M EDES, and Phraortes king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warrestogether, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoyles of the ROMANES: and grew to be so hot between them, that the king of MEDER. was no lesse affrayd, then also in daunger to lose his whole Realme. Thereuppon he sent ynto. Antonius to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promiting him that he would ayde him to his vetermost power. This put Antonius againe in good comfort, consider

Ling that valooked for the onely thing he lacked , (which made him he could not offercome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offred him in that fort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had spoken with the king of Manager theriuer of Araxes, he prepared him felte once more to goethrough ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whilest Antonius was busse in this preparation, Octauia his wife, whome he had left at Rome, would needes take sea to come vnto him. Her brother Octavius Cafar was willing vnto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with An-

tonius if he did misule her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be . But when she was come of sails, she R to A THENS, the received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay therewntill his comming, tonium wife, & did aduertise her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, done to Aand that the knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, the asked him with bim,

whether he would have those thinges sent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and befides all those, the had two thowsand fouldiers chosen men, all well armed, like vnto the Prætors bands. When Niger, one of Antenius friends whome he had fent vnto ATHBNS, had brought these newes from his wife Octumia, and withall did greatly prayle her, as the was worthy, and well deferued: Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behauior, (besides the great power of her brother Casar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loueto please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: fhe futtelly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pyning her bo- Theflickering dy for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she euery way so framed her countenaunce, that when of Cheopara, Antonius came to fee her, the cast her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauished for ioy . Straight with Antonius againe when he went from her, the fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the marter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentymes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dryed her eyes, and turned her face away, as if the were viwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks the vied, Antonius being in readines to goe into Syria, to speake with the king of MEDES. Then the flatn terers that furthered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard na-

tured man, and that he had small loue in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment

for his sake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For, Octavia, sayd they, that was mary-

edvnto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother Casars affayres so required it: hath the

honor to be called Antonius lawefull spowse and wife: and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of

so many thowsands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that she disdayned not

so to be called, if it might please him the might enjoy his company, and line with him; but if he once leave her, that then it is vnpossible she should live. To be short, by the fe their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her felfe away: he returned againe vnto A LEXANDRI A, and referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receyued newes that the PARTHIANS at that tyme were at civil warres amonge them selves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was very younge, vnto one of the The occasion fonnes that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, beeingfully bent to make watre with being the Cafar. When Octavia was returned to Rome from ATHENS, Cafar commaunded her to goe tonium and out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. Octavia aunswered cesarhim againe, that the would not for fake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occafron to make watre with him, the prayed him then to take no thought for her: for fayd the, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill warres among the Romanes, the one for the loue of a woma, &c the other for the icloufy betwixt one The loue of an other. Now as the spake the worde, so did the also performe the deede. For the kept still in Official to

Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, hubband, and not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Falsia. Further her wife and

roganily de-uideth diners by Cleepatra. Supposed sone of Cafar, by tonius fennes by Clespatra.

Acculations berwixs Octa-MIN CASALO

came with faile against

more, when Antonius fent any of his men to Rome, to fue for any office in the comon wealth A the received him very curteoufly, and fo vsed her selfe vnto her brother, that she obtained the thing the requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, the did Antonius great hurt. For her honest loue and regard to her husband, made every man hate him, when they sawe he did so vnkindly vse so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and infolent a part, and done (as a man would fay) in derifion and contempt of the Romanes. For he affembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selues, and there vpon a high tribunal siluered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him felfe, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the affembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra Queene of R premines yn. Egypt, of Cypavs, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, Cafarion king of to his children the same Realmes. This Casarion was supposed to be the sonne of Iulius Casar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the fonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gaue Alexander for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the contry: and vnto Ftolomy for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And there-Alexander or withall he brought out Alexander in a long gowne after the facion of the MEDES, with a high Piolemy, An- copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the Medes and Armenta ANS doe vice to weare them: and Ptolomy apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN manner, with flippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and fucceffors of Alexander the great. So after G his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of ARMENIAN fouldiers fet there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for Cleopatra, the did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when the came abroad) the apparell of the goddeffe Isis, and to gaue audience vnto all her subiects, as a new Isis. Octavius Casar reporting all these thinges vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and affembly in Rome: he thereby stirred vp all the ROMANES against him. Amonius on thother side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoyled Sextus Pompeius in SICILE, he did not give him his parte of the Ile. Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, D that having put Lepidus their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honors: he retayned for him felfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had bene affigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided all IT ALY amongest his owne fouldiers, and had left no part of it for his fouldiers. Off autus Cafar aunswered him againe: that for Lepidus, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, bicause he did ouercruelly yse his authoritie. And secondly for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his fouldiers, they should seeke for nothing in I TALY, bicause they possessed MEDIA and PAR-THIA, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valliantly fighting with E their Emperor and Captaine. Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded Canidius to goe prefently to the fea fide with his fixteene legions he had: and he him felfe with Cleopatra, went vnto the citie of EPHESVS, & there gathered together his gallies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred; reckoning the great shippes of burden: and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thowsand talents besides, and prouision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this warre. So Antonius, through the perswasions of Domitius, commaunded Cleopatra to returne againe into ÆGYPT, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre. But Cleopatra, searing least Antonius should againe be made friends with Octavius Cafar, by the meanes of his wife Octania: she so plyed Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes F man vnto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, bicause that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS

A would then be veterly diffeoraged, which were the chiefeft frength of the army by feat confidering that he could fee no king of all the kings their confederats, that Gleapatra was inferior vnto, either for wifedom or judgement, feeing that longe before the had wifely governed for great a realme as Æ GYPT, & besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom the had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cafars handes. Thus, rich Cleans all their forces being joyned together, they hoyfed fayle towards the He of Samos, and there or with him. gaue them selues to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, & communalties, peoples against the and cities from Syria, vnto the marishes Marotides, and from the Armania sand the Lindius celar

LYRIANS, were fent vnto, to fend and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could: 6 kep great

B euen fo all players, minstrells, tumblers, sooles, and leasters, were commaunded to affemble in 18 of Semu the Ile of Samos, So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentati- seather. ons, fighes and teares: onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but finging and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minitrells, and singing men. Besides all this, enery citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did strine one with another who should make the noblest feasts, & give the richest gifts. So that every man fayd, what can they doe more for joy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make, already fuch fumptuous feafts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrells, & such kind of people, the citie of PRIENE to keepe them withal, during this warre. Then he went vnto the citie of ATHENS, and there gave him felfe a-

r gaine to fee playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. Cleopatra on the other side, being iclous of the honors which Octavia had received in this citie, where in deede the was marueloufly honored and beloued of the ATHENIANS: to winne the peoples good will allo at A-THENS, the gaue them great gifts: and they likewife gaue her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, among the which Antonias was one. who as a Citizen of ATHENS reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he fent to Rome to put his wife Octania out of his house, who (as it is his wife Octania reported) went out of his house with all Antonius children, saving the eldest of them he had by mia our of his Fuluia who was with her father, bewailing & lamenting her curied hap that had brought her boufe at Rome to this, that the was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this civill warre. The ROMANES

D did pitie her, but much more Antonius, & those specially that had seene Cleopatra: who nether excelled Octavia in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. Octavius Cafar understanding the lodain & wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was not a little aftonied at it. (fearing he thould be driven to fight that fommer) bicause he wanted many things, & the great and grietious exactions of money did forely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to wete, those whose fathers or other predeceffors had some time bene bond men) they were seffed to pay, the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rofe a wonderfull exclamation and offmin tegreat vprore all ITALY ouer; fo that among the greatest faults that euer Antonius committed. far exacted they blamed him most, for that he delayed to give Casar battell. For he gave Casar leysure to ment of the E make his preparacions, and also to appeale the complaints of the people. When such a great Remanes. fumme of money was demaunded of them, they grudged at it, and growe to mutinie vpon it: but when they had once paied it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plan-

eus (two of Antonius chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great iniuries Cleopatra did them, bicaule they hindered all they could, that the should not come to Plateas te this warre: they went and yelded them selues vnto Cafar, and tolde him where the teltament wolf from the was that Antonius had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the cuffodie of sonius, and the Vestall Nunnes: of whom Cafar demaunded for it. They aunswered him, that they would dee reld to not give it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon Cafar went thither, & having red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch:

It is affembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. VV hereuppon divers were manuelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being aliue, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. Cafar chiefly tooke hold of this that he

nt carriers

be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be

Cens from tonius, to bid bins take heede so him

pare taken

Signes and wonders before the civil warres be-

fent into ALEXANDRIA vnto Cleopatra, Furthermore, among divers other faultes wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatraes fake: Caluifus, one of Cafars friends reproued him. bicause he had franckly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royall citie of Pergamy M. in the which the had aboue two hundred thow fand feueral bookes. Againe also, that being on a time fet at the table he fodainly rose from the borde, and trode vpon Cleopatraes foote, which was a figne given between them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffred the Ephs SIANS in his presence to call Cleopatra, their souraine Ladye. That divers times sitting in his tribunall and chayer of state, giving audience to all kings and Princes: he had received lone letters from Cleopatra written in tables of onyx or christall, and that he had red them, firting & in his imperial feate. That one day when Furtime, a man of great accompt, and the eloquentel man of all the Romanes, pleaded a matter before him: Cleopatra by chaunce coming through the market place in her litter where Furnius was a pleading: Antonius straight rose out of his feare and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Caluifiat denifed the most part of all these accusations of his owne head. Neuertheles they that louted Unitonius, were interceffors to the people for him, and amongest thein they sent one Geminius vinto Antonius, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemie to the people of ROME. This Geminius being arrived in GRECE, made Cleopatra iclous straight of his coming: bicaufe flie furmifed that he came not but to speake for Offauia. Therefore the spared not to O tawnt him all supper tyme, and moreouer to spyte him the more, she made him be set lowest of all at the borde, the which he tooke paciently, expecting occasion to speake with Antonius! Now Antonius commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither:he aunfwered him that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning fafting: but dronke or fasting, how soener it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his fide, vnles Cleopatra were fent backe into Æ GYPT. Antonius tooke these wordes in very ill part. Cleonatra on the other fide aunswered him, thou doest well Geminius, sayd she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, Geminius stale away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please Cleopatra, did make her drive many Many of An other of Antonius faithfull feruaunts and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries D done vnto them : amonge the which these two were chiefe, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, bicause her Phisitian Glaucus tolde him, that Cleopatra had fet some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had Cleopatraes displeasure, bicause he fayde one night at fupper, that they made them drinke fower wine, where Sarmentus at ROME drancke good wine of FALERNA. This Sarmentus was a pleafaunt younge boye, fuch as the Lordes of Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastyme, which they call their ioyes, and he was Offsuius Cafars boye. Nowe, after Cafar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, bicaule he had before given it uppe vnto a woman. And Cafar fayde furthermore, that Antonias was not Maister of him felfe, but that Cleopatra had E brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be Mardian the Euenuke, Photinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatraes bedchamber, that friseled her heare, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many fignes & wonders fel out. First of all, the citie of PISAVRVM which was made 2 colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore side of the fea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake fonck into the ground. One of the images of stone which was fet up in the honor of Antonius, in the citie of Alba, did sweate many dayes together Pelaro, a citie ther: and though some wyped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of PATRAS, in Italy fonch whilest Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the citie ! of ATHENS also, in a place where the warre of the gyants against the goddes is set out in imagerie: the statue of Bacebus with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater.

A It was fayd that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same bluftering storme of wind, overthrew the great most rous images at ATHENS. that were made in the honor of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and intituled. the Antonians, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many befides. The Admirall galley of Cleopatra, was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a marnelous frequently for Small and band and and an antiill figne. Swallowes had bred under the poope of her shippe, & there came others after them swallowers that draue away the first, & plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and day in the that they drew neare to fight: it was found that Antonius had no leffe then five hundred good page to be thips of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight & ren bancks of own

B ers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumpher a bundlest thowland footenen, & twelue thowland horsemen, & had with him to ayde him these kinges and fubicets following. Bocchus king of LyBIA, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Anchelant Talking king of CAPPADOCIA, Philadelphus king of PAPHLAGONIA, Mithridates king of Comments and Adallas king of THRACIA. All the which were there every man in person. Therefiducations were absent sent their armies, as Polemo king of Pont, Manchus king of ARABIA, Herodes king

of Ivry: & furthermore, Amyntasking of Lycaonia, & of the Galatians: and befides all these, he had all the ayde the king of M B D B s sent vnto him. Now for Casar, he had two him. dred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand sootemen, & well neare as many horse- usus cefer amen as his enemy Antonius, Antonius for his part, had all under his dominio from Antonius, gaing Anto-C & the river of Euphrates, vnto the lea Ioniv m & Illy Ricv m. Octanius Cafar had allo for his, Anonim de part, all that which was in our Hemisphære, or halfe part of the world, from I LE YRIANOE minion. the Occean sea vponthe west: then all from the Occean, vnto Mare Signific & from Agazon, of mine Ca all that which is against ITALY, as GAVLE, & SPAYNE. Furthermore, all from the prounce of fare dominion. CYRENIA, VIIO ÆTHIO PIA, Was subiect vinto Antonius. Now Antonius was made lo subiect to Anonius was a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatrate fake, main ruled he would needes have this battell tryed by fea: though he fawe before his eyes, that for lacke b clepan of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all forces of men out of Gazea that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, haruest men, and younge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently surnishe his gallies: so that the most part of them were emp-D ty, and could fcant rowe, bicaufe they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary fide 64-

fars shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but there were light of yarage armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the hauens of TARENTY M, and BRYNDYSIYM. So Offanius Cefar Lent vnto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into I TALLY. and that for his owne part he would give him fafe harber, to lande withou any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, you he had, put his army a shore, & had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side brauely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder, and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIAS AS LIVERS E Cafar, and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Antonius rode at anker, lying idely in harben Antonius at the head of Activm, in the place where the citie of Nicopolis standeth at this prefere at the head of Cafar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Tony NE, before Antonius, Attitumbers understoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his array by the citie of

land was left behind, but Cicopatra making light of it; and what daming the property of the parcel Cefar keepe at * Toryne? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with. The grace of the land can be supported by the land can be suppo full force of owers in battell against him, Antonius was affraid that if they came to joynes they may proprie would take and cary away his shippes that had nomen of warre in them. So he armed all his, be expected water men, and fet them in order of battell vpon the forecastell of their shippes, and then life in any other vp all hisrancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one fide, as the other, with the coule of the E proces against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point equipocation of Active, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with of the word water men and fouldiers. Thus Ottanius Cafar beeing finely deceyued by this ffratageame, te- fanish a

land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it: and what daunger, I pray you, laid the it de

citie of Albania, and alfo, a ladell so frome the poswish: as if The mens, Cafar fat by the fire fide, fcomming of the

Taketh Antoonto Offanius C.efat. Amyntas, and Deiotarus, de from Antonius, and goe unio Cafar.

taking at A

she good com fell of his

at Actium, berwixt An-Cefer.

ANTONIVS. tyred presently, and therewithall Antonius very wifely and sodainely did cut him of from fresh A water. For vnderstanding that the places where Octanius Cafar landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad : he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from falying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendely and curreoully with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mynde. For he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to Casars campe, Antonims was very fory for it, but yet he fent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same Domition, as though he gaue him to vinderstand that he repented his open treason, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings also that for sooke him, and turned on Casars fide: as Amyness, and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleete and nauv that was vnfortunate in all thinges, and vnready for feruice, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. R And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counfelled him to fend Cleopatra backe againe, and him felfe to retyre into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the GETES, promifed him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be not shame nor dishonor to him to let Cafar have the sea, (bicause him selfe & his men both had bene well practifed & exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of Si-CILIA against Sextus Pompeius) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of fo many lufty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deniding them into thippes. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, Cleopatra C. forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea: considering with her selse how she might flie, & prouide for her fafetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more eafily after the battel lost. Betwixt Antonius campe & his fleete of shippes, there was a great hie point of firme lande that ranne a good wave into the fea, the which Antonius often vied for a walke, without miltrust of feare or daunger. One of Cafars men perceived it, & told his Maister that he would laugh & they could take vp Antonius in the middest of his walke. Thereuppon Cafar fent some of his men to lye in ambush for him, & they missed not much of taking of him; for they tooke him that came before him, bicause they discouered to soone, & so Antonius scaped verie hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by fea, he fet all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of ÆGYPT, & reserved onely but the best & greatest gallies, from D three bancks, vnto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thow and fighting men with two thowfand darters & flingers. Now, as he was fetting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, & a valliant man, that had serued Antonius in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked & cut: who as Antonius paffed by him, cryed out vnto him, & fayd: O noble Emperor, how commeth it to paffe that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the ÆGYPTIANS & PHENICI-ANS fight by sea, and set vs on the maine land, where we vie to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. Antonius passed by him, and fayd neuer a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies & Pilots would have let their failes alone, R he made them clap them on, faying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, & the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, & was so boysterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the storme ceased, & the sea calmed againe, & the they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, & Calius the left, & Marcus Oftanius, & Marcus Iusteius the middelt. Oftawine Cafar on thother fide, had placed Agrippa in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the rightwinge for him selfe. For the armies by lande, Canidius was generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Casars side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vppon the fea fide, without stirring one agaynst the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: Antonius being in a swift pinnase, was caried up and downe by force of owers through his army, & spake to his people to encorage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, bicause of the steadines & heavines of their ships: & commaunded the Pilots & masters of the

1001 A gallies, that they should not sturre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to teceiue the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not goe out of the straight of the gulfe. Cafar betyines in the morning going out of his tent, to fee his thips thorough out met a man by chaunce that draue an affe before him. Cafar asked the man what his name was. The wate of the poore man told him, his name was Eutychus, to fay, fortunate: and his affes name Nicon, to us Cafer. fay, Conquerer. Therefore Cafar after he had wonne the battell, fetting out the market place Englishmen with the sources of the gallies he had taken, for a signe of his victorie; he caused also the man commune.

and his affe to be fet up in braffe. When he had vilited the order of his armie thorough out. he tooke a little pinnafe, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he sawe his enemies lve stil in the straight, & sturred not. For, decerning them a farre of, men would have thought

B they had bene shippes riding at anker, and a good while he was so perswaded: So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there role a litle gale of winde from the lea, and then Antonius men waxing angry with tarying lo long, and trusting to the greatnes. and height of their shipps, as if they had bene inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. Cafar feeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to give backe from the fight wing to allure them to come further out of the straight & gulfe: to thend that he might with his light thippes well manned with water men, turne and enuirone the gallies of the engines. the which were heavy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as also for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmith began, and that they came to joyne, there was no greathurt at the first meeting, neither did the shippes vehemently hit one against the other, as they does come C monly in fight by sea. For on the one side, Antonius shippes for their heavines, could not have the strength and swiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and Cafare shippes on thother fide tooke great heede, not to rushe & shockewith the forecastells of Antonius (hippes, whole proues were armed with great brasen spurres. Furthermore they durst not flancke them bicause their points were easily broken, which way socuer they came to fet upon his shippes. that were made of great mayne square peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: fo that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to speake more properly, to the affault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of Cafars thippes about one of Antonis m (hippes, and the fouldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darrs, and threw pots and

darts with fire. Antonius ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crosbowes D and engines of battery, great store of shot from their highe towers of wodde, that were apon their thippes. Now Publicola feing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cafars army, to compasse in Antonius shippes that fought: he was driven also to loofe of to have more roome, & going a litle at one fide, to put those further of that were affraid, and in the middest of the battel. For they were fore distressed by Aruntius. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when fodainely they faw the three fcore shippes of Cleopatra bufic about their yard masts, and hoyfing faile to flie. So they fled through the mid- cleopatra fre dest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, & did mar. uelously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selues wondred much to see them faile in that fort, with ful faile towards PELOPONNES VS. There Antonius thewed plainely, that E he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, & that he was not his owne man : (prouing that true which an old man spake in myrth that the soule of The fault of a

a louer lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine loue in another member of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that the could not have removed without body. mouing of him alfo. For when he faw Cleopatraes shippe vnder faile, he forgot, for fooke, & be Antonius fly traved them that fought for him, & imbarked vpon a galley with fine bankes of owers, to fold opena, low her that had already begon to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his ytter destruction. When the knew this galley a farre of the lift up a figne in the poope of her thippe, and to Antonius comming to it, was pluckt vp where Cleopatra was, how beit he faw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate down alone in the prowe of his shippe, and said ne-

Fuer a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of Cafars that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prowe of his thippe, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one Eurysles LACED & MONIAN, that follow-

PPPP iii

stell of his ship, & asked him whathe was that durst follow Antonius so neare? I am aunswered he Eurycles the fonne of Luchares, who through Cafars good fortune seketh to reuenge the

death of my father. This Lachares was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by Antonius. But

vet Eurycles durst not venter on Antonius (hippe, but fet voon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with fuch a blowe of his brasen spurre, that was so heavy

and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very

rich stuffe and cariage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he returned againe to his place and

fate downe, foeaking neuer a word as he did before: and fo lived three dayes alone, without

speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatraes women h

first brought Amonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and letogether. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about cencesh bie friends to depars, and giuesh them a

them land fome of their friends that had escaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes. that his army by fea was ouerthrowen but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. The Anemia lent vinto Canidius, to returne with his army into Asia, by Maced on Now for him felf, he determined to croffe ouer into A FRICK, & toke one of his carects or hulks loden with gold and filtuer, and other rich carriage, and gaue it vnto his friends: commaunding them to depart, and to feeke to faue them felues. They aunswered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, nor yet for fake him . Then Antonius very curteously and louingly did comfort them and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto Theophilus gouernor of CORINTHE, that C Shippe loden he would fee them fafe, and helpe to hide them in some lecret place, until they had made their with gold and way and peace with Cafar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yelded vnto Cafar, and afterwardes went and dweltat CORINTHE. And thus it floode with Antonius. Now for his armie by fea, that fought before the head or foreland of ACTIVM: they helde out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boyfterous wind that rose full in the prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his nauy was at length ouerthrowen five howers within night. There were not flaine about five thowfand men: but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as Octavius Casar writeth him on by Cefar. felfe in his commentaries. Many plainely fawe Antonius flie, and yet could hardly beleeue D it, that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelue thowfand horsemen vpon the fea side, would so have for saken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, & that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the divers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his fouldiers full withed for him, and euer hoped that he would come by some meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they shewed them selves so valliant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selues whole together seuen daies. In the ende Canidius, Antonius Lieuetenant, flying by night, and forfaking his campe: when they faw them felues thus deftitute of their heads and leaders, they yelded themselves vnto the stronger. This done, Cafar failed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and deuided the rest of the B come that was taken up for Antonius army, unto the townes and cities of GRECE, the which had bene brought to extreme mifery & pouerty, cleane without money, flaues, horfe, & other beaftes of cariage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus tolde, that all the Citizens of our citie of CHERONEA, (not one excepted) were driven them selves to cary a certaine measure of corne on their shoulders to the sea side, that lieth directly ouer against the Ile of Anticyra, & yet were they driven thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for, the fecond tyme that they were charged agains to make the like carriage, all the corne being ready to be carried, newes came that Antonius had loft the battel, & fo scaped our poore city. For Antonius souldiers & deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongst them. Antonius be-

ing arrived in LIBY A, he fent Cleopatra before into ÆGYPT from the citie of PARET ON IVAL & E

he him felfe remained very folitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he

wandred up & down, both of them orators, the one Ariftocrates a GRECIAN, & the other Lu-

A cilius a Romane. Of whom we have written in an other place, that at the hattell where Bruthe Livillius field was ouerthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came & willingly put him fell into the hands of in braining of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: bicause Brutus in the meane time might haue liberty to faue him selse. And afterwards bicause Antonius saued his life, he still remained The sidelinia with him : and was very faithfull and frendly vnto him till his death. But when Antonine heard, of Lucibus that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of LIBYA, and vnto whom he had genen nine. the charge of his armie there, had yelded vnto Cafar: he was so madde withall, that he would haue flaine him felfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went vnto ALEX AND RIA, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderfull enter- The wonderprife, and of great attempt. Betwixt the redde fea, and the fea betwene the landes that poynt ful attempt of B vpon the coast of ÆGYPT, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seas and separateth Africks from Asia: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seasare narrowest, that it is not about three hundred furlonges ouer. Cleopatra went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold & silver away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterranium, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the Arabians dwelling about the citie of Petra, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, and that Antonius thought that his armie by lande, which heleft at A-CTIVM was yet whole: the left of her enterprife, and determined to keepe all the portes and c passages of her realme. Antonius, he for sooke the citie and companie of his frendes, and built Antonius falhim a house in the sea, by the He of Pharos, vpon certaine forced mountes which he caused loweth the title to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: faying that he would lead Timons life, bicaufe he had the like wrong offered him, that fauthropus was affore offered vnto Timon: and that for the vnthankefulnes of those he had done good vn- the Athenian. to, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of ATHENS, that lived about the warre of PELOPONNESVS, as appeareth by Plato, and Ariftophanes commedies: in the which they macked him, calling him a Plato, & Avyper, & malicious man vnto mankind, to thunne all other mens companies, but the compariftophanes
tellimient of nie of young Alcibiades, a bolde and infolent youth, whom he woulde greatly feaft, and make Timon D much of, and kiffed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he Misanthas ment to make fo muche of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon aunswered was. him, I do it fayd he, bicause I know that one day he shall do great mischiefe vnto the ATHE NIANS, This Timon sometimes would have Apemantus in his companie, bicause he was much like to his nature & condicions, and also followed him in maner of life. On a time when they

folemnly celebrated the feasts called Choæ at Athens, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where

they make sprincklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then seasted together by

them felues, Apemantus faid vnto the other: O, here is a trimme banket Timon, Timon aunfive-

red againe, yea faid he, fo thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a

time (the people being affembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp

filence being made, euerie man liftning to heare what he would fay, bicause it was a wonder

to fee him in that place: at length he began to speake in this maner. My Lordes of ATHENS.

I have a little yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens

have haged them selves: & bicause I meane to make some building ypon the place, I thought

good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be de-

sperate, you may there in time goe hang your selues. He dyed in the citie of HALBS, and

was buried vpon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his

tombe rounde about, that no man coulde come to it: and vpon the same was wrytten this

Heere lyes a voretched corfe, of voretched foule bereft.

epitaphe.

p into the pulpit for Orations, wherethe Orators commonly vie to speake vnto the people: &

Antonius legions dee xeld them

Seeke not my name: a plaque consume you vvicked vvretches left. It is reported, that Timon him felfe when he lived made this epitaphe: for that which is Mifanton PPPP iiii

commonly rehearfed was not his, but made by the Poet Callimathus. Heere lye I Timon vobo aline all lining men did hate.

Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here thy gate. Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this litle shall suffice at this present But now to returne to Antonius againe, Canidius him felfe came to bring him newes, that he had loft all his armie by land at Acrivm. On thother fide he was advertised also, that Herodes king of IvRIE, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was revolted vnto Cafar. and all the other kings in like maner: fo that, fauing those that were about him, he had none lest him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his folitarie house he had built in the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received B Antonism rio- him into her royall pallace. He was no fooner comen thither, but he straight fet all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him felfe, to liberalitie and giftes. He caused the sonne of bingest life Iulius Cafar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the Romans) amongest courthron. the number of young men: & gaue Antyllus, his eldeft fonne he had by Fuluia, the mans gowne. the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For these things, there

deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion,

(as much to fay, no life comparable)& did fet up an other which they called Synapothanume-

non(fignifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in excee-

to be involled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to

an other: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and frater-

nitie. Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all forts of poylons together

to destroy men. Now to make proofe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine,

the tried it vpon condemned men in prison. For when the faw the poylons that were sodaine

and vehement, and brought speedy death with grieuous torments: & in contrary maner, that

Toge virilia. Antillus, the was kept great feasting, banketing, and dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayestogether. In eldeft fonne of Antonius by his wife

An order ere- ding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made them selves C Hedby Antonius, and Cleocatra. called Synapothanumenon, reueking the former called Amimetobi-

fuche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye fodainly: the afterwardes went about to proue the flinging of snakes and adders, and made rie busie in of an Afpick

fome to be applied vnto men in her fight, some in one forte, and some in an other. So when the had dayly made divers and fundrie proofes, the found none of all them the had proved to D fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only causeth a heatines of the head, without swounding or complaining, and bringeth a great defire also to sleepe, with a little swet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the sences and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the pacientes feele any paine. For they are so forie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them vp:as those that being taken out of a found sleepe, are very heavy and desirous to sleepe. Amenius and This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors vnto Octavius Cafar in Asia, Cleopatra requefling the realme of AGYPT for her children, and Antonius praying that he might be fuffered to liue at Athens like a private man, if Cafar would not let him remaine in Æ G YPT. And bi-Offering Ce- cause they had no other men of estimacion about them, for that some were stedde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to sende Euphronius the E schoolemaister of their children. For Alexas L ADDICIAN, who was brought into Antonius house and fauor by meanes of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GRBCIAN: (for that he had alway bene one of Cleopatraes ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to vie his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had fent vnto Herodes king of Ivare, hoping still to keepe him his frend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to Cafar. & trusting king Herodes, he prefumed to come in Cafars prefence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleafure: for he was prefently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, & there by Casars commaundement put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cafar would not graunt vnto Antonius requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her aunswere, that he woulde deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius

to death, or drive him out of her contrie. Therewithall he fent Thyrew one of his men vnto her, a verie wife and discreete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde vnto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her felfe also did him great honor: infomuch as he made Antonius gealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well fanoredly whipped, and so sent him vnto Cafar : and had him tell him that he made him angrie with him bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and dildainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee said he, thou hast Hipparchus one of my infrairchiled bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleafure, that we may B crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, Cleopatra to cleere her leffe of the justicion he had of her. the made more of him then ever the did. For first of all, where the did folemnise the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: the now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumpty outnes and magnificence: fo that the ghests that were bidden to the seasts, and came poore, went away rich.

Nowe things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after an other ynto Calar, praved him to returne to Rome, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and prefence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against Antonius, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Parvsiv was taken, there ran a ru- Pelufaum val e mor in the citie, that Seleucus, by Cleopatraes confent, had furrendered the fame. Butto cleere 10 Octavinus her felfe that the did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus wife and children vnto Antonius, to be re- cafe. uenged of them at his pleafure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many fumptu-

ous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, joyning hard to the temple of Ilis. Thither the caused to be brought all cleopartes the treasure & pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, manufactures emerods, pearles, ebbanie, iuorie, and finnamon, and besides all that, a maruelous number sample of siste

of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So Ottavius Cafar being affrayed to loofe fuche a treasure and maffe of riches, and that this woman for spight would fet it a fire, and burne it every whit: he alwayes fent fome one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whileft he in D the meane time drewe necre the citie with his armie. So Cafar came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. Antonius made a fally vpon him, and fought verie valliantly, to that he draue Cafars horsemen backe, fighting with his men eyen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boatting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish. Cleapatra to reward his manlines, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: how beit the man at armes when he had received this rich gift, stale away by night, and went to Cafar. And tonius sent againe to chalenge Cafar, to fight with him hande to hande. Cafar aunswered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then fo. Then Antonius feeing there was no way more p honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to fette vp his reft, both by fea and lande. So being at fupper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household feruauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as muche of him as they could: for faid he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall ferue an other maister; and it may be you shall fee me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiving that his frends and men fell aweeping to heare him fay fo: to falue that he had spoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather fafely to returne with victorie. then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the felfe fame night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and forrowe, thinking what would be the iffue and Pende of this warre: it is faid that fodainly they heard a maruelous fweete harmonie of fundrie Smange

forces of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene miles heard. dauncing, and had fong as they vie in Bacchus feaftes, with moninges and turninges after the fem.

opened to the enemies, & that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the

city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretacion of this woder,

thought that it was the god vnto whom Antonius bare fingular denotion to counterfeate and

resemble him, that did for sake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those

few footemen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the citie: and there he stoode to

behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed against the gallies of his ene-

shem felnes unto C.efar. mershrowen by Offanina Cafar. flieth into her

mies, and so stoode still, looking what exployte his fouldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neere vnto them, they first saluted Cafars men: and then Cafars men refaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row

nisu sernant

Antonius die shruft bis foord into him felfe. but died not presently.

Antonius ca ried unso Cleobstraet

toward the citie. When Antonius fawe that his men did forfake him, and yeelded vnto Cafar, B and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen : he then fled into the citie, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her fake. Then the being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which the had caused to be made, and there locked the dores vnto her, and thut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time fent vnto Antonius to tell him that the was dead. Antonius beleuing it, faid vnto sombe er mo- him selfe: what doest thou looke for further, Antonius, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reserved thy life? when he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed him felfe, and being naked faid thus: O Cleopatrajt. grieueth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am fory, that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged C of leffe corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loued and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to sweare vnto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise, His man drawing his fworde, lift it vp as though he had ment to haue striken his maister: but turning his head at one fide, he thrust his sword into him selfe, and fell downe dead at his maifters foote. Then faid Antonius, O noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valliantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me. Therewithall he tooke his fword, and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe your a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came somwhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch D him, But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out & tormenting him felfeivntill at last there came a secretarie vnto him called Diomedes, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was aliue, he verie earnestlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstading, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antonius was truffed; and Cleopatra her owne felfe, with two women only, which she had suffered Alamentable to come with her into these monumentes, trised Antonius vp. They that were present to behold it, faid they neuer faw fo pitiefull a fight. For, they plucked up poore Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, railed E vp him felfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him vp : but Cleopatra stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her vittermost power, did lift him vp with much a doe, and neuer let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as forie to fee her labor fo, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that forte, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her breft, and fcratching her face & ftomake. Then the dried vp his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miferie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. Antonius made her ceasile her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicause he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perfwaded her, that the would feeke to faue her life, if the could possible, without reproache and diffionor : and that chiefly the thould trust Proculeius about any man elfe about Cafar. And as

A for him felfe, that the thould not lament nor forowe for the miferable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that the should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honors he had received, confidering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMANE by an other ROMANE. As Antonius gaue the last gaspe, Proculeius came that was fent The death of from Cafar. For after Antonius had thrust his sworde in him selfe, as they carried him into the Antonius. tombes and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his gard called Dercetaus, tooke his fword with the which he had striken him selfe, and hidde it : then he secretly stale away, and brought Offauins Cafar the first newes of his death, & shewed him his sword that was bloodied. Cafar hea- of this week ring these newes, straight withdrewe him selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst for lamental Bout with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and bro-death. ther in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in fundry great exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: & how siercely and prowdly the other answered him, to all iust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he fent Proculeius, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get Cleo- Proculeius patra aliue, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought sent by Octathat if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her aliue to Rome, the would maruelously beautific bring Cleopa and sette out his triumphe. But Cleopatra would neuer put her selfe into Proculeius handes, al- ma aliue. though they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thicke & strong, and furely barred, but yet there were fome cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without vnderstoode, that Cleopatra demaunded the kingdome of Agypr for her fonnes : and that Proculeius aunswered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto Casar. After he had viewed the place veriewell, he came and reported her aunswere vnto Casar. Who immediatly sent Gallus to speake once againe with her. and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest Froculeius did set vp a ladder against that high windowe, by the which Antonius was trifed vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stoode to heare what Gallus sayd vnto her. One of her women which was thut in her monumets with her faw Proculeius by chaunce as he came downe, and shreeked out: O, poore Cleopatra, thou are taken. Then when she sawe D Proculeius behind her as the came from the gate, the thought to have stabbed her felfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came sodainly vpon her, and ta- cleopara 14. king her by both the hands, faid vnto her. Cleopatra, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, ken and secondly vnto Cefar: to deprive him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geue his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercieleffe man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyfon hidden about her. Afterwardes Casar sent one of his infranchifed men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any case that the made not her selfe away : and for the rest, to vie her with all E the curteste possible. And for him selfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXAN- Casar rocke DRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher Arrius, and helde him by the hande, to the the citie of end that his contrie men should reuerence him the more, bicause they saw Casar so highly e- Casar greatly fleeme and honor him. Then he went into the show place of exercises, and so vp to his chaire honored Arof state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALBXANDRIA were affembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. Cafar bad them all stande vp, and told them openly that he forgatie the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was Alexan-

der the great: secondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he muche esteemed and wondred

Fat: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his verie frend Arrius. Thus did Cafar honor Arrius, who

craued pardon for him felfe and many others, & specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man, Philostratus of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit he fally the elegant

his time, for named him felfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, Cafar that hated his nature &come A present freeh dictions, would not heare his sure. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed Arrise steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still buffing in his cares this Greeke verse.

A vvife man it that he be vvife in deede, May by a wife man have the better speede.

Calar understanding this, not for the delire he had to deliver Philostratus of his feare, as to ridde Arriss of malice & enuy that might have fallen out against him:he pardoned him. Now Anyllus, An- touching Antonius fonnes, Antyllus, his eldeft fonne by Fulusa was flaine, bicause his schoolemaister Theodorus did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine fonne by Fultooke a pretious frome of great value from his necke, the which he did fowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and fo Cafar truffed him up for B it. For Cleopatraes children, they were verie honorablie kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for Cafarion, who was fayd to be Iulius Cafars fonne: his mother Cleapatra had fent him vnto the Indians through ATHIOPIA, with a great fumme of money. But one of his governors also called Rhodon, even such an other as Theodorus, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, & told him that Cafar fent for him to gene him his mothers kingdom. So, as Cafar was determining with him felfe what he should doe. Arrive layd vnto him. Too Many Cafars is not good.

Philosopher

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of Homer that fayth: Too Many Lords doth not well.

Cefario Cleapatraes fonne,

rieth Anto-

Cleopatra, a fion and fury.

Selencus, one Treaforers. Cleonaria bes ber crea-

Cleopatraes

∫ær.

Therefore Cafar did put Cafarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many C Princes great kings and Captaines did crave Antonius body of Octavius Cafar, to give him honorable burial: but Cafar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally cleopara bu burie him with her owne handes, whom Cafar suffred to take as much as the would to bestow ypon his funeralls. Now was the altogether our come with forow & passion of minde, for the had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and indiuers places had raised vlsers and inflamacions, so that the fell into a feuer withal: whereof the was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might have dyed easely Olympus, without any trouble. She had a Philition called Olympus, whom the made prime of her intent, to thend he shoulde helpe her to ridde her out of her life: as Olympus wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But Casar mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he D had, and therefore did put her in feare, & threatned her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, Cleopatra for feare yelded straight, as she would have yelded vnto strokes: Cafar came to and afterwards suffred her selse to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Cafar came him felfe in person to see her, and to comfort her, Cleopatra being layed you a little low bedin poore estate, when she sawe Cesar come into her chamber, she sodainly rose vp, naked in her imocke, and fell downe at his feete marueloufly disfigured: both for that the had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that the had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continual blubbering and moreouer, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force of her beautie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet the showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When Cafar had made her lye downe againe, and fate by her beddes fide: Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the seare she had of Antonius. Cafar, in contrarie maner, reproued her in euery poynt. Then the fodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though the were affrayed to dye, & defirous to line. At length, the gaue bim a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure the had. But by chaunce there stoode Selencus by, one of her Treasorers, who to seeme a good servant, came straight to Cafe Offauin Ca- to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in fuch a rage with him, that the flew upon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfauoredly. Cafarfell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, faid she, O Cafar: is not this a great thame and reproche, that thou having vouchelaued to take the peines

A excome vnto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche, and caltife creature, brought into this pitiefull & milerable estate: and that mine owne scruaints should come now to aca cuse me, though it may be I have referred some itells & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore foule) to fet out my felfe withall, but meaning to geue fome pretie prefents & gifts vnto Octania and Linia, that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee, thou mightest vet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me ? Cafar, was glad to heare her fay fo, perfwading him selfe thereby that the had yet a defire to saue her life. So he made her answere, that he did not only geue her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promifed to vie her more honorably and bountifully then the would thinke for : and to he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe. There R was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cafars very great familiars, & befides did beare no euil will vnto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as the had requested him! that Calar determined to take his iorney through SVRIA. & that within three dayes he would

fende her away before with her children. When this was tolde Cleopatra, the requested Cafar Cleopatra that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, vnto the soule of meth of the Antonius. This being graunted her, the was carried to the place where his tombe was, & there w. C. of a, as

falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe though the her cheekes, the began to speake in this forte: O my deare Lord Antonius, not long sithence I in buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall fprinklinges and cleopatrace oblations, being a captine and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & mur-lamentarion r dering this captine body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor facrifices " from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can gene thee, sith nowe they carie her away. " Whilest we lived together nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death. I feare "

mether will make vs chaunge our contries. For as thou being a ROMANE, hast bene buried in "

ÆGYPT: euen fo wretched creature I, an ÆGYPT IAN, shall be buried in ITALIE, which shall be all the good that I hauereceiued by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power and authoritie, fith our gods here haue forfaken vs : fuffer not thy true frend " and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one felfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miferies be inh finite, vet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall: then this small time, " which I have bene drive to live alone without thee. Then having ended these doleful plaints, '

and crowned the tombe with garlands and fundry no fegaves, and maruelous louingly imbraced the fame: the commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when the had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously served. Nowe whilest the was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basker. The fouldiers that warded at the

gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to fee so goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleued he told them truely, and so bad him carie them F in. After Cleopatra had dined, the fent a certaine table written and fealed vnto Cefar, and com-

maunded them all to go out of the tombes where the was, but the two women, then the thus the dores to her. Cafar when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, founde straight what she ment, and thought to have gone thither him felfe: howbeit he fent one before in all haft that might be to fee what it was. Her death was very fodaine. For those whom Cafar sent vnto her The death of

ran thither in all hast possible, & found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, Chopara. nor ynderstanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde Cleopatra starke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two cloparate women, which was called Iras, dead at her feete: and her other woman called Charmion halfe woman deal

F dead and trembling trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra ware vpon her head. One of the with her. fouldiers feeing her, angrily fayd vnto her: is that well done Charmion? Verie well fayd the againe, and meete for a Princes discended from the race of so many noble kings. She sayd no QQQQ_

ANTONIVS.

more but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Africke was brought with A

her in the basket with figs, & that the had communided them to hide it under the figge leaves. that when the shoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke shoulde bite her beforeshe should see her: howbeit, that when the would have taken away the leanes for the figges, the perceived it, and faid, are thou here then And for her arme being naked, the put it to the A-

spicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust

it with a spindell of golde, so that the Aspicke being angerd withall, leprout with great surie,

and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had

led with the biting of an Afpicke.

ried in trismphe at Rome, with biting of her The age of

Of Antonius Emperors.

hidden poyfon in a hollow rafer which the caried in the heare of her head; and yet was there no marke leene of her bodie, or any figne difcerned that the was poyloned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were seene certeine B fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the dores fide. Some fay also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Casar him selse gaue credit vnto, bicause in his triumphe he carried Cleopatraes image, with an Afpicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cafar, though he was maruelous forie for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondred at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded the should be nobly buried, and layed by Antonius: and willed also that her two women shoulde have honorable buriall, Cleopatra dved being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after the had raigned two and twenty yeres, and governed above foureteene of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he) lived three and fitte yeares; and others fay, fix and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettalls, C were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, fauing those of Cleopatra which stoode still in their places, by meanes of Archibius one of her frendes, who gaue Cafar a thowfande talentes that they should not be handled, as those of Antonius were, Antonius left feuen children by three wines, of the which, Cafar did put Antyllus, the eldest some he had by Fuluia, to death. Octavia his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them vp with hers, and maried Cleopatra, Antonim daughter, vnto king Iubs, a maruelous curteous & goodly Prince. And Antonius, the fonne of Fuluia came to be fo great, that next vnto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimacion about Cafar, and next vnto the children of Linia, which were the second in estimacion: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a fonne also called Marcellus: Cafar maried his daughter vnto that Marcellus, and so did adopt D him for his sonne. And Octavia also maried one of her daughters vnto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was deade, after he had bene maried a while, Octania perceiuing that her brother Cafar was very busie to choose some one among his frends, whom he trusted best to make his fonne in law: the perswaded him, that Agrippa should mary his daughter, (Marcellus widow) and leave her owne daughter. Cafar first was contented withall, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto Antonius, and Agrippa maried Iulia, Cafars daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Offauia and Antonius. Domitius A Enobarbus maried the one: and the other, which was Antonia, fo fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was maried vnto Drusus the sonne of Linea, and sonne in law of Casar. Of this mariage, came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperour. And of E the fonnes of Germanicus, the one whole name was Caius, came also to be Emperour: who, atter he had licentiously raigned a time, was flaine, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also,

having a sonne by her first husbande AEnobarbus called Lucius Domitius: was afterwardes maried vnto Clodius, who adopted her fonne, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperour in our time, and flue his owne mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of Rome after Antonius.

e., pdf. THE

THE COMPARISON OF

Demetrius with Antonius.



Ow, fithence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them much like to the other, having fortune a like divers and variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to confider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be fo great. First of all, it is certaine that Theporers Demetrius power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his Demetrius father Antigonus who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of Alexander, and had won the most parte of Asia, before Demetrius came of full age. Antonius in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left

him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take voon him to contend for the Empire with Cafar, that had no right vnto it by inheritaunce, but yet made him felfe successor of the power. the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie be-D came so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenaunce and power. Antonius being absent, oftentimes ouercame the PARTHIANS in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mourt Caucasus, vnto the fea Hyrcanium: infomuche as the thing they most reproue him for, did most witnes his greatnes. For, Demetrius father made him gladly marrie Phila, Antipaters daughter, although the was too old for him:bicause she was of a nobler house then him selfe. Antonius on thother fide was blamed for marying of Cleopatra, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but Arfaces: and moreouer made him felfe fo great, that others thought him worthie of greater things, then he him selfe required. Now for the defire Dementur & E that moued the one and the other to conquer realmes: the defire of Demetrius was viblameable & iuft, defiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene governed at all times, & defired to be gouerned by kings. But Antonius desire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall : who fought to keepe the people of Rome in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of Cafair raigne and gouernment. For the greatest and most famous exployte Antonius ever did in watres (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew Cassius and Brutus) was begon to no other ende, but to depriue his contriemen of their libertie and freedom. Demetrius in contrarie maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to fet GR & CR at libertie, and to drive the garrifons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like Antonius, that bofted he had flaine them that had fet Rome at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in Antonius, was his libera- The Ubrali. Flitte and bountie: in the which Demetrius excelled him fo farre, that he gaue more to his ene- it and bonnthies, then Antonius did to his frends : although he was marueloully well thought of, for the tie of Dome-

honorable and sumptuous funerall he gaue vnto Brutus bodie. Howbeit Demetrius caused all vania.

QQQQ_ij

Antonius

his enemies be buried that were flaine in battel, and returned vitto Ptolomy, all the prisoners he A penerius to had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie. verie riotouslie and licentiouslie genen: but yet no man can euer fay, that Demetrius did at any time let flippe any oportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gaue him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truely, he tooke pleasure of Lamia, as a man woulde haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then luey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and princt to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet Euripides faith, The fouldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by de-

laying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where Omphale secretlie stealeth away Hercules clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him . Euen so Cleopatra oftentimes vnarmed Antonius, and intifed him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and verie needefull iorneys, to come and be dandled with her, about the rivers of Canobus, and Taphofiris. In the ende, as Paris fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selse in Helens armes: euen so did he in Cleopatraes armes, or to speake more properlie, Paris hidde him selfe in Helens closet, but Antonius to followe Cleopatra, fledde and lost the victo-

Demenias & rie. Furthermore, Demetrius had many wives that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not diffalowable or not forbidden by the kinges of MACEDON, but had benevied & ...Intonius wines. from Philippe and Alexanders time, as alfolding Lysimachus and Ptolomy had, and did honor Antonius the all them that he maried. But Antonius first of all maried two wives together, the which neuer Romane durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first Romane wife. which he had lawfully maried for the loue of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy withried two wines all, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of Rome. And therefore Demetrius mariages sogether. neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wives: but Antonius contrarily was vndone

Demetrius la by his wives. Of all the lascinious partes Antonius played, none were so abhominable, as this Cinionfnes. onely fact of Demetrius. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to Dogges not come into the castell of ATHENS, bicause of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and Defuffred in Athens caffle, metrius, in Mineruses temple it selse lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wines. bicaufe of And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least minbischerie.

gled with these wanton delightes, is joyned with Demetrius concupiscence: who suffered for more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of ATHENS, to dye a most pitiefull death. to faue him felfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, Antonius by his incontinen-The love and cie, did no hurte but to him felfe: and Demetrius did hurte vnto all others. Demetrius neuer impletie: the hurte any of his frendes: and Antonius suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, James (age that he might have his will of Civero to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of metrius and

it selfe, that he hardlie deserued to have bene pardoned, though he had killed Cicero, to have faued his Vncles life. Nowe where they fallefied and brake their othes, the one making artabazus prisoner, and the other killing of Alexander: Antonius out of doubt had best cause, and instest colour. For Artabazus had berrayed him, and forfaken him in Man . A. But Denie

trius (as divers doe reporte) devised a false matter to accuse Alexander, to cloke the mutther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done Descript to injurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that woulde doe him injurie. Furthermore, De-Amoni is all's metrius him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we have recited of him before: and con-

trarilie Antonius, when he was northere in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenaumes: and they were both ouerthrowen being personallie in battell, buryet not both after one forte. For the one was for faken of his men being Maced on fans, and the

other contrarily forfooke his that were Romanes: for he fled, & left them that ventred their lives for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he fo beaftlie left them that loued him bell.

and were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not praise the one not

A the other, but yet Demetrius death the more reproachefull. For he suffered him selfe to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a straunge place, he had the hartto live yet three yeare longer, to serve his mouth and bellie, as brute beaftes doe. Antonius on the other fide flue him felfe, (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paint and griefe: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

THE LIFE OF Artaxerxes.



Reaxerxes, the first of this name of all the kinges of Persia, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his house: was surnamed long hand. bicause his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the sonne of king Xerxes. But the seconde, whose life we presentlie intend to The partiage wryte, was furnamed Mnemon, as muche to fay, great memorie : and Mnemon. he was the fonne of the daughter of the first Artaxerxes. For king Daorius, and his wife Parysatis, had foure sonnes: of the which, the eldest was this Artaxerxes, the seconde Cyrus, and two other younger.

Oftanes and Oxathres. Cyrus from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient Cyrus, which in the Persian tongue fignifieth the funne. But Artaxerxes was called before Arficas, although Dinon wryteth, that he was called Oarfes. Howebeit it is vnlikelie that Ctesias (although his bookes otherwise be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) should forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ferued and continuallie followed, both him, his wife, and children. Cyrus from his cradell was of a hotte sturring minde, and Artaxerxes in contrarie manner, more mylde and gentle in all his actions The diserter and doinges. He was maried to a verie fayer Ladie, by his father and mothers commaunded bernixe Create ment: & afterwards kept her against their wills, being forbidden by them. For king Darius his and Anaxonfather, having put his fonnes wives brother to death, he woulde also have put her to death; xee F but her husband with teares made suche humble sute to his mother for her, that with muche a doe, he did not onely gette pardon for her life, but graunt also that the shoulde not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his mother alwayes loued Cyrus better then him, and praied QQQQ iii

by the fea fide, when he was fent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay ficke of the disease he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father.

that in his will be would make him his heire of the realme of PERSIA. For his mother Paryla-

tis alleaged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king Xerxes in the like

Arficas, furnamed Artaxerxes, was affigned king of PERSIA, & Cyrus gouernor of Lydia, and

the kings Lieutenaunt generall of all the low contries of Asia toward the sea side. Shortly afterking Darius death, the new king Artaxerxes went vnto Palargades, there to be confecrated

and announted king, by the Priestes of the contrie of Persia. The place of this Pasargades, is B

of the Priestes that had bene Cyrus schoolemaister in his youth, and had taught him magicke:

who by reason shoulde haue bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not ap-

pointed king. And this was the cause why they beleued him the better, when he accused cy- C

Afficas, fur- case, through Demaratus counsell. She said that Arsicas was borne before her husband Darius name Anta-was king, & Cyrus after he was crowned king. All this could not prevaile. For her eldest sonne

a temple dedicated vnto Minerus the goddesse of battells, as I take it: where the newe king must be consecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth of his gowne, and The maner of putteth on that which the old auncient Cyrus ware before he was king. Furthermore, he must the conferra- eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he must drinke a wing of Per. drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certeine other secret ceremonies which fa, at Pafar- they must keepe, and none doe know, but the verie Priestes them selues. Now Artaxerxes being readie to enter into all these ceremonies, Tisaphernes came vnto him. & brought him one

rus. For he layd that Cyrus had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person. Cyrus acris-& that he ment traiterously to kill him in the temple, when he should put of his gowne. Some fed vato his brodier Arta doe reporte, that Cyrus was apprehended vpon this simple accusacion by word of mouth. Oxerxes. thers write also, that Cyrus came into the temple, and hiding him selfe, he was taken with the Cyrus lay in waite to kill maner, and bewraied by the Prieft. So as he was going to fuffer death, his mother tooke Cyrus Ariaxerxes. in her armes, and wounde the heare of her heade about his necke, and tyed him straightfy to Note the flather: and withall the wept to bitterly, and made fuche pitiefull mone vnto the king her fonne, terie and dif-Emulation of

that through her intercession, the king graunted him his life, & sent him againe into his contrie and gouernment. But this fatisfied not Cyrus, neither did he fo muche remember the king his brothers fauor vnto him, in graunting him his life:as he did the despite he had offred him. D to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater

desire then before to be king. Some wryters alleage, that he entred into actuall rebellion against his brother by force of armes, bicause he had not sufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might have had of her what he would have taken, and defired. Againe, to shew that of him selfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alleage the souldiers and straungers he gaue pay vnto, in divers places, as Xenophon wryteth. For he brought them nor all together into one armie, bicause he desired to kepe his enterprise as secret as he could but he had frendes and feruaunts that leauied them in divers places, and vnder divers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleered all fuspicions conceiued against him. He him selse also on the other side, whilest he made these preparacions, wrote verie humbly vnto his brother, fomtime asking fomwhat of him, and an other time accufing Tisaphernes: all to blinde the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and fpite against him, besides that the king of his owne nature was somwhat dull, and slow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curtefie and good nature. At his first comcharacterist, and ming to the crowne, he followed the first Artaxerxes goodnes and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suters, he did also more honorably reward & recompence those that had deserved well: & he vsed such moderacion in punishing of offendors, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious minde and defire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurte any man. When he had any thing geuen him, he tooke it as thankefully, as they F offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely also gene againe. For, how litle a thing soener was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one Remises on a time presented him

A a maruelous fayer pomegarner. By the funne fayd he this man in a short time of a litle towner would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore laborer feing euery ma giue the king a present, some one thing, some another as he pasfed by them he having nothing at hand to give him, ranne to the rivers fide, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King Artaxerxes was so glad of it, that he sent ibbraline to him in a cuppe of massy gold, a thowsand Darecks, which were peeces of gold so named, bi- apare man cause the image of Darius was stamped vpon them. And vnto one Euclidas a LACEDE MONI- that gate an, that presumed to give him bold words, it pleased him to aunswer him by one of his Cap- water. taines: thou may ft fay what thou lyft, and I as king, may fay and doe what I lyft. Another time

as he was a hunting, Tiribazus shewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: well, fayd B the king, and what wouldest thou have me to doe? Tiribazus aunswered him, I praye your Tiribazus grace take another, and give me that you have on. The king did so, and told him: Tiribazus, I lightnes, and giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. Tiribazus tooke it, and cared not liberalisis, for the kings commaundement that he should not weare it, not that he was any euill disposed man, but bicause he was a fond light headed fellowe that cared for nothing: thereuppon he straight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many iewells of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and orna-

ments. Therewithal euery man in the Court murmured at him, bicause it was a presumption. directly against the lawes and ordinaunces of Persia. Howbeit the king did but laugh at it. & tolde him; I give thee leave Tiribazus to weare those womens gawdes as a woman, and the kingsrobe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSTA that no person sate as the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother fate vppermost, & his wife lowermost: Artaxarxes made his two brethren Oftanes and Oxathres sit at his owne bord, But vet he pleased the PERSIANS best of all, bicause he was content his wife Statyra should fit o- Statinaking penly in her charret, and that the might be seene and reuerenced by the other Ladves of the contry. And this made him fingularly beloued of the people. Now, fuch as defired innouati-

vnto Clearchus, commaunding him to obey Cyrus in any thing he would commaund him. So

Cyrus did fet forward to make warre against his brother, having leavied a great number of

fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRECIANS, little leffe then thirteene thowfand men: sometime aduertising one cause, sometime another, why he leavied such a multitude of

men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for Tisaphernes went him selfe vnto the

Court, to bringe newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an vprore withall.

Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this warre, & all her friends

& servaunts were vehemently suspected to be conspyrators with Cyrus: but the greatest thing

loully to fee this warre begon against king Artaxer xes her husband, and incessantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedit by othe? whereto are thy intercessions come thou

QQQQ iii

F that troubled Parysatis most, was Queene Statyra her Daughter in lawe, who stormed marue-

on and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of Perstarequired such a Prince as Cyrus, that was liberall of nature, given to armes, & greatly

rewarded his feruaunts, and that the greatnes of the Empire of Persia floode in neede of a king, whole mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So Cyrus thereuppon be-

D gan to make warre vpon his brother, not onely trusting vnto them that were of the lowe contries about him, but hoping of those also in the high provinces neare vnto the king. Further-Ariantes. more he wrote also vnto the LACED & MONIANS, to pray them to send him men of warre, prodeffull promise mifing to give the footemen they fent, horses: and the horsemen, coches: landed men, whole feet villages: and to those that had villages, to give them cities. Besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that should serue him in this warre, he would not pay them by accompt. but by full measure: and boasting largely of him selfe, he sayd he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnes then he, that he vnderstoode magick better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and cary it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was fo womanishe and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he F durst scarce get vp vpon his horse backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the LACED EMONIANS had red his letters, they fent a litle ferowle

ARTAXERXES. 1016 madeft for the pardon of his life: who now conspyreth his brothers death? By saving of his A life art not thou now the cause of this warre and troubles we see at hand? After this reproch and shame received by Statira, Parysatis, being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, so has ted her, that from thenceforth the fought all the wayes the could to put her to death . And Dinon the Historiographer fayth, that during this warre, she did execute her wicked purpose voon her: but Ctesias writeth, that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES Court, should certainely knowe the tyme when she did execute her treason against her, and also there is no cause why he should rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the facte was done: although in many other places he commonly vieth to fitten, and to write denises of his owne head. Therefore let vs leave the report of this fact to the felfe same time and place as he hath written it. Now when Cyrus drew neare B vnto his brothers contry, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him fo foone: and that he ment first to goe further into PERSIA, and to tary there til he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof, the king having cast a great trenche of ten yardes broad, and as many high, the space of soure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let Cyrus winne it. who came on further without any refistaunce, even to the very citie selfe of BABY LON, Howbeit in the ende, Tiribazus (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the king, that he should not flie fight in that fort, nor hide him selfe in the furdest part of PERSIA, leaving his enemy the Realmes of MEDIA, BABYLON, and Sysa: confidering also that he had many moc fouldiers in readines then his enemye, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and G abler to give counsell, and to fight, then he was. These words of Tiribazus made the king alter his mind, and to determine to give battell as soone as he could. Thereuppon he marched forward against his enemie, with nyne hundred thowsand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruelously aftonied Cyrus men, and made them affrayd at the first, when they saw them in so excellent good order before them: for that they were dispersed stragling here and there without any order, and men ynarmed, trusting too much in them felues, in despising of their enemie: so that Cyrus had much a doe to fet his men

army, of nyne bundeed than Sand fighting men, againfi in battell raye, and yet was it with great noyle and tumult. But the GRECIANS wondred most

Historiographer excellens ly describerb this battell betwixt Ar taxerxes and his brother

Safesie in a quisite in bat-Clearchus corardlines

they could come to joyne with theirs. But fith this battell is described by divers Historiogra-Xemphon the phers, but specially by Xenophon, who hath (as a man would say) lively set it out to the eye, & fetteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell already fought, but prefently a fighting, stirring vp their mindes as if them selues were in the action and instant daunger, he hath so passingly fet it downe : it were but a folly therefore of me to take vppon me to make any further descri- E ption of it, fauing to touch some speciall poynts worthy of note, which he peraduenture hath left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called Covnaxa, fine hundred furlongs from BABY LON: and how that before the battell, Clearchus gaue Cyrus counfell to keepe behind the squadron of the GRECIANS; and not to hazard his person among the first; and that Cyrus aunswered him, what sayest thou Clearchus? wouldest thou have me that strives to be king to shew my selfe vnworthy to be a king? But Cyrus having made this fault, not standing vpon his safetie and garde, but ouer rashely thrusting him selfe into great daunger: Clearchus felfe also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not set his men in order directly against the battel of the enemies, where the kings person stoode, but went and pent them vp by the rivers side, being affrayd least they should have bene compassed in behind. For if he would have looked fo straightly to him felfe, and have provided every way for his fafetie, that no man might come to hurt him: he should have kept him selfe at home, and

of all other, when they sawe the kinges armye marche in so good order of battell without any

infinite multitude of people: and supposed they would have made such a noyse, that one of

them should not have heard another. Where in deede to the contrary, all was so well mar-

shalled, specially bicause he had placed before his battell the best carts he had armed with

fiethes, and drawen with the ftrongest and biggest great horse he had in all his armie: hoping

by the fiercenes and furye of their careere, to breake into the ranckes of the enemies, before

noyfe. For they thought to have feene a wonderfull great diforder and confusion, in such an B

A not have flurred one foote out of the dores. But fith he had comen to farre, as from the low contries of As 1 A, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put Cyrus in his fathers feate & imperiall crowne, to goe choose a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lord best service that had hyered him , but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse daunger : it was even as much, as if through cowardlines his wits had bene taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had for laken his enterprise. For, to proue that the trowpes which were about the kinges person, had neuer bene able to have received the charge of the GRECIANS, and that those being ouerthrowen, the king had bene flayne in the field, or els forced to flie, and that Cyrus had wonnethe field, and by this victorie had bene king : the fuccesse of this battell doth plainely B shewe it. And therefore Clearchus ouer curious respect, descrued more blame for the losse of this battell: then Cyrus ouerhardines. For if king Artaxerxes would have chosen or wished a place where the GRECIANS might have done him leffe hurt: he could not have devised a fitter place that was fo farre from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither fee nor heare what was done where he was as it fell out in fequell. For Cyrus was flayne before he could prenaile by Clearchus victorie, he was so farre from him : and furthermore, Cyrus therein knew before what was meetelt to be done. For he commaunded Clearchus to place him felfe with his company in the middest of the battell: who aunswered him, he should take no thought for nothing, for he would fee all things well ordered. And when he had fayd for he marred all afterwardes: For where the GRECIANS were, they ouerthrewe the barbarous C people that made head against them, & had the in chase while they were weary of following of them. Cyrus being mounted upon a whor flirring horse, that had a hard head, and was very flerce and dogged, called Pafacas, as Ctefias writeth: Artagerfes, the gouernor of the pro-

uince of the Cadvsians, spyed him a farre of, and when he had found him, clapped spurres Anagusti to his horse, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and most vnfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonorest the name of Cyrus (which is the goodliest and wince of Care most honorablest name of all the Persians) for that thou hast brought so valliant Greci-distinct ANS hether to fo wicked an enterprise, to spoyle the Persians goods, in hope to destroy thy charge von foueraine Lord and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of flaues and feruaunts farre honester men then thou wilt be while thou livest, and that thou shalt presently knowe by D proofe, for thou shalt dye before thou see the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had . But Cyrus armor was so good, that it pearsed

When Artagerses had given him that blowe, he presently turned his horse. But Cyrus therewithall threw a dart at him so happily, that he slue him right in the place about the bone that ioyneth the two shoulders together: so that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his cyrus flue necke. Nowe, that Cyrus flue Artagerses with his owne hands in the field, all the Historiogra- Artagerses. phers doe agree vpon it but for the death of Cyrus, bicaufe Xenophon toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not present in the very place wherehe was slaynes it shal not be hurtfull particularly to fet downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of Dinon, and

E also of Ctestas. First, Dinon writeth, that after Cyrus had flayne Artagerses, he went with great Dinonvepor fury, and flue in amongest the trowpe of them which were nearest vnto thekings person, and ofcome death

that he came so neare the king, that he slue his horse starke dead under him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But Tiribazus that was hard by him, straight mounted the king againe vpon an other horse, and sayd vnto him: your grace will remember this battell another day. for it is not to be forgotten . And Cyrus clapping spurres againe to his horse, threwe an other dart at Artaxerxes, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then fuffer it: fo there with all he sputring his horse to charge Cyrus, (who came fiercely and desperatly, having an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on enery fide) threw his dart at him alfo. So did all those

F that were about his person: and so was Cyrus flayne in this conflict. Some saye, that he was flavne with the wounde the kinge his brother gaue him. Others fave, that it was a man at armes of the contry of CARIA, vnto whom the king for reward of his good feruice, gaue him

him not: yet the blowe came with fuch good will, that it made him stagger on his horse back.

for the Persians doe cal the Carians cocks, bicause in the warres they vie to weare creates A

in the roppe of their headnesses. And this is Dinons reports. But Ctelius, to cowche in fewe

words that which Dinon reporteth at large, fayth: that Cyrus after he had flaine Artugerfes.he

gallopped on the spurreagainst the king him felfe, and the king against him, and not a worde

betwene them both, Ariam, one of Cyrus flatterers, threwe the first dart at the king, but killed

him not: and the king with all his force agains threwe his dart, thinking to have hit Corne hue

he missed him, and flue Tisaphernes, one of the valliantest and stowtest men Cyrus had about

him, and so fell downe dead. Then Cyrus hit Artaxerxes so sore a blowe on his breast, that he

pearced his armor, and entred into his fleth two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell

they for fooke him, and fled. How beit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongest whome Ctefias sayd he was one: and so recovered a little hill not farre of. to take a little breath. In the meane time, Cyrus horse that was whotte in the mouth, and hard

headed as we have told you; carried his mafter fryte of his hart farre from his men, amonge

his enemies, and no man knew him, bicause it was night, and his men were very busie in seeking for him. But Cyrus hoping he had wonne the victory, being of a whot stirring nature. and

valliant: he went uppe and downe in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the PERSTAN

tongue, faue your felues pooremen, faue your felues. When they heard him fay fo, fome made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara

(which is the higher oyall hat after the PERSIAN manner) fell of of his head. Then a younge C

temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell of a maruelous

bleeding. Whereuppon, Cyrus staggering at it, fell to the ground in a swownd, and his horse

ranne away from him: but the capparison he had vppon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after, Cyrus being comen to him felfe a

gaine, some of his Euenukes (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were

about him, did lift him vp, thinking to fet him vpon another horfe, and to get him out of the

prease: but he was not able to fit on his horse. Thereuppon he proued if he could better goe

a foote, & the Euenuks held him up by the armes, & led him amated as he was, not able to itad

downe to the ground: wherewithall the most part of his men about him were so affrayd that B

The Carians cocks, bicanfe they weare cresis on their beadpeeces. Crefi ura pora of Cyrus

Artaverxes hurs by Cy-

PERSIAN called Mithridates, paffing by him, hit him a blowe with his dart vpon one of his

on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: bicause he heard his enemies slying D about him cry, the gods faue king Cyrus, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of Cav-NV s, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and flaues, to doe most vile feruice. They is ined with the trowpe where Cyrus was, supposing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceived in the ende by the red coates they ware vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the rest that valliantly strake at Cyrus behind with his pertisan, not knowing in deede that it was Cyrus. The blowe lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his finewes fo, that Cyrus fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great stone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth Ctefias report it, where me thinketh he cutteth E his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath such a doe to bring Cyrus to his ende. Now after Cyrus was dead, Artafiras, one of king Artaxerxes Euenukes, whome they called the kings eye in the Court: paffing by a horfebacke, knewe Cyrus Euenukes that mourned very pit fully lamenting the death of their mafter. So he asked the Euenuke whome Cyrus loued best: who is that that is dead, O Parife as, that thou weepest so bitterly? Parife as aunswered him againe, seet thou not Artafras, that it is Crrus but newly dead? Artafras wondred much when he sawe him. So he comforted the Euenuke, and willed him in no case to goe from the body; and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had loft all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffred, as also for his wound he had on his breast. Nowe when the Euenuke came vnto the king, & told him with a fmyling countenaunce the newes, F how he had feene Cyrus dead: The king was fo joyfull at the newes, that he was defirous him felfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to fee him, and commaunded Artafracto

A bring him thither. But after he had confidered better of it is he was counfelled not to goethie ther him felfe for feare of the GRECIANS, who they favd wonne all, and were vet chafing & killing them in the field, that fled: But rather that he thould fend a good company of men this ther, to bring him iust report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Voor this ide uise he stayed, and sent thirther thirtye men, euery man with torches in their handes. Inches meane tyme, one of his Euenukes called Satibarzanes, ranne vn and downe to fee if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirste for there was no water positiving him where he was, and befides, his campe was farre from him. His Euenuka having same and and downe a great way to feeke it; mette by chaunce with these poore sause and partiers the CAVINIANS, amonge the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goate, skilling, about

B eight glassefulles of naughty stincking water. So he presently catied the same to the language white dranke it up every whit. When the king had dronke it, the Eucouke asked him, is his a true being a ty water did him no hurt. The king sware by the goddes vuro him share he incus of an object of the him for the him for the same him a true being a true being a true being so the same him and the same him a true being so the same him and the same terwine, nortweeter water then that was, nor that pleafed but better that did fand finding me ter wine, nortweeter water then that was, nor that pleased with better and better and better the day are, and therefore, fayde he, I befeeche the goddes if it be not my happe, so finde him that godden fail is now. this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to fend him good fortine sasithe sale aged forting was talking thus with his Euenuke, the thirty men with their sorches resumed your himselfor altogether with joyfull countenaunce, confirmed the good newes he looked not for a station there were comen together againe a great number of fouldiers about himsenflill contempor

one after another, that he beganne againe to be coragious. Then he same stowne with the C playne, with a world of lights and torches about him, and wentstraight soften place where him brother Cyrus body lay. There, following the auncient manner of the Passahans against in a tors to the king : he caused his head and right hand to be striken of, and there are to be all and right hand to be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the heares of his head (for Cynnol water them, save a long and thicke) and did him felfe (hew it voto them that fled still , and wascaffr aids released rage them againe. They wondering to fee it, did him bumble reverence, and so gathered ben companies about the king, that in a smal time there were gathered together about him, three

fcore and tenne thowfand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede Ctesias sayth, that he had but foure hundred thowsand fighting men in alkhur Dinon and Xenophon fay more. And for the number of them that were flaying stellas fayth that D word was brought to the king, that there were not about nyor thow fand flaine; how beit that to fight they deemed to be no leffe then twenty thow and But for that point he might be tale ked withall, in either of both But furthermore, where he fayth that the king did fend him with Phayllus ZACYNTHIAN Unto the GRECIANS, and others with him ithatis a flat tye. For A mer pound crife phon knew right well, that this Ctefias wayted upon the king, bicause he speaketh of him in dist win about uers places of his historie: and if he had bene appoynted by the king to cary report voto the GRECIANS of fo waighty a matter, it is like enough Xenophon would not have concealed the

when he nameth Phayllus ZACYNTHIAN, But Ctefias (as it appeareth by his writings) was as very ambitious man, and partiall vnto the LACED EMONIANS, but specially vnto Clearch to the is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of him selfe for his glory of Lacan amongs. E of Clearchus. Nowafier this battell, king Artaxerxes fent goodly riche, gifts wing Antaretail How mines le of Clearchus. Nowatter this patter, king arranerses tells guoung theme between the forme, whose father Cyrus had slayne with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did allog great ded in good, ded in good ly honor Cteffas and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore CAYNIAN LANGuard all purto be fought out, that had given him the water to be caried to him which faued his lifes; and nihed the ewhen he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowen before, he made him a riche noble, will man. He sewerely punished those also that had offended the martial law, as among the stages.

Arbaces, one of the Mades: who when the battell was joyned, he fled first on Come feed and then when he understoode he was flayne, he returned againe to the kings side. For supposing that it was rather timerousnes and cowardly nature, then for treason or suit will he bare him. be compelled him to carye a whore on his backe starke naked, all daye long about the market F place. And to another, who befides he had yeelded him felfe to his enemies 4 falfely beatled that he had flayne two; he made his tongue to be bored thorough in three feuerally places. with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was him felfe that had flayne his

I stone of this ring there was grauen the daunce of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that

the other fouldiers which were prisoners with Clearchus, did take away the most e part of the

vittells that were fent to him, and left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedye all this,

A hurt, but yet that he flue Cyrus with his owne hand. So the king comaunded that Mithridate's should suffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this maner. They take two botes death of offen made of purpose so euen, that the one is nether broder nor longer then the other, & then lay dest, in boates

ware & circuspect in his behauior, that she could not take him at any aduauntage: in the end

the offender in one of the vpon his back, & so couer him with the other, & do sow both botes or mong the mong the together: So that the parties feete, hands, & head do come out at holes made of purpose for Persiant. him, the rest of his bodye is all hidden within. Now they give him meate as much as he will eate. & if he wil not eate, they force him to it, by thrufting alles in his eies: then when he hath eaten, they give him hony to drinke mingled with milke, & they do not only powre it into his mouth, but also all his face ouer, turning him ful into the funne, so that his face is all couered ouer with flies: & furthermore, being driven to do his needes in that troughe, of his excre-B ments there ingender wormes that eate his body euen to the very prinities. Then, when they fee the man is dead, they take of the uppermost boate, & find all his flesh denowred with vermine ingendring of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when Mithridates had miserably languiThe mijerable died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in a manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in this manner seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together as longth he died in the seuengene drive together thed in this manner, seuenteene daies together: at length he died in extreme torments. Now thindaus,

Pary atis (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked desire, but Mesabates, one of the kings Euenukes that had cut of Cyrus head and hand: & feing that he was very

the deutifed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruelous wit, & amonge other things could the deutiffe graft of Par. play paffingly wel at all games at dyce, & did many times play with the king her some before plans, & her the warres: & after the warres also, when he had made peace, the did play at dyce with him as great kill & C the had done before, infomuch as the knew all his fecret loue, and furthered him to enjoy it. To be short, she would neuer be out of his sight but as litle as she could, & would let his wife Statira haue as litle time with him as might be, that the might gouerne and rule him as the

ther Euenukes he would demaund. Thus they fel to play, & the imploying all the cunning the Poplath had, & playing as warely as the could possible, besides that the dyce ranne of her side, her luck chie.

& willed the to flea him aliue, & then that they should crucifie him, & naile him to a croffe, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of tymber by him the which was done accordingly. The king was maruelous angry withall when he knew it, & greenoully offended with his mother. Howbeit she sported it out, & laughing, told him:in deed it becomes thee wel to be angry for lofing an old gelded Villain, where I loft a thowfand Darecks quietly, & faid neuer a word, So E there came no other thing of it, fauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaied fo fondly & was fo finely mocked. But Queene Statiza on the other fide, befids that she was against her in alother things: she spared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful feruaunts fo cruelly to death, for Cyrus fake. But now, after that Tifaphernes (king Artaxerxes Lieuetenant) had deceiued Clearchus, & Tifaphernes

other captaines of GRECE, detestably fallifying his word he had given the, & that he had fent bettaqueb the them bound vnto the king Ctefins fayth, that Clearchus praied him to helpe him to a combe, & Grace.

would: both bicaufeshe hated her of all creatures living; and also for that she would beare eares, and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. Mithridates also shortly after, died the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the king one day at leysure, not knowmiserably, by alike follye. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whether came also the king and ing how to passe the time away: she inticed him to play a thowsand Darecks at dyce, and was Queene mothers Esseriukes: and when they came, Mithridates fate downe at the bord in the contented to lose them willingly, and paied the thowsand Darecks downe, seeming not withkings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had supped, and that they beganne to drinke standing to be angry with her losse. So she prayed him also to play one of his Euenukes with one to another, one of Parylatis Euenukes fayd vinto Mithredates: the king hath in deedegiher: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betwene wen thee a goodly gowne Mithridates, and goodly chaynes and carcanets of gold, and so is the that they should both name & except five of the trustiest & chiefest Euenukes they had: D & then, which of them loft, should presently deliuer vnto the winner his choyce of all the oferued her fo, that the wanne: & then the required Mefabates for her winnings, being none of those the king had excepted. Whe she had him deliuered her, she gaue him to the hangmen, that having had one by his meanes, and also comed his head, it pleased him so wel, that to requite his good wil, he gaue him his feale of armes from his finger wherewith he fealed his letters, for a witnes of the great friendship that was betwene them two. He sayth also that in the

none others that flue Cyrus, and that they did him great wronge, to take this honor from him. Theking beeing told of it, tooke it fo angrily: that he presently commaunded them to strike The punifbof his head But Parfatis (the Queene mother) beeing prefent when the king gaue this commaundement, the prayed him not to put him to death in that fort: for the Villain, fayd the let me alone, I will charlife him well enough for his prefumption and rathe speeche. The king was contemed the should have him. Thereuppon the sent the Sergeaunts to take this cursed of

Carrian, and made him be hanged upon a gybbet ten dayes together, and at the tenne dayes Payfan ently aufed his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poored molten mettell into his die Carian to

the fword very riche and good he gaue thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. Mithridates then the wine furning D into his brayne; auniwered straight: what meanest thou by that, Sparamixes? I descrued a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then Sparamixes langhing on him, aunswered, I do not speak it for any hurt or euil wil I beare thee, Mithridates: but to speake franckly among our selues, bicause the GRECIANS haue a common prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valliant acte was it to take vp a capparison of a horse that fell on the ground, and to cary it to the king? which the Euenuke spitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & least of all when he had droncke so wel See the prill as he had done, and so it fell out in deede . For Mithridates could not byte it in, but replyed of bestier, & straight: you may talke as long as you lyst of the capparison of a horse, & such trash, but I tell ! you plainly, that Cyrus was flayne with myne owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not in vaine as Artagerfes did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so ouerthrewe him, of which blow he dyed. He had no soner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the bord, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of thispore & vnfortunat Mithridates. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and fayd vnto him: friend Mithridates, I pray thee let vs drincke and be mery, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talke goe, it is too highe for vs. When the Euenuke went from thence, he tolde Parylatis the Queene mother what Mithridates had favd before them all: and the went and told the king of it. Who was marueloufly offended withall to be so belyed, and to lose the thing that was most honorable, and best p pleased him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GR ACIAN s and batbarous people) should certainly beloue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was

ARTAXERXES.

brother Cyrus with his owne hand, and being defirous that every man should so thinke & favi A

he fent prefents vnto Mithridates, that had burt him first in the forehead, and commaunded

him that caried the giftes vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth fend thee thefe

prefets, bicaule thou finding first the capparison of Com horse, diddest bring it vnto the king.

The CARIAN alfo that had cur the hamme of his legge wherewith Cyrus fell downe, asked his

giftlikewise: the which the king game him, and bad the Messenger tell him, the king doth gine

theorthis, bicaufe thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good newes. For Ar-

taffrie was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of Corm, Now

Mithridates, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those wordes, he went his way.

and find nothing then , nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate Cartan fondely fell

a goodly riche prefent before him, as the king fent him: made him fo forget him felfe, that he

began to apprecand to pretend greater things, then became his state and calling. And there-

fore he would nor take the kings gifte, as in respecte that he had brought him worde of Cyrus

death? but began to fforme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and

into a foolish vane; common vnto men. For, the fodeine joy he felt (as it feemeth) to fee fuch B

procuring a greater quantitie to be sent vnto them, & that they should put Clearchus portion A apart, and all the other fouldiers part also by them selues. This he did, as he say th, by Parylatic confent & commaundement, who knowing that amongeft other vittells they dayly fent Ckarchur a gammon of bacon: she tolde him one day he should doe well to hide a little knife in this gammon of bacon, and to fend it him, to thend that the life of fo noble & valliant a man as he was, should not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affrayd to meddle withall, and durst not doe it: & that the king sware, & promised his mother, (who was an earneft futer to him for Clearchus) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perswaded to the contrary, by Queene Statira his wife: he put them all to death, but Menon. Therefore Parylatis, Queene mother, after that time (sayth Ctessas) deuised all the wayes she could to poylon Queene Statira, and to make R her out of the way. But me thinketh this smelleth like a lye, that Pary atis should entend so Grace put to her out of the way. Duttile tillingen this interior and death, by king wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had death, by king wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had

fonnes that were to inherite the crowne, onely for the loue and respect of Clearchus; and it is

too plaine that he coyned that, to honor and magnific Clearchus memorie the more. But to

proue it, a man may easily find it by the lyes he addeth afterwards vnto it: faying that after

and also that there came a boysterous winde, and couered all Clearshus body with a great hill

of dust, and that out of this hill of dust shortly after there spronge vp many palme trees, which

made a prety thicke groue, that it shadowed all that place. Insomuch that the king him selse

did afterwards manuelously repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honest C

Clearchus, & saines of

Ciefias vanity the Captaines were flayne, all the bodies of the rest were torne a peeces by dogges & sowles:

man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for Clearchus fake, but for an olde canckered malice Parysatu had long time borne in her hart against Queene Statira: bicause she saw wel enough, The case of that the credit & authoritie her felf had with the king, was in respect of a sonnes duty & obediece to his mother, & in contrary maner, Statiraes credit & authoritie had a better ground & hate unto her Daughter in foudació, bicause it came of the loue & good wil the king did beare her. And this is the onely lar, Statira, cause that made her to practise the death of Quene Statira, having determined that her self, or daughter in law, must nedes dye. Now Quene mother had one of the women of her chamber

called Gigis, that was of great credit about her, & whome she onely trusted. Dinon writeth, that this Gigit did help Pary fatis to make the poylon. But Ctefias writeth contrarily, & faith that she

R vataces a excrements.

onely knew it, but otherwise that it was against her will: & that he that made the poyson, was D one Belitaras, but Dinon calleth him Melantas. Now, though in outward femblance and shew Queene mother & Statira semed to haue forgotte all malice betwene them, & that they bega again one of them to keepe company with the other, & did eate & drinke together yet one of them mistrusted the other, & tooke great heede to them selues, both of them eating one selse meate, & in one dishe together, and were both served with one self officers & men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, & is ful of fat within: so that it is thought it liueth by ayer & dewe, and in the Persian tongue they cal it Ryntaces. Paryfatis, as Ctesias fayth, tooke one of these birdes, and cut it in the middest with a litle knife, the which was poyfoned onely on one of the fides, and gaue that halfe which was poyfoned vnto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parylatis her felfe that gaue it her, but her E How Statira caruer Melantas that carued her meate, & still gaue Queene Statyra of that meate which the waspoyfoned. fide of his poisoned knife had touched. So Quene Statira presetly fel fick of the diffease wherof the died, with greuous panges & gripings in her bowels, & found plainly that the was poyfoned by Parylatis meanes: wheruppo she told the king as much, who was of the same opinion, & thought it was his mother, bicause he knew her cruel reueging mind, that neuer pardoned any, against who she conceived any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife Statira was dead, apprehended all his mothers houthold feruaunts & officers, & did put them to torments, to make them confesse the troth, saving Gigis, whome Queene mother kept close in her chamber a long time, & would neuer suffer the king to have her: who earne-'stly requested her to deliuer her vnto him . Notwithstanding, Gigis her selse at length prayed F Quene mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The king vnderstanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when she was taken, he condemned her to suffer the paynes of death ordeyned for poysoners, the which in Persiais execured in this manner. They make them put their head upon a great plaine stone, and with an o- The punishther stone they presse and strike it so long, till they have dashed the braynes of the malefactor menisor perout of their head. After this fort was Gigis put to death. Now for Parylatis his mother, the king fas did her no other hurt, nor fayd no more vnto her, but confined her vnto BABYLON according to her defire, & sware, that whilest she lived, he would never see BABY LON. In this state stoods the affaires of the king. But now, Artaxerxes having done the vimost he could to have ouercomen the GRECIANS which came to make warre with him in the hart of his Realme, and

would have bene as glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrus, & to keepe his crowne & Realmethe could never prevaile against them. For though they had lost Cyrus that gave them B enterteinment & all their private Captaines that led them: they faued them selves notwith. standing being in the hart of his Realme, and shewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold & filuer, curiofitie, & faver women, & otherwife, nothing but pompe & vanity. Hereuppon al the GRECIANS became couragious, & despised the barbarous people: infomuch that the LACED &MONIANS thought it a great shame & dishonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GR &CIANS that dwelt in A SIA, from the flauery & bodage of the PERSIANS, & kept them from the open violence & cruelty of the barbarous people. For they having at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine Thimbron, & afterwards also by Dercyllidas, whom they fent thither with an army, & having done nothing worthy memory: at legth they determined to fend their king Agefilaus thither in person, who pas-C fing through A sta with his shipps, began presently to make hot warre against the PERSIANS

as soone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the first coffict he ouerthrew Tisaphernes (the him of king of Persiaes Lieuetenant) in battel, and made the most part of the cities of GRECE that demon, maare in A sta, to rebel against him. Artaxerxes loking into this warre, & wisely considering what kith warre with the Perway & meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GR MCIANS: he fent into GR MCE one flow, Hermocrates a Rhodian, (of great credit about him) with a maruelous fume of gold & filuer, bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobilitie & chiefe rulers of the cities of GRECE, to

make all the other GR &CIANS to rile against the LACED &MONIANS. Hermocrates wilely executed his comiffion, for he made the chiefest cities of GRECE to rebel against LACEDE MON fothat all PELOPONNES VS being vp in armes, and in great garboyle, the Ephoriat LACEDE-D MON were inforced to fend for Agefilaus home again. Agefilaus being fory to depart out of A-STA, faid vnto his friends: that the king of Passia had driven him out of his Realme with thirty thow fand archers: bicaule that the PERSIAN coyne is staped with an archer, having a bow in The Postan his hand. Artaxerxes also draue the LACED EMONIANS Out of all their iurisdiction by sea, by some, how is shamped. the meanes of Conon, general of the ATHENIANS, who Pharnabazas (one of his Lieuetenants) "prampeu,

had wonne to take his part. For Conon, after he was ouerthrowen in battel at a place called the deane the Lagoates river, kept ever after in the lle of CYPRVs, not so much for the safetie of his person, as from all their allo for that it was a mete place to stay in, vntil the wars of GR ECE were appealed. He know-dominion by ing that the deuise he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, & on the contrary see side, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe indgemet to be imployed he wrote let-E ters vnto him of his deuise what he thought to doe, straightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be deliuered vnto the king by Zenon the CRETAN, one of the kings dauncers, or by one Polyeritus his Philition, born in the city of MENDE: & in both their absences, then to give it vnto Ctesias, to deliver vnto the king. It chaunced to that this letter came to the hands of Ctesias: who as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the cotents of the letter, that the king should send him vnto Conon, bicause he was a necessary man to be employed in his seruice, but specially by sea, Ctessas sayth not so, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after Artaxerxes had through the leading of Conon & Pharnabazus, won the battell by fea neare to the Ile Gnidus Inf. of GNIDVS, & that therby he had driven all the LACED EMONIANS from their jurisdiction by

Fica, all GRECE had him in maruelous great estimation: fo that he gaue vnto the GRECIANS with fuch coditions as he would, that fo famous peace, called Antalcidas peace. This Antalci- Amalcidas da wasa citize of Spanta, the sonne of one Leon, who fauoring king Artaxerxes affaires, pro- Place.

RRRR ii

1024

ARTAXERXES. cured by the treatie of this peace, that the LACED EMONIANS left vnto Artexerxes all the ci. A ties of GRECE in ASIA, & all the Iles conteined in the fame, to enjoy quietly, making the par tribute at his pleasure. This peace being cocluded with the GRECIANS (if so shameful a treafon reproch, & common infamy to all GRECE may be called a peace, as neuer warre fell out more dishonorable & infamous for the vanquished)king Artaxerxes that otherwise hated the LACED EMONIANS to the death, & that estemed the (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men liuing: did notwith tanding loue Antalcides paffingly wel, & enterteined him very honorably. when he came into Persia vnto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of nian,greatly

esteemed of Artaxerxes.

Antalcid as

Lacedemo-

flowers, & did wer it with the most pretious & sweetest oyle of persume that was prepared for the feast, & set the same vnto Antalcidas:insomuch as every ma marvelled to see the kig set so much by him. In deed he was a mete than to follow the vanity & curiofitie of the Parsians. R full of vanitie & had wel deserved such a garland to be senthim: who was so bold to daunce adaunce before the Persians, mocking & conterfeating Leonidas & Callieratidas, two of the valliantest men that ever were in GRECE. Therefore one faid at that time in the presence of king Agesilaus: O how vishappy is poore GRECE at this day, when the LACED EMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But Agefilaus presently auswered him againe, not so, said he; but rather the PERSI-ANS followe the LACED & MONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wife aunswer Agesilaus made.did not take away the thame of the fact: & fhortly after, the LACED EMONIANS loft the battell of LEVCTRES, & therewith also the figniorie & principalitie they had kept of long time ouer all GRECE, although they had loft their estimation before, for colenting to so shameful & dishonorable a peace. Whe Spart afforished most, & was chiefe of all the other cities of GRECE C. folong did Artaxerxes stil cotinue to make much of Antaleidas, & called him his fried. But after that the LACED EMONIANS had lost the battell of Levet Res, having received sogreat an ouerthrow, & wanting money: they fent Agefilaus into Æ GYPT, & Altaleidas into PERSIA Vnto king Artaxerxes, to pray him to ayde and helpe the LACED & MONTANS. Howbeit the king made to final accompt of him, & disdained him so much, denying him, & his requests: that he returned backeto Spart A, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seing that his enemies mocked him, & fearing that the Ephori would co-

mit him to prison:he killed him self with famine. About that time also, the The Bans after they

had won the battell of Levetres, fent Ifmenias & Pelopidas into Persia, vnto king Artaxer-

to kneele to the king, he let fall his ringe at his feete, and stowped to take it vp : whereby it was

thought of some that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time Artaxerxes liking a secret

GRECIANS could not rel how to make it & did also let him have men to cary him vpon their

armes to the sea side, bicause he was sicke, & whilest he was at the Court, he enterteyned him

xes:where Pelopidas did nothing vnworthy of him felf. Howbeit Ismenias being commaunded D

The death of Antakidas Laced emoni-

advertisement very wel sent him from Timagoras the ATHENIAN: he gave him ten thowsand Timagor.ss daricks by his Secretary called Belluris. And bicause he had a sickly body, & was drine to drink Athenian. cowes milke to restore him: the king therfore sent source score mylche kyne with him to give brybed by king Artaxmilke to the paile, to have fresh milke every daye. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly cixes. furnished with althings necessary, & groomes of the chaber to make his bed, saying, that the

Timagor.ss mas put to death for ta and gifts of the king of Perfia. King Artaxerres billech Til sphernes. Anaxerxes

fell in azaine

very honorably & bountifully. So Oftanes, the kings brother, faid one day vnto him: Timago- E ras, remeber how honorably thou art ferued at thy bord, for it is not for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remebrance of the benefit received. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condened the fame Timagoras to dye, bicause he had taken bribes & money of the king of PERSIA, But Artaxerxes in recopence of so many other thinges that he had done, to despite the GRECIANS with, he did one thing that pleased them maruelously: when he did put Tisaphernes to death, who was the dreadfullest enemye the GRECIANS had. Pary/atis the Queene mother did helpe to bringe this to paffe, aggravating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger longe against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing nowe to let them to come together as much as they would to give any occasion of iclousie or malice to any person. So euer after, his mother Parysatis endeuored her selse

ARTAXERXES.

A to feede the king her fonnes humor every manner of way, feeming to mislike nothing that he ther Parties did: Whereby the grewe in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatfoeuer ber to come sheasked him. So she perceyued that the king was extreamely in loue with one of his owne with court. Daughters, that was called Atoffa: howbeit that he diffembled his love the best he could, and kept it fecret, chiefly for feare of her, although some write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Nowe Parylatis having found his love, the beganne to make more of his Daughter then she did before, and talking with her father, sometyme she praysed her beauty,

another tyme her grace and good countenaunce, faying that the was like a Queene and noble Princesse. So that at length by litle and litle she perswaded him to marye her openly, not passing for the lawes and opinions of the GRECIANS, considering that God had given B him vnto the Persians, to stablishe lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wronge, and the good from the bad. Some Historiographers doe write, and amongest them Heraelides of CVMBS: that Artaxerxes did not onely marie the eldest of his Daughters, but the second also called Amestri, of whome we will speake hereaster. Nowe when he had maried the eldest,

that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of June, (which was fixteene turlong

of) was full of gold, filuer, riche purple filkes, and horse that were sent thither. He beganne to

contry before he was ware, he fell into great want of vittells, and was also in great daunger. For his fouldiers found nothing in all the contry that was good to eate, and worst of all, no

vittells could come vnto them from any place, bicause of the hardnes and naughty wayes of

D the contry: So that his campe lived onely with the fleshe of their beaftes of carrage, and yet

they fold it dearely: for, an affes head was fold for three skore filuer Drachmas. To conclude,

fewe horse lest, for all the rest were eaten. Then Tiribazus, that had oftentimes bene chiefe a-

bout the king, bicause he was a valliant man, and that through his folly was many tymes also

ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kinges, and at the felfe same tyme also seeretly sent his

E sonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had sent Ambassadors

make warre also with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made Pharnabazus and Iphicrates ATHENIAN.

Atolla, he loued her so entierly well, that though she fell sicke of the dissease commonly called dest Dargh-Vitiligo, that ranne ouer all her bodie: he loued her not the worfe for it, but prayed continu- ser Aroffa. ally for her vnto the goddesse Juno, honoring no other goddesse but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and fent by his friendes and Lieuetenants fo many offerings,

his Lieuerenants, who did no good, bicause they fell at variance thone with thother . But af- King Arian. terwards, Artaxarxes him selfe went in person to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thowsand sootemen, and tenne thowsand horsemen. So he inuaded their contry, which cadustant. was a very rude contry, alway darke and clowdy: The earth bringeth forth nothing that man the contry of the Cadustan foweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and fuch like frute, and yet very barren, the men be very stronge and valliant notwithstanding. So when he was entred farre into the

the famyne was so great, that prouision fayled for the kings owne mouth, and there were but Great famyne

out of fauor, as at that present tyme, when he had no authoritie nor estimation: he deuised a Tiribarus ftratageame, whereby he faued the king and all his campe. In this contry of the CADV SIANS, france come there were two kinges in the field with their armies, both of them camped a fonder one from extr, and all the other. Tiribazus, after he had spoken with king Artaxerxes, and had tolde him what he his army.

vnto Artaxerxes to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion, and therefore he counfelled him if they were wife, one of them to feeke to preuent another with all the poffible speede he could, and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both miltrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadors vnto king Artaxerxes, with Tiribazus, and the other also his Ambassadors with his sonne. But Tiribazus tarving long in his iorney, king Artaxerxes beganne somewhat to suspect him, his enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the king grewe very chollerycke, and repented him that he had trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare every man that spake against him. Howbeit

F Tiribazus at length returned, and his sonne also, and either of them brought with them the Ambassadors of the Cadvsians, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was Tiribazas aloft againe, and in greater credit then ever he was, and so departed with the king. The

RRRR iii

Note, that foft apparell and riches. maketh nos a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind that ful loweth exill aduife and counsell. The corage of king treaxerxes do his

King Artaxto his fouldi-

great paynes in marching.

Ochus,king Artaxerxes Connes.

proclaymesh rius king.

er ver com-

king then thewed plainely, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curiofitie as fone. A take it belouing that it doth effeminate mens harts, but rather of a vile bale mind, that come monly followeth cuill, and the worst counsell. For nether the iewells of gold, the kingly robe. nor other fumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thowfand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that tyme to travaile, and to take as much payne as any man in all his army. For he him felfe marched a foote the foremost man, cary, ing his owne truffe in a fearfe uppon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through highe stony mountaines. So that his fouldiers seeing the corage and payne the king. him felfetooke, they marched so nymbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by fore trauell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees passingly sette & forth: but all the contry besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a trees great way from thence, and it was maruelous cold. The king fuffred his fouldiers to hewe downe the goodly pynes and cypres trees in his parkes; and bicaufe they durft not prefume to touch them, he him felfe as he was tooke an axe in his hande and beganne to hewe downe the goodlieft tree there. The fouldiers feeing that, fell enery man of them also to hewing: fo that in a very thort tyme they had prouided them felues well with wodde, and made them great fires in every place, and so past over the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding he loft a great number of valliant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, bicause he did sayle of his purpose: he beganne to growe miffruftfull, and to fufpect the chiefest noblemen he had about him: fo that in a rage he put of many of them to death, but much more of them remayned, whome he mistrusted. For there is norming more cruell, nor a greater bloud fucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and leffe fuspicious, then a valliant and hardy man. And therefore brute beaftes that be neuer made tame nor maftered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous; and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold straight, and doe come to knowe a man, bicause they have no seare, nether doe they slie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king Artaxerxes being growen very olde, heard that there was great sturre and contencion between his sonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contencion fell out also amonge his friends and men, of great calling. The wifeft of them wifhed, that as he him felf came vnto the crowne, as D his fathers eldest sonne: so that he likewise should after his death leaue it vnto his eldest sonne; called Darius. But the younger, which was called Ochus, being a valliant man, and of a whot ffirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his parte, and hoped to attayne to his purpole, by the meanes of his fifter Atoffa, whome he loued and honored, promifing to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers diffease. And befides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he fecretly kept her: howbeit Artaxerxes neuer vnderstoode it. Now, bicause he would betimes put his sonne Ochus out of all hope to succeede him in the kingdom, least this expectacion might make him to goe about to practife that which Cyrus did, and that by this meanes his Realme should growe into faction and civill warres: he proclaymed his eldest some Darius (beeing fiftye yeare olde) H but fonne Da. king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leave from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In PERSIA the cultom is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed fucceffor and heire apparant to the crowne, he should require a gifte of him that proclay? meth him successor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatsoeuer it be that he ass keth fo it be not impossible. Darius then asked his father a concubine called Aspasia, who was first with Cyrus, & in greatest fauor with him aboue all the rest, but then was for the kings own bodye. She was borne in the contry of I on 1 A3 of free parents: and being vertuously brought vp, the was brought one night vnto Cyrus as he was at supper with other women, who sate them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were verieglad when Cyrus of fered to play and be merie with them, geuing euerie one of them some pleasaunt word, and # they made it not coy. But Aspasia stoode on her seete by the table, and sayd neuer a word: and notwithstanding that Cyrus called her, she woulde not come at him. Moreover, when one of

A the groomes of his chamber would have taken her to have brought her to him; the first faith the that layeth hands on me, thall repent it. Thereuppon all those that were present, said the was a foolish thing, and simply brought up, and could not tell what was comely for her, Howbeit Cyrus being glad of it, paffed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought then! vato him: doeft thou not fee, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest woman but she? After that, Cyrus began to make muche of her, and loued her better continually then all the rest, & called her Aspasia the wife. This Aspasia was taken among the spoiles of Cyrus campe after he was overthrowen, and Darius as we have told ye, did begge her of his father, who was verie angrie with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruelous gealous of their women, so that not onely he should be put to death, that durst B but fpeake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in fport; but also who focuer came nere them, or neere their coches as they travelled. The kings daughter Atoffa, whom he had ma- can me ried against all lawe, was yet living, and besides her he had also three hundred and three score with rim passing fayer concubines: and yet when his some Darius asked Apassa of him, the king aunfwered, the was a free woman borne, and therefore if the woulde, he was content he should have her: but if the were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not have him force her by no meanes. So Aspassa was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She anfwered, with Darius: contrarie to king Artaxerxes expectacion, who both by the custome, and also the law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he tooke her from him againe, faying that he woulde place her in a Nunrie of Diana, in the contrie of ECHATANRA where they call her Anitis, there to ferue the goddeffe, and to live chaft all the daies of her life: supposing by this meanes to punish his sonne, not rigorously, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with sporte and earnest. Howebeit his sonne tooke it not so pacientlie, either bicause he was deepelie in loue with Aspasia, or else for that he saw his father mocked him in that point, Tiribayus finding this, and perceiving that Darius tooke it verie grievouslie: he aggravated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of loue in Darius, by his owne, ypon the like occalion. King Artaxerxes had many daughters, and had promifed Pharnabazus one of them, confeth Decalled Apama: vnto Orontes, Rodogoune: and to Tiribazus, Amestris. The king performed the rive against other two mariages, & did put Tiribazus by his wife. For the king him felfe maried his owne bustants daughter Amestru, and for her, he promised Tiribazus the younger, Atolla: with whom also n he him selfe fell in loue, and maried her. Tiribazus hereupon was in such a rage with the king. that he hated him to the death: not bicause he was any traitor or seditious man in nature, but Tiniberus a madde harebrained fellow. For fometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authoritie == as the best: fodainly againe he woulde play some madde parte to anger the king, and then he was in as much differace, and out of countenaunce: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made cuerie man hate him for his pride: and being in dif-

Ill counsell eazly takes place. For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleene as he lyst, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleue the cuill then the good, bicause most men know not what goodnes mea-RRRR iiii

grace, he could not humble him felfe, but looke bigger then before. Nowe there was fire and

brimstone met, when Tiribazus tooke parte with Darius. For he dayly blewe into his eares.

that it was to no purpole for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires also went not rightly

forward: and that he deceived him felfe much, if he did not know that his brother(by meanes

stant as he was, he must not trust in any sorte to succeede his father in the kingdome, what

proclamation focuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrarie. For, fayd he, he that for a

GRECIAN woman hath broken and violated the holieft lawe that was in Persia: thou must

not looke that he will performe that he hath promifed thee. And furthermore he perfwaded

him, that it was not a like repulse vnto Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for : as it was

for him to be turned out of all that ever he had gotten. For fayd he, if it please Ochus to live

like a private man, he may fafelie doe it, and no man will trouble him : but for him felfe that

was alreadic proclaimed king, he must of necessitie make him selfe king, or else he must not

liue. So the Poet Sophocles his faying most commonly proueth true:

g of the women he kept) secretlie aspired to the crowne: and that his father being so vncon-

fpireth againf his father.

Areaveryes bow to trement she con Pirasors and so faue bins

Darius condye, and ex-

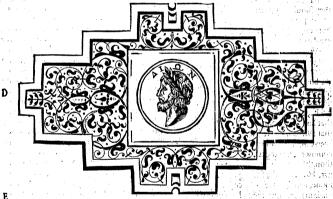
neth. But now befide these perswasions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the seare Darine A. stoode in of his brother Ochus, tooke great force and effect with him and it may be also, that Venus her selfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice and spight that Aspalia was taken from him. But what foeuer the cause was, thus was it handled: that Darius flatly conspired 2gainst his father Artaxerxes, together with Tiribazus. Now, they having gotten many conspirators to joyne with them, one of the kings Euenukes perceiuing it, ranne and told the kings of it, and howe they had sodainly determined to affaile him, knowing certainly that it was a greed among them selves, that they should kill him in his bedde in the night. Artaxerxes receiuing this aduertisement, thought it was not good to be carelesse of a matter of so great importaunce as his life: and also that it were too great lightnes in him so sodainly to beleue his Euenuke, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him felfe. He com- B maunded the Euenuke that had genen him this informacion to keepe companie still with the confpirators, & to follow them wherefocuer they went to fee their doings: and in the meane time he bet downe his wall behind his bed, and made a dore thorowe, and fet vp a hanging of tapistrie before it. When the time was come, as the Euenuke had aduertised the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: Artaxerxes being layed on his bedde, rose not vp till he had feene euerie traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he fawe them comming towards him with their fwords drawen, he fodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, & shut the dore after him, making an outcrie, murder, murder. So the traitors being plainly feene and knowen by the king, fled the fame way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad Tiribazus saue him selse, bicause he was knowen. So they dispersed them G selues, and scaped by flying. But Tiribazus was taken tardie, although he had slaine divers of the kings gard, valliantly defending him felfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was striken with Tribasus the a dart a good way of, which flewe him. Darius was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sonnes: and the king referred him to be judged by his peeres. For the king him felfe would not be present to gene judgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commaunded his secretaries to set downe in writing the opinion and fentence of euerie one of the Judges and to bring it him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to dye. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the prison, where the hangman came with a rafer in his hande with the which he vsed to cut mens throates to condemned to dye. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he D faw it was Darius, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his hart failing him, and durft not lay handes upon the person of the king. But the Iudges that stoode without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnleffe he would have his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke Darius by the heare of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and so cut his necke with his rafer he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this fentence was geuen in the presence of king Artaxerxes selfe, and that Darius seeing him felfe conuicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and befought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angrie, rose vp, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in fo many places withall, that at length he flue him. Then returning into the Court, he worshipped the sunne, and turning him to his Lords that were a- E bout him, he favd vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great Oromazes hath taken reuenge of them that practifed treason against me. This was the end of Darius treason. Now Darius being dead, Ochus his brother stoode in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, & the rather, through the meanes and frendshippe of his sister Atossa: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he seared him called Ariaspes, who was onely left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard xerxes somes brethren Arsames:not bicause Ariaspes was elder than he, but for that he was of a fost & plaine nature, the Persians defired he might be their king. On the other fide, Arfames was wife, and valliant: and Ochus fawe that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now Ochus being a futtle and malicious natured man, he first shewed his crueltie vpon Arlames, and his malice vpon Ariales his legitimate brother. For, bicause he knewe he

was but simple and plaine, he sent dayly some of the kings Euenukes vnto him, who brought

A him threatning words and meffages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruel death, So, forging these newes continuallie as things verie fecret, they did to terrific poore Arialbes, telling him that the king was fullie bent to put fome of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared him felfe apoylon, and dranke it, to ridde him felfe of his life. King Artaxermer understanding of his death, tooke it very heavily, & began to mistrust the cause that made him to make him felfe away: howebeit he coulde not feeke the proofe of it. for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue Arfames better then before, thewing plainly that he trufred him better then Ochus, and did make him privile to all things. Ochus could no lenger abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entifed Harpaces, Tiribazus sonne, to kill his bastard bro-B ther Arfames : the which he did. Now Artaxerxes was so extreame older that he was as good The deeth of

as done with age; but after he heard his fonne Arlames was murdered, he coulde beare it no king Analenger, but tooke it so to his hart for sorow, that when he had lived source score and sourceene xerxes. veares, and raigned three score and two, he dyed. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gratious & curteous Prince, and one that loued his people and subjectes: when olde at his they faw the proofe of his fuccessor Ochus, that passed all men liuing, in crueltie and severity.

THE LIFE



Ike as Simonides & Sollius Senecio, faith that the city of ILIV M was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make warre with them with other G R & CIANS, bicause Glaucus (whose first auncefters came from CORINTHE) had taken armes, 80 louingly fought for the fame: even so me thinkes, that neither the GRECIANEMOR ROMANE'S have cause to complaine of the Academy, sith they beboth alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are contended the lives of Dion and Brutus, Of the which, the one of them Dion of Bruhaving bene verie familiar with Plato him felle, and the other from 100 both Plat

F his childhoode brought vp in Platoes doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one leife tonian. schoolehouse, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongest men. And it is no maruellish they two were much elike in many of their doinges, prouing that true which their schoolemailer

in their handes; so it must needes follow, that men having bene vertuously brought vp, must

nedes be wife in all their doings, and befide that it bringeth them to civilitie and honefty, even

also tolde it vnto their frendes: I can not tell whether we shall be inforced, to graunt the most

ftraungest and oldest opinion of this, which sayth: that there be euill spirites which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly mindes, doe make them affrayed C

with these fearefull fights, intifing them to forsake their godlynes, least that perfisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre

this disputacion to some other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens

liues compared, let vs first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we

Dionylius the elder, after he had the gouernment of Sicilia in his handes, he maried the

daughter of Hermocrates, a citizen of Syrac vsa. But yet not being throughlie settled in his

tyrannie, the Syrac vsans did rebell against him, & did so cruellie and abhominablie handle

the bodie of his wife, that the willinglie poyfoned her felfe. So after he had established him

felfe in his gouernment with more furetie then before, he maried againe two other wives to- D

Plate de vir- Plate wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the government of a common wealth, which A atts (bould be person, joined with justice and wisedom. For as a certaine fenser called Hippomachus said, that famous in the he knewe his schollers farre of, if he did but see them comming from the market with meane

fo it frameth their condicions muche like one vnto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing also fallen out both alike, more by chaunce then by any reason, do make their liues verie like to eache other. For, they were both of them flaine, before they coulde bring their enterprifes to passe which they had determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this: that their

vue appeared deathes were foreshewed vnto them both, by a wicked spirit that visible appeared vnto either B of them: albeit there be some that can not abide those opinions, and doe maintaine that these fights and euill foirits doe neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by fickenes, and so have a certaine imagination of suche straunge sightes, being of this superstitions minde, that they have a wicked foirit, and an euill angell in them, But if Dion and Brutus, both of them graue and learned Philosophers, and verie constant men, not ouercome by any sodaine paffion or imagination of minde, have bene moved by fuch fights and spirits, and have

mocrates dangbier. fpeake of.

Dionyfius wines, Doride, of La-

Dions kindred with Dionyfia.

gether, the one a straunger of the citie of LOCRES, called Doride: and the other of the contry it selfe, called Aristomaché, the daughter of Hipparinus the chiefest man of all Syracvs a, and machi, of Sy- that had bene companion with Dionylius, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was fayd that Dionylius maried them both in one day, and that they could never tell which of them he knewe first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly fate together with him at his table, and did either of them lye with him by turnes: though the Syrac vsans would have their owne contrywoman preferred before the straunger. Howebeit the straunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth Dionysius his eldest sonne, which was a good countenaunce to defend her, being a forreiner. Aristomache in contrarie maner, continued a long time with Dionysius, without frute of her wombe, although he E was verie defirous to haue children by her: fo that he put the Locaian womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with forceries and witchcrast, kept Aristomaché from being with child. Dion being the brother of Aristomache, was had in great estimation at the first, for his fifters fake: but afterwards the tyran finding him to be a wife man, he loued him the for his owne sake. Infomuch, that among many fundrie things & pleasures he did for him: he commaunded his Treasorers to let him have what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the felfe fame day they gave him any. Nowe though Dion had ever before 2 noble minde in him by nature, yet muche more did that magnanimitie increase, when Plato by good fortune arrived in Sicile. For his comming thither furelie was no mans deuile, as I take it; but the verie pronidence of fome god: who (bringing farre of the first beginning F and fundation of the libertic of the Syrac vsans, and to overthrow the tyrannicall state) sent Plate out of LTALIE vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, and brought him acquainted with Dien, who

A was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter witte to learne, and redier good will to Dion, Plaine follow vertue, then any young man elfe that followed Plato: as Plato him felfe writeth, and his feholler. owne doinges also doe witnesse. For Dion having from a child bene brought up with humble conditions vnder a tyran, and acquainted with a fernile timerous life, with a prowde and infolent reigne, with all vanity and curiofitie, as placing chiefe felicity in couetouines: neuerthelesse, after he had felt the sweete reasons of Philosophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed straight with earnest desire to follow the same. And bicause he found that he was so easelie perswaded to loue vertue and honestie, he simplie thinking (being of an honest plaine nature) that the selfe same perswasions would moue a like affection in Dionysius: obteined of Diony fius, that being at leafure, he was contented to fee Plato, and to fpeake with him. B When Plato came to Dionysius, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefely reaso-Plato and

ned what was fortitude: where Plato proued that tyrans were no valliant men. From thence passing further into inflice, he told him that the life of inst men was happy, and contrarily the guber, life of vniust men vnfortunate. Thus the tyran Dionysius perceiuing he was ouercomen, durst no more abide him, and was angrie to fee the standers by to make suche estimacion of Plato, and that they had fuch delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, what bufinesse he had to doe there? Plato aunswered him, he came to seeke a good man. Dionysius then replied againe: what, in Gods name, by thy speache then it seemeth thou hast founde none yet. Now Dion thought that Dionysius anger would proceede no further, and therefore at Platoes earnest request, he sent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which C. Pollis a LACED EMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GRECE. Howbeit Dionylius fecretlie requested Pollis to kill Plato by the way, as ouer he would doe him pleasure : if not, yet Diomfine

that he would fell him for a flaue, how soeuer he did. For faid he, he shall be nothing the worse malice vinto for that: bicause if he be a iust man, he shall be as happie to be a slaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this Pollis caried Plato into the Ile of AGINA, and there fold him. For the AGI- Plato folde in NETES having warre at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the ATHE- the ile of NIANS that were taken in their Ile, should be fold. This notwithstanding, Dionysius refused not to honor and trust Dion, as much as euer he did before, and did also sende him Ambassador in

matters of great weight. As when he fent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued him felfe fo well, that he wan great reputation by his iorney: and the tyran coulde well away Diene hold. D with his plaine speach. For no man but he, durst fay their mindes so boldly vnto him, to speake nes in speawhat he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for Gelon. One day when they mocked king plainty Gelons gouernment before the tyrans face, and that Dionysius him selfe sayd (finely deskanting Gelon figniof his name, which fignifieth laughture) that he was euen the verie laughing stockehim selfe fieth laughture of Sicilia: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretacion of laughture paffingly well. But Dion not being well pleased withall, sayd vnto him: for his sake, men trusted thee, whereby thou camest to be tyran: but for thine owne sake they will neuer trust any man. For to say truly, Gelon shewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as coulde be, to see a citie gouerned by an absolute Prince: but Dionysius by his gouernment

on thother fide, made it appeare as detestable a thing. This Dionysius had by his LOCRIAN E wife three children, and by Aristomaché foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one cal- sophrofini led Sophrofyne, and the other Arete. Of them, Dionysius eldest sonne maried Sophrofyne, and A- and Arete. rete was maried vnto his brother Thearides, after whose death Dion maried her, being his the daughten Nece. Now when Dionysius her father fell sicke, not likely to escape: Dion would have spoken by Arifford with him for his children he had by his fifter Aristomache. Howbeit the Phistitions about him, Dion marish to currie fauor with the next heire and successor of the tyrannie, would neuer let him haue a- his Nece A. ny time or oportunitie to speake with him. For, as Timaus writeth, they gaue Dionyfius the el- ruishe der (as he had commaunded them) a strong opiat drinke to cast him in a sleepe, and so there-

the first counsell and affemblie holden by his frendes, to consult about the state and affaires of F the younger Dionysius: Dion moued matter so necessarie and profitable for that present time, Dionysius the that by his wisedom he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speach, eller, made them know that they were but flaues of the tyranny: bicause they beastly and cowardly

by they tooke from him all his sences and joyned death with his sleepe. Notwithstanding, in of his sign

in: enfe Die ny fius the

fellow and

But he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing about all other thinges, the daunger Dionylius state was in, by reason of CARTHAGE, he did promise them, that if Diongfius would have peace, he would then goe foorthwith into AFRICKE, and finde the meanes honorablie to quenche the warres: or if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he woulde furnishe him at his owne proper costes and charges, fiftie gallies readie to rowe. Dionyline wondered greatlie at the noble minde of Dion, and thanked him muche for the good will he bare vnto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking Dions noble offer to be a reproach of their auarice, and his credit and authoritie, and impaire vnto theirs: they presentlie vpon this liberall offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not sparing any reproachefull wordes against him, to moue Dionysius to be offended with him. For they complayned of him, and fayd that I he cuminglie practifed to possesse the tyrannie, making him selfe strong by sea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of driftomache his fifter. But the chiefest cause of all why they did malice and hate him, was his straunge manner of life: that he neither woulde keepe companie with them, nor line after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and frendshippe with this younge euill brought up tyranne, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleasures: studied for no other thing, but to enterteine him in loue matters, and other vaine exercises, as to riot and bancket, to keepe light women companie, and all fuche other vile vicious pastimes and recreacions, by the which the tyrannie became like iron foftened by fire, and feemed to be verie pleasaunt vnto the subjectes, bicause the ouergreat Maiestie and seueritie thereof was fomewhat milder, not fo muche by the bountie and goodnesse, as by the follie and rechlesnes of the Lorde. Thus, this litle care and regarde increasing more and more, still winning way with the young tyran: did at length melt and breake a funder those strong diamond chaines, with the whiche Dionysius the elder made his boast that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his fonne. For fometime he would be three dayes together without intermiffion, still banketing and being dronke: and all that time his Court gates were kept shut vnto graue and wife men, and for all honest matters, and was then full of dronkards, of common playes, dauncinges, maskes, and mommeries, and full of all fuche tromperie and diffolute pattimes. And therefore Dion vindoubtedlie was much enuied of them, bicause he gaue him selfe to no sport nor pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and missamed his vertues, vices, being D formwhat to be refembled vnto them. As in calling his grauetie, pride: his plainnes and boldnesse in his Oration, obstinacie: if he did perswade them, that he accused them: and bicause he would not make one in their fonde pastimes: that therefore he despised them. For to say truelie, his manners by nature had a certeine hawtinesse of mindeand seueritie, and he was a ners, soo grave fower man to be acquainted with: whereby his companie was not onely troublesome, but alfo unplefaunt to this younger Dionylius, whose eares were so fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his verie frendes and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of speache and noble minde: they did yet reprough his sternenes, and austere conversation with men. For it seemed vnto them, that he spake too roughlie, and delt ouerhardlie with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a civill or curteous man. And for proofe hereof, Plato him selfe sometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophecied what shoulde happen) that he should beware of obstinacie, the companion of folitarinesse, that bringeth a man in the ende to be forsaken of euerie one. This notwithstanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man else: bicause of the state and gouernment, and for that they thought him the onely man that coulde best prouide for the lafetie and quietnesse of the tyrannie, the which stoode then in tickle state. Now Dion knew well enough, that he was not fo well taken and efteemed through the good will of the tyran, as against his will, and for the necessitie of the state and time. So Dion suppoling that ignoraunce, and want of knowledge in Dionylius was the cause: he deuised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and to teache him the liberall sciences, to frame him I

to a civil life, that thencefoorth he shoulde no more be affrayed of vertue, and shoulde al-

so take pleasure and delight in honest thinges. For Diomsius of his owne nature, was none of

the worst fort of tyrans, but his father feating that if he came once to have a feeling and conceite of him felfe, or that he companied with wife and learned men, he would go neere to enter into practife, and put him out of his feate: he euer kept him locked up in a chamber, and woulde fuffer no man to speake with him. Then the younger Dionystus having nothing else to do, gaue himselse to make little chariots, candlesticks, chaires, stooles, and tables of worde. For his father Dionyfus was fo fearefull and mistrustfull of eueric bodie, that he woulde suffer no Dionyfus et man with a paire of barbers fiffers to polle the heares of his head, but caused an image maker elder, a manof earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly buth of heare round fulfill rounde about. No man came into his chamber where he was, with a gowne on his backe, no would not his owne brother nor fonne, but he was driven before he coulde come in, to put of his B gowne, and the garde of his chamber to strippe him naked what so ever he was : and then they gaue him an other gowne to call voon him, but not his owne. One day his brother Leptines. going about to describe vnto him the scituacion of some place, he tooke a halberd from one of the garde, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a platte of the same vpon the ground. Dionylius was terriblic offended with him, and did put the fouldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He sayed he was affrayed of his frendes, yea and of the wifest of them; bicause he knewe that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaunde, then to obey. He flewe one of his Captaines called Marfras, whome he had preferred, and had geuen him charge of men: bicause he dreamed that he killed him: saying that he dreamed of pionsing this in the night, bicause that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now Dionvilus in c that was fo timerous, and whose mind through searcfulnes was still miserablic occupied: he was not with standing maruelouslie offended with Plato, bicause he did not judge him to be the noblest and valliantest man aliue. Dion therefore seeing (as we have sayd) the younger Diowyfius cleane marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education: perswaded him the best he coulde to geue him selse vnto studie, and by the greatest intreatie he coulde possiblie make, to pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into Sicilia. And then when Dinterfee through his intreatie he were come, that he woulde referre him selfe whollie vnto him, to deab the thende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby : (the best younger Die example that can be possible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which is suggested otherwise were out of all order and confused) he shoulde first obteine great happines to him D felfe, and confequently vnto all his citizens alfo, who euer after through the temperance and inflice of a father, would with good will doe those thinges, which they presentlie vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lorde, and in doing this, from a tyran he should come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in safetie, were not force, and feare, as his father The affined Dionysius helde opinion: neither the great multitude of young fouldiers, nor the garde of ten said of Print thowfand barbarous people: but in contrarie manner, that they were the loue and good will of their false. of their fubiectes, which the Prince obteineth through vertue and iustice: the which chaines with though they be flacker then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in safetie. And furthermore, the Prince (sayd he) is not defirous of honor, neither is a man that descrueth greatly to be praised and com-F mended, that onely studieth to weare sumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to see his Court richelie furnished, and him selse curiouslie serued : and in the meane time doth not frame him felfe to speake better, to be wifer, and to carie a greater maiesty then any other meane or common person, not esteeming to adorne and beawtifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maieftie of a king. Dion oftentimes rehearling these exhortacions vnto Diony fine, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, some reasons he had learned of Piato: he graffed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement defire to have Plato in his companie, and to learne of him. So fundry letters came from Dionysius vnto Athans, divers requestes from Dion, and great intreaty made by certaine Pythagorian Philosophers, that prayed and perswaded Plato to come into Sicile, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his grave and wife instructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore Plato, as him felfe reporteth, blushing to him felfe, and fearing least he should gene men teach Dian

cause to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of him selfe he was vn- for the

Democratia: ment of the

ftare. Ariftocratia: the goutenmens of a few of the nobili-Plato came into Sicilia. unto Dionyfius the upon Plasoes

willing to do any worthie act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, A who was the only guide of all the rest, he should as it were recoursall Sicilia from her corruption and fickenes: he performed their requests that fent vnto him. But Dions enemies fearing the change and alteracion of Dionylius, they perfwaded him to call Philifus the Hiftoriographer home againe from banishment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp. and acquainted with the tyrans facions : to thend he should ferue as a counterpeace, to withstande Plate and his Philosophie. For this Philistus, from the first time that the tyrannie beganne to be established, did shew him selfe verie willing and conformable to the stablishment thereof, and had of long time kept the castell: and the voyce went, that he kept the mother of Dionysius the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrans knowledge. But afterwardes, Leptines having had two daughters by one woman, whom he intifed to fol- B lie being an other mans wife: he maried one of these his daughters vnto Philistus, and made not Dionysius privile to it before. The tyranne therewith was so offended, that he put Leptines woman in prison fast locked vp, and draue Philistus out of Sicilia. He being banished thus, repayred vnto some of his frendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke sea, where it seeand of Sicilia, meth he wrote the most parte of all his historie, being then at good leasure. For he was not called home againe during the life of Dionylius the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers have vnto Dion, caused them to procure Philistus calling home againe, as we have told you, as the man they thought would flicke flowtly in defense of the tyranny. So Philistus no fooner returned but he flowtly began to defend the tyranny: & others in contrary maner, denifed accusations to the tyran against Dion, accusing him that he had practifed with Theo- C dotes and Heraclides, to querthrowe the tyrannie of Dionylius, For Dion, in my opinion, hoped by Platoes comming to bridle and leffen a litle the ouerlicentious and imperious tyrannie of Dionysius, and thereby to frame Dionysius a wise and righteous governor. But on the other side, if he saw he would not follow his counsell, and that he yeelded not to his wise instructions: he then determined to put him downe, & to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into the handes of the Syrac vsans: not that he allowed of Democratia (to wit, where the people gouerne)but yet certainly thinking that Democratia was much better then the tyrannie, when they could not come vnto Ariflocratia, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie. Now prople, they could not come vinto Artipute arises of the sum of the sum allowed things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sicile, where he was maruelously received and home things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sicile, where he was maruelously received and home things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sicile, where he was maruelously received and home the sum of the su nored by Dionysius. For when he landed on the shoare, leaving his galley that brought him: D there was readie for him one of the kings rich and sumptuous chariots to conuey him to the castell: and the tyran made facrifice to geue the goddes thankes for his comming, as for some wonderful great good happe chaunced vnto his feigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modestie and temperaunce that was begon to be observed in feasts and bankets, the Court cleane chaunged, and the great goodnes and clemencie of the tyran in all thinges, in ministring iustice to euerie man: did put the Syrac v sans in great good hope of chaunge, and euerie man in the Court was verie defirous to geue him felfe to learning and Philosophie. So that, as men reported, the tyrannes pallace was full of fande and dust, with the numbers of stuof Dientfin, dentes that drewe plattes and figures of Geometrie. Shortlie after Plato was arrived, by chaunce the time was comen about to doe a solemne sacrifice within the castell, at whiche facrifice the Heraulde (as the manner was) proclaimed alowde the folemne prayer accuflomed to be done, that it woulde please the goddes long to preserue the state of the tyrannie: and that Dionylius being harde by him, fayd vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curfe me? This worde grieued Philifts and his companions to the harte, thinkinge that with time, by litle and litle, Plato woulde winne fuche estimacion and greate authoritie with Diomylius, that afterwardes they shoulde not be able to resist him: considering that in so short a time as he had bene with Dionysius, he had so altered his minde and courage. And there-Philifian ac. fore they nowe beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mowth together to accuse Dion: and sayed, that it was easie to be seene, howe he charmed and inchaunted Dionysius through Platoes eloquence, to make him willing to refigne his gouernment, bicause he woulde transferre it to the handes of the children of his sister Aristomaché. Others seemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS having comen before into

A Sicilia with a great armie, both by fea and land, they were all loft and caft away, and could not win the city of Syracvsa: & that now by one only Sophifter, they vtterly destroyed and ouerthrewe the Empire of Dionysius, perswading him to discharge the ten thowsand souldiers he had about him for his garde, to forfake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thowfand horfemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to feeke an vnknowen happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, refigning his prefent happines and felicitie to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleafauntlie, vnto Dion and his Neuewes. By fuch like accusarions and wicked tongues, Dionysius began first to mistrust Dion, and afterwardes to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vpon him. In the meane time they brought letters Dion wrote fecretlie vnto the Gouernors of the citie of CARTHAGE, Wil- Dion letters

B ling them that when they would make peace with Dionysius, they shoulde not talke with him who care vnleffe he stoode by: affuring them that he would helpe them to fet things in quietnes, & that the second s all should be well againe. When Dionysius had red these letters with Philistus, & had taken his aduise & counsel what he should do, as Times said the deceived Dion under pretence of recociliació, making as though he ment him no hurt, & faying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought Dion one day to the fea fide under his castell, and shewed him these letters, burdening him to have practifed with the CARTHAGINIANS against him. And as Dion went about to make him answere, to cleere himself: Dionysius would not heare him, but caused him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnafe, & commaunded the mariners to fet him a lande voon the coast of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was known abroad in the Dion fent de

C citie, euerie man thought it a cruell parte of Dionysius: insomuche that the tyrans pallacewas way by Dioin a maruelous pecke of troubles, for the great forowe the women made for the departure of tale. Dion. Moreover, the citie selfe of Syracvsa began to looke about them, looking for some fodaine great chaunge & innouation, for the tumult & vprore that would happen by meanes of Dions banishment, and for the mistrust also that all men would have of Dionysius. Dionysius. confidering this, and being affrayed of some misfortune, he gaue his frendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contonted that he should absent him selfe for a time: being affrayed, that in his sodaine angry modds he might peraduenture be compelled to do him some worse turne if he remained, bigause of his obstinacie and selfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto Dions frends two shippes, to carious D much goodes, money, and as many of Dions feruauntes as they woulde, and to convey them vnto him vnto Peloponnes vs. Dion was a maruelous rich man, & for the pompe of his fer, Dion wealth uice, and sumptuous moueables of his house, they were like vnto the person of a syradio All these riches Dions frendes brought abord vpon those shippes, and carried them vnto him, the

fides many other rich gifts, which the women and his frends fent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, Dion was maruelouslie esteemed among the GRECIANS: who by the tiches of a banished citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranne might be. But now concerning Plato: when Dion was exiled, Dionysius caused him to be lodged in his castell, and by this meanes craftilie placed, under cloke of frendshippe, an honorable garde about him; bicause he shoulde not returne into GRECE to seeke Dion, to tell him of the injurie he had shoe E vnto him. Howbeit Dionysius often frequenting his companie, (as a wilde beast is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke fo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tvrannicall loue. For he woulde haue Plato to loue none but him, and that he shoulde e- DANNING. fleeme him aboue all men liuing, being readie to put the whole realme into his handes; and ramifall has all his forces: fo that he woulde thinke better of him, then of Dion. Thus was this passionate "Thinke affection of Dionysius grieuous vnto Plato. For he was so drowned with the love of him, as men extreamelie gealous of the women they loue: that in a moment he woulde fod ainly fall out with him, and straight againe become frendes, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truelie, he had a maruelous desire to heare Platoes Philosophie: but on the other side, thereuerenced them that did diffwade him from it, and told him that he woulde spoyle him felfe.

if he entred ouerdeepelie into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupponhe fent Plato againe away, promifing him that the next fpring he woulde fende for Dion home. But Dionghia he brake promise therein, and yet sent him his reuenues: and prayed Plato to pardon him, from bing, from bing, SSSS ii

though he had not kept promise at his time appointed. For he alleaged the warre was the A cause, and that so some as he had ended his warre, he woulde sende for Dion: whome in the meane time he prayed to have pacience and not to attempt any sturre or alteracion against him, nor to speake cuill of him among the GRECIANS. This Plato sought to bring to passe, and brought Dien to studie Philosophie, and kept him in the Academy at Athens. Dien lay in the citie of ATHENS with one Callippus, whome he had known of long time, howbeit he bought him a house in the contrie, to lye there sometime for his pleasure, the which he gaue afterwards(at his returne into Sicilia)vnto Speufippus that kept him company, and was continually with him, more then with any other frend he had in ATHENS, through Platoes counfell: who to fosten and recreate Dions maners, gaue him the company of some pleasaunt conceited man, knowing that this Speulippus coulde modeltlie observe time and place to be plea- B faunt and merie: for which respect, Timon in his Satyricall leasts, calleth Spensippus a good leafter. Nowe Plato him felfe having vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of young children: Dion tooke the paines to teache and exercise them, and moreouer was him felfe at the whole charge of these playes, Plato suffering him to bestowe that liberality and curtesie vpon the Athenians: the which wanne Dion a great deale more good will, then Plato honor. Dion kept not still at Athens, but went also to see the other good cities of GRECE, passing his time away. He being at common feastes and assemblies with the chiefest men, and best learned in matters of state and gouernment, & neuer shewing any light partes, nor signe of tyrannicall pride in his maner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with all pompe and pleasure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well studied in Philoso- C phie, whereby he grew to be generallie beloued and effeemed of all men: the cities graunted him publike honors, and fent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counsells & affemblies. Furthermore, the LACED & MONIANS made him a Spart an & burges of the city, not passing for Dionysius displeasure, though at that time he had genen them great aide, in the warre they made against the THEBANS, Some report, that Dion on a time was intreated by Pt. addorus MEby the Gra-GARTAN, to come and see him at his house: and Dion went thither. This Ptaodorus was a maruelous great rich man, & therefore Dion feeing a great number of people standing at his gares, and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him he had such great busines: he turned vnto his frends that did accompanie him, who were angrie they made him tarie fo long at the gate, and fayd vnto them: what cause have we to thinke euill of him, sith we did the like when D we were at Syrac vs a? But Dionysius being incensed with enuie against him, and searing the good will the GR ECIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more sende it him, and feafed all his goodes, the which he gaue to his receivers to keepe. Furthermore, bicause he woulde cleere him selse of the infamie he had gotten amongest the Philosophers for Platoes sake, he sent for divers wife and learned men, and vainly covering to excell them all in wisedome, he was driven improperlie, and out of time, to alleage many wise sayinges he had learned of Plato. Thereuppon he beganne againe to with for him, and to condemne him felfe, for that he had no wit to vie him well when he had him at his commaundement, and that he had not heard so muche as he should have done of him: and like a tyranne as he was, madlie caried away with light defires, and eafilie channging minde from time to time, a sodaine ve- E hement desire tooke him in the heade, to have Plato againe. So he sought all the meanes and waies he could deuise, to pray Archytas the Pythagorian Philosopher to tel him, that he might boldly come, and to be his furery vnto him for that he would promile him : for first of all, they were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore Archytas fent thither Archidamus the Philosopher. Dionysius also sent certeine gallies, and some of his frendes thither, to pray Plato to come to him: and he him felfe wrote speciallie, and plainly, that it should not goe well with Dion, if Plato came not into Sicilia: but if he woulde be perswaded to come, that then he would doe what he would have him. Many letters and requests came vnto Dion from his wife and fifter, infomuche as Dion fo vied the matter, that Plato obeyed Dionyfius, without making any excuse at all. So Plato wryteth him selfe, that he was driven to come againe the third time Plates third into the straight of Sicilia:

Axchytas a Cendesh 4into Sicilia.

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis daungers passe.

Now

Nowe Plato being arrived in Sicilia, he made Dionysius a greatioyfull man, and filled all Sicilia againe with great good hope: for they were all verie desirous, and did what they could, to make Plato ouercome Philistus and the tyrannie, with his Philosophie, The women of Dionysius Court did entertaine Plato the best they could: but aboue all, Dionysius seemed to haue a maruelous trust and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his frendes. For he suffred Plato to come to him without searching of him, and oftentimes offred to geue him a great fumme of money: but Plato would take none of it. Therefore Ariftippus CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrannes Court in Sicilia, fayd that Dionylius bestowed his libera-

litie surelie. For, to vs that aske much he geneth litle, and much vnto Plato that requireth no- Ariffippus thing. After Dionysius had geuen Plato his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of Dion. Saying B Dionysius on the other side, at the first did vse him with fine delayes, but afterwards he shewed Dionysius. him selfe angrie in deede: and at length fell out with Plato, but yet so couertlie, that others faw it not. For Dionylius diffembled that, and otherwise in all other things he did him as much honor as he could deuife, practifing thereby to make him to forfake Dions frendshippe. Now

Plato found him at the first, that there was no trust to be genen to his wordes, and that all were but lyes and deuises he either sayd or did: howebeit he kept it to him selfe, and ever paciently bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he beleued him. They two thus finelie diffembling with eache other, thinking to deceive all men, and that none shoulde understande their secrets : Helycon CYZICENIAN, one of Platoes frendes, did prognosticate the e- Helycon A clipse of the funne. The same falling out as he had prognosticated, the tyran esteemed mar- Mathemati-

C uelously of him, and gaue him a filuer talent for his labor. Then Aristippus sporting with other cion. Philosophers, sayd he could tell them of a straunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognosticate, sayd he, that Plato and Dionysius will Arisippus be enemies ere it be long. In thend it came to passe, that Dionysius made porte sale of all Dions dimination. goodes, and kept the money to him felfe, and lodged Plato that before lay the next Court to his pallace, among the fouldiers of his gard, whom he knewe maliced him of long time, and fought to kill him: bicause he did perswade Dionysius to leave his tyranny and to live without his gard. Plato being in this instant daunger, Archytas sent Ambassadors foorthwith vnto Dio- Architas remyfine, in a galley of thirtie owers, to demaund Plato againe : declaring that Plato came againe quireth Plato

to Syracvsa, vppon his worde and caution. Dionysius to excuse him selfe, and to shewe that find D he was not angrie with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheere and feastes he coulde, and so sent him home with great shewes of good will. One day among the rest, he sayd vnto Plato: I am affrayed Plato, sayd he, that thou wilt speake cuill of me, when thou are among thy frendes and companions in the Academy. Then Plato finiling, aunfwered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they shoulde have suche scarcetie of matter in the Academy, as that they must needes talke of thee. Thus was Platoes returne, as it is reported, although that which he him selfe wryteth agreeth not much with this reporte. These things went to Dions harte, fo that shortly after he shewed him selfe an open enemie vnto Dionysius, but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife, Plate under couert words, sent Dienysius worde of it by his letters. And thus it was. After Dion was exiled Dionysius returning Dionysius

E Plato backe againe, he willed him fecretlie to feele Dions minde, whether he woulde not be maried Dione angrie that his wife should be maried to an other man: bicause there ranne a rumor abroade wife to an o-(whether it were true, or invented by Dions enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and coulde not live quietlie with his wife. Therefore when Plato was at ATHENS, and had tolde Dion of all thinges, he wrote a letter vnto Dionysius the tyranne, and did sette all other thinges downe so plainelie, that euerie man might vnderstande him, but this one thing only so darkelie, that he alone, and none other coulde vnderstande him, but him to whom he had wrytten: declaring vnto him, that he had spoken with Dion about the matter he wote of, and that he did lette him vnderstande he woulde be maruelous angrie, if Diomfine did it. So at that time, bicause there was great hope of reconciliacion betwene them, the tyranne did no-F thing latelie touching his fifter, but luffered her still to remaine with Dions sonne. But when

they were fo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that he had also sent home Plato in disgrace and displeasure: then he maried his fifter Arete SSSS iii

Polyxenus maried Thefla, his father Diam, fine ft . The noble unswere of Thesta, unto her breaher

The Philosoced Dions Arifotles dialogue de

(Dions wife) against her will, vnto one of his frends called Timocrates, not following therin his fathers inflice and lenitie. For Polyxenus that had maried his fathers fifter Thesta, being also become his enemie: he fled out of Sicilia. Dionysius the elder sent for his sister Thesia, and tooke her vp verie sharpely, for that she knowing her husbande would flie, she did not come and tell him of it. Thesta noblie aunswered him againe, and neuer was affrayed nor abashed: why, Dionylius, doest thou thinke me a woman so faint harted and beastlie, that if I had knowen my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the fea with him, and both haue runne one fortune together? Truely I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honor to haue bene called the wife of the banifined Polyxenus, then the fifter of thee a tyran. Dionylius maruelled to heare his fifter speake thus boldly, and the Syracvsans wondred at her noble corage: infomuch that when the tyran-B nie was vtterly destroyed, they did not refuse to doe her all the honor they could deuise, as vnto a Queene. And when the was deade also, all the citizens of Syrac vsa by a common decree, did accompanie her bodie at her buriall. This litle digression from our historie, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now againe to our matter. Dion from thenceforth disposed him felfe altogether vnto warre, against Platoes counsell and aduise: who did his best endeuour to diffivade him from it, both for the respect of Dionysius good enterteinment he had geuen him, as also for that Dion was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other side, Speusippus, and his other frendes did prouoke him vnto it, and did perswade him to deliuer Sicilia from the sauerie and bondage of the tyran, the which helde vp her handes vnto him, and woulde receive him with great loue and good will. For whilest Plato lay at Syracvsa, Speulippus keeping the ci- C tizens companie more then Plato did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first they were affrayed to open them selues vnto him, and frankelie to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie vnto the tyran, sent amongest them to feele their mindes: but within a short time they beganne to trust him, and were all of one minde, for they prayed and perswaded Dion to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of shippes, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to hyre a shippe, and to lend the Sicilians his bodie and name against Dionysius. Speusippus reporting these newes vnto Dion, did put him in good hart againe: wherupon he began fecretly to leauie men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers doe set forward Dions warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the phers advan- common wealth did aide him, and divers of them also that onely gave their mindes to the D studie of Philosophie : and among them, Eudemus CYPRIAN (on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue of the foule) and Timonides LEVCADIAN WERE with him. Furthermore, there ioyned also with him Miltas THESSALIAN, a Soothfayer, and that had bene his companion in studie in the Academy. Nowe of all them whom the tyran had banished, (which were no leffe then a thowfande persons) there were but onely fiue and twentie that durst accompanie him in this warre. For all the other were suche dastardes, that they for fooke him, and durst not goe with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACYNTHS. where they leavied all their fouldiers, that were not about eight hundred in all, but all of them braue fouldiers, and valliant men, and excellentlie well trained in warres: and to conclude, such lustie men, as would incorage all the armie Dion hoped of at his ariuall in Sicile, E to fight like valliant men with them. These hyered fouldiers, the first time that they vnderstoode it was to go into Sicilia, to make warre with Dionysus: they were amased at the first, and milliked the iorney, bicause it was vndertaken rather of malice and spite that Dion had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell, who having no better hope, tooke vppon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the fouldiers were offended with their Captaines that had pressed them, bicause they had not told them of this warre before But after that Dion by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies have euill fundacions & are subject vnto ruine, & that he led them not into Sicilia so much for souldiers, as he did to make the Captaines of the Syracysans, & the other Sicilians, who of long time defired nothing more then occasion to rise. And, when after him also Alcimenes, (acopanion with p him in this warre, and the chiefest man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility & estimacion) did speake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to goe whether they would

A lead them. It was then in the hart of sommer, and the wind blew called the GR ECIAN winds the Moone being at the full, and Dion having prepared to make a fumptuous facrifice vnto the god Apollo, he led all his men armed with white corfelets in procession into the templer and after the facrifice done, he made them a feast in the parke or shewe place of the ZACYN-THIANS. There the tables were layed, and the fouldiers wondred to fee the great state & magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and filuer, and fuch other furniture and preparation, as passed a private mans wealth: then they thought with them selves, that a man be feeling. ing so olde, and Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such daunger, without good ground, and great affurance of his friends ayde & helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feasts: sodainly the Moone eclipsed, Dion thought The eclipses B it not straunge to see an eclipse, considering the revolutions of the eclipses, and knowing ve- the Moone,

ry well it is a shadowe that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, bicause of the direct inter- and cause position of the earth betwixt her and the Sunne. But bicause the souldiers that were affravd of the science. and aftonied withall, floode in neede of fome comfort and encoragement: Miltas the Soothfaver standing up in the middest amongest them, sayd unto them. My fellowe souldiers, be of good cheere, and affure your selues that we shall prosper: for God doth foreshewe vs by this fight we fee, that some one of the chiefest thinges now in highest place and dignitie shall be eclipsed. And at this present time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, than the tyrannie of Dionysius? Therefore you must thinke, that so soone as you arrive in Sicilia, your felues shall put out his light and glory. This interpretacion of the eclipse of the Moone, did C Mileas the Soothsayer make, before all the whole companye. But touching the swarme of bees that lighted on the poope of Dions (hippe, he told him, and his friends privately: that he Wonders

was affrayd his acts which should fall out famous and glorious, should last bur a while, & shopining a few dayes, would straight cosume away. It is reported also, that Dionysius in like manDion,

ner had many straunge signes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came pronders are an Eagle that fnatched the partifan out of the fouldiers handes, and caried it quite away with pearing must her, and then let it fall into the fea. The fea also beating against the walls of the castell, was as Diony sum.

of it, found it true. Furthermore, a fowe farrowed pygges that lacked no parts of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothfayers fayd did fignific rebellion, and disobedience of his n subjects: & that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetenes of the falt water prognosticated to the Syracysans, change of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuil gouernment: and that the Eagle, Jupiters minifter, and the partifan, the marke and token of the kingdom and Empire, did betoken that Jupiter the chiefe of all gods had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. Theopompus reporteth this matter thus. So Dions fouldiers were imbarked into two great shippes of butden, and another third shippe that was not very great, and two pynnases with thirtye owers ration, followed them. For their armor and weapon, beside those the souldiers had: he caried two thowsand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pykes, and plenty of vittells: that they should lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the sea, considering that E their iorney stoode altogether at the curtesie of the windes and sea, and for that they were af-

frayd to lande, understanding that Philistus roade at anker in the coast of Apulgira, with a

fleete of shippes that lay in wayte for their comming. So having a pleasant gale of wind, they

at the South But Dion being affrayd to land so neare his enemies, he was defirous to goe fur-

fweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduite or running water: as those that tasted

fayled the space of twelue dayes together, and the thirtene day they came to the foreland of Sign ra called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if Puchymus, the foreland they willingly loofed into the sea, and lost that poynt, they were fure they should lose also ma- of sielle. ny nights and dayes in vaine in the middest of the sea, being then sommer time, and the wind

ther, and so past by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the Northwind rose so bigge and great, Aremestical that with great violence it draue backe their ships from the coast of Sicilia. Furthermore, the feat F lighning and thunder mingled withall (bicause it was at that time when the starre Arcturus gainst Dion. beginneth to shewe) it made so terrible a tempest, and powred downe such a fore shower of rayne vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed with all, and knew not whether the wind

SSSS iiii

DION. 1040 would drive them; till that fodainly they faw the florme had cast them youn the Ile of Care. A CINA, (which is on the coast of LIBY A) and specially where it is most daungerous to arrive for the rocks, for their shippes were like to have runne you them, and to have made shippewracke. But with much a doe they bare of the (hippes with their great longe poles, and wandred vp and downe the fea, not knowing whether they went, vntill the storme ceased. Then they met a thippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Marriners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruelous angry that the fea was calme, there rose a little South wind from the land, although they least looked for any fuch wind at that time, and litle thinking it would so have chaunged: but seeing the wind rise bigger and bigger, they packed on all the fayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they crossed the sea, and sayled from the coast of Libia, directly vnto Sicilband had B the winde so lucky, that at the fift daye they were neare vnto a litle village of Sicilia, called Synalus, Cap- Minoa, the which was subject to the Carthaginians, Synalus Carthaginian, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of MINOA, and Dions friende, was there by

chaunce at that present, who being ignorant of his enterprise & comming, did what he could

to keepe Dions fouldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding sodainly lept a land armed,

but flue no man. For Dion had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendship he bare the

Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred the townes.

hand ouer head amongest them, and so wannethe market place. When both the Captaines

met, and that they had spoken together, Dion redeliuered the towne into Synalus hands again,

could to make much of the fouldiers, and holpe Dion to provide him of all things necessary.

SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the AGRIGENTINES, which dwell in

rumor of their comming ranne straight to Syracvs A. Thereuppon Timocrates that had ma-

ried Arete, Dions wife, and Dionysius the fathers sister, and vnto whom Dionysius the yonger had

left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he prefently dispatched

a post with letters, to aduertise Dionysius of Dions comming. He him selfe also in the meane

that part called Ecnomys, came first to joyne with him, and after them, the Geloians. The D

without any hurt or violence offred him. Synalss on the other fide did indeuor him felfe all he C

Carthaginians

But this did most of all encorage the souldiers, bicause Dionysius at their arrivall, was not then in Sigilia: for it chaunced fo, that not many dayes before he went into I TALY, with foure score sayle. Therefore when Dion willed them to remayne there a fewe dayes to refresh them felues, bicause they had bene so fore sea beaten a long time together: they them selues would not, they were fo glad to imbrace the occasion offred them, and prayed Dion to leade them forthwith to Syracvs A. Dion leaving all his superfluous armor and provision in the hands of Synalus, and praying him to fende them to him when time ferued: he tooke his way towardes

A firaunge chaunce happened unto the Meffenger,sent to Dianyfina.

time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but bicause they were vncerteine whether this rumor was true or falle, being affrayd, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a straunge missortune vnto the Messenger, that caried the letters vnto Dionysius. For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arrived in the citie of RHEGGIO of ITALYES side, making haste to come to the citie of CAVLONIA, where Dionyline was: he met by the way one of his acquain- E tance that caried a mutton but newly facrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the Messenger spurred away with all the speede he could possible. But when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowsie for lacke of sleepe, that he was driven to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground, in a wodde hard by the high way. The fauor of this fleshe brought a woulfe to him, that caried away the fleshe and the portmantew it was wrapt in and in the which also were his letters of aduertisement, which he caried vnto Dionyflus. When he awoke out of his fleepe, and faw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring uppe and downe a long time to feeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could never find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyranne without his letters, but rather to flie into some vnknowen place where no body knew him. Thus F ouerlate received Dionysius advertisement by others of this warre, which Dion made in SI-CILIA. In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came and ioyned with Dions army, in the highe

A way towards Syracvia: and still there came vnto him also a great number of the Syracvi sans that were uppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other fide certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the castell of Epipoles with Timeerates, of purpose to keepe it: Vpon a false rumor Dion gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would first goe against their townes: they for sooke Timoerates, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. Dion vnderstanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called MACRE: he prefently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the river of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue tenne furlongs of: and there staying a while, he sacrificed vnto the river, and made his prayer, and worshipped

the rifing of the Sunne. At the felfe same instant also, the Soothsayers came and told him, that B the gods did promise him assured victorie. And the souldiers also seeing Dion weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonic of the facrifice: all of them with one selfe good will tooke euery man one of them, beeing no lesse then fine thowsande men that were gathered together by the way, and but flenderly armed with fuch thinges as came first to hand, howbeit supplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when Dion commaunded them to marche, for ioy they ranne, and incoraged one another with great cryes, to shew them selues valliant for recourrye of their libertie. Nowe for them that were within the citie self of Syracvsa, the noble men & chief Citizens went to receive them at the gates in their best gownes. The common people on the other side ranne and set voon them that tooke part with the tyranne, and spoyled them that were called the PROSA-C. GOGIDES (as much to fay, the common Promoters of men) the detestablest villaines, hateful to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and bufietale bearers, would iet vp and downe

the citie, and mingle amonge the Citizens, having an oer in every mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and busie headed, to know what every man sayd and did, and then to goe cary it to the tyranne. These men were they that had their payment first of all for they killed them Distriction with dry blowes, beating them to death with staues. When Timocrates could not enter into flame. the castell with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and fled out of the citie, and flying made all men affrayd and amased where he came, enlarging Dions power by his report, bi-

cause it should not seeme that for feare of a trifle, he had for saken the citie. In the meane time, Dion came on towards the citie with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him D plainly from the citie, marching foremost of all, armed with a fayer bright white corfelet, hauing his brother Megacles on his right hande of him, & Callippus ATHENIAN On the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed a hundred souldiers that were straungers, chosen for his gard about him, and the rest came matching after in good order of battel, being led by their Captaines. The Syracvs and faw him comming, and went Dionrecels out and received him as a holy and bleffed procession, that brought them their libertie & popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fortyeyeares. When Division

was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he caused his trompetter sownd to ap-

peafe the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded a Herawld to proclayme a - Dionrefles lowd, that Dion and Megacles, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did fet all the Syna-rethibe Sy-E cysans at libertie, and all the other Sicilians also, from the bondage and subjection of the libertie,

tyranne: and bicause Dion him selfe was desirous to speake vnto the people, he went to the vpper part of the towne called Acradina. The Syracus and all the streetes thorough as he paffed by, had on either hand of him prepared facrifices, and fet vp tables, and cuppes vppon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast slowers and frutes on him, and made prayers

vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now vnder the castell there was a place called Pentapyla, a Dionyfine clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which Dionyfind had caused to be made, stacked and it was of a good prety height. Dion got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to

the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his contry men to doe their endeuor to recouer their libertie againe, and to mainteyne it. They being in a F maruelous ion withall, and desirous to please Dion: did choose him and his brother Megaeles their Lieuetenants generall, with absolute power and authoritie. Afterwards also, by the consent of Dion him selfe and his brother, and at their requestes in like manner, they chose

DION. 1042 twenty other Captaines, of the which the most part of them had bene banished by the tyran. A and were returned againe with Dion. The Soothfayers and Prognosticators liked it well, and fayd it was a good figne for Dion, that he trode that fumptuous building and workemanship of the tyranne vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but bicause the hande of the diall did shewe the course of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was chosen Lieuetenant generall with absolute power and authoritie: they were af-

frayd againe, that it was a figne Dions affayres should have a sodaine chaunge of fortune. After this, Dion having taken the castell of EPIPOLES, he set all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as prisoners in captiuitie by the tyranne, and enuyroned the castell round about with a wall. Within feuen dayes after, Dionysius returned by sea to the castell of Syracvs a, and therewithall also came the carts loden with armor and weapon to Syracvsa, the R which Dion had left with Synalus: the which Dion caused to be distributed among the Citizens of Syracy sathat had none. Others did furnishe them selues as well as they could, and shewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their Dissipline fit libertie. In the meane time, Dissyline lent Ambassadors, first vnto Dissy privately, to see if he would yeld to any composition. But Dion would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRA-CVSANS Openly what they had to fay, being men that were free, and enjoyed libertie. Then the Ambaffadors spake in the behalfe of the tyranne, vnto the people of Syracvsa, promifing them with mild and gentle wordes, that they should paye no more subsedies and taxes, but very litle, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then such as they them felues should like of. The Syracus ans made a mockery at those offers, and Dionalso aun- C. fivered the Ambassadors, and willed Dionysius to send no more to the Syrac vsans, before he had disposses him selfe of his tyranny: & so that he would leave it, he would be his meane to obtayine all things iust and reasonable of the people. Dionysius liked very well of this good offer, and therefore fent his Ambassadors againe to praye the Syracus ansthat they would appoynte some amongest them to come to the castell, to talke with him for the benefit and commoditie of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleage, and they also what aunswer he would make. Dion chose certaine whome he sent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie amonge the Syracvsans, which came from the castell: that Diomyfins would willingly of him felfe, rather then by reason of Dions comming, depose him felse of the tyrannie. But this was but a false alarom, and crafty fetche of Diony lius, to intrappe the D Syracys ans by. For those that were fent him from the citie, he kept them prisoners every man of them: and one morning having made his fouldiers drinke wine luftely, which he kept in pay to gard his person, he sent them with great furie to assault the wall the Syracvsans had built against the castell. Nowe, bicause the Syracysans looked for nothing lesse then for the sodaine assault, and for that these barbarous people with a wonderfull corage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them also did set vpon the Syrac vsans: there was not a man of them that durft make head to fight with them, fauing the fouldiers that were straungers, whome Dion had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noyse, ranne straight to repulse them, and yet they them selues could not well tell what they should doe vpon that fodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyfe and hurly burley of the E Syracysans which fled with great diforder, and came and mingled them felues amongeft them. Til at length, Dion perceiuing he could not be heard, to shew them by deede what they should doe: he went first him selfe against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cryes. Now for Dion him felfe, in deede bicause of his age, he was heauier then was requisite for one that should away with the paynes of such battells: but he had fuch a valliant corage in him, that he went thorough with all luftely, and flue them that did affaile him. Yet he had his hand also thrust thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the darts and thrusts by hande which he received on them, they were so mangled and hacked with such a number of darts and pykes passed thorough F his shield and broken on him, that in the ende he was beaten downe: how beithis souldiers refcued him straight. Then he made Timonides their Captaine, and he him selfe tooke his horse

charge and office he bare vnder the tyrannes: how beit a very vnconstant man in every thing. & would not continue long in a mind, & least constant in warres, where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with Dion in PELOPONNES VS, wherefore he determined to come with a power by him felfe, and with his owne fleete against the tyranne. So he arris, Hereclides ued at length at Syracvsa, with feuen gallies, and three other shippes, where he found Dio-Syrainsa mylius againe shut vp into his castell with a wall, and the Synacy sans also to have the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauor with the common people all the wayes he could possibly deuise, having by nature a certaine pleasing manner to winne the common people, which feeke nothing els but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to winne them, bicaule the people did already mislike Dions squeritie, as a man too squere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will so much, and were growen fo stronge headed, bicause they sawe them selues the stronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and docrule) before they were fully fet at libertie. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authoritie

A backe, and went up and downe the citie, staying and quieting the flying of the STRACY SANS. Then he fent for his fouldiers the straungers, which he had put in garrison in that part of the citie called the A CRADINE to keepe it, and brought them being freshe, against the barbarous people of the castell that were wearied, and almost all of them discoraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this salve out, in hope to have taken all the citte at the first onset, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectacion, they met these valliant fouldiers and freshe supply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the castell. And the GRECIAN fouldiers on the other fide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the fafter vpon them, so that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driven within their walls, after they had flayne three score and sourceeene of Dions men, and lost a great number of their owne. This was a noble victorie and therefore the Syracvs ans gaue the fouldiers Dione villary that were straungers, an hundred siluer Minas, in reward for their good service: & they gave of Diony state.

ons fonnes name, though Timaus writeth he was called Areteus, after his mothers name Are-

24. But in such matters, me thinkes Timonides is better to be credited, bicause he was his friend

thing and preferuation of the tyrannie; and afterwards of cruell threats against those whome.

he should loue best, as his wife, his sonneand lister: and last of all, full of most humble requests and intreaties with forowe and lamentacion. But that which most moued Dion of all other

was, that he required him not to destroye the tyrannye, but rather to take it for him selfe, and

not to fet them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the mischiese he had

done vnto them: & that he would him selfe take vpon him to be Lord, sauing by that meanes

the liues of his parents and friends. When these letters had bene red before the whole affem-

bly of the people, the Syracusans thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with ad-

miration, the inflexible constancy and magnanimitie of Dion, that stoode firme and fast for iu-

flice and vertue, against such vehement intreatie and perswasion of his kinssolke and friends:

but they contrarily began to be affrayd, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessitie should be

forced to pardon the tyranne, for the great pledges and oftages he had of him. Wherefore,

Dion their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to Dion by a trompet from the castell, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was

one of them directed: to my father: the which Hipparinus wrote vnto him. For that was Di-Hipparinus,

and companion in armes. All the other letters that were fent, were openly red before the affembly of the Syracusans, and did only concerne requests of these women unto Dion, The SYRACVS ANS would not have the supposed letter of his sonne to be openly red: but Dion a confirmation of their mindes opened it and sound that it was Dional to their mindes opened it and sound that it was Dional to their mindes opened it and sound that it was Dional to the sound to the soun

gainst their mindes opened it, and found that it was Dionysius letter, who by wordes, made the Dion direction of it vnto Dion, but in effect, he spake vnto the Syracvsans. For in sight, it seemed a manner of request and instification of him selse: but in truth, it was written of purpose to accuse Dion, First of all he remembred him of the thinges he had done before, for the establi-

they began to choose them new gouernors, and the rather, bicause they heard that Heraclides was comming vnto them, whome they loued fingulerly well . This Heraclides was one of Heraclides them that had bene banished, a good souldier and Captaine, and well esteemed of for the

of the governors: they all ranne in a furye, of their ownelight heads, vnto the place of com- A mon affemblies, and there choic Heraclides Admirall. Then Dion understanding this, came to complaine of the injurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to give this power now vnto Heraclides, was to take that away which they had first given vnto him : bicause he should no more be generall, if they chose any other Admirall by sea then him selfe. The Sy-RACV SANS then, as it were against their willes, did reuoke the power they had given vnto Heraclides: but afterwards Dion fent for Heraclides, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honeftly, nor profitably done of him, to fue to the people, & to contend for honor against him in so daungerous a tyme, when the least occasion in the world was enough to have marred all. Afterwards Dion him selfe called an affembly againe of the citie, and established Heraclides Admirall: and perswaded the R

Citizens to give him fouldiers, as he had in deede. Heraclides outwardly feemed to honor Dion, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alway at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, fecretly he inticed the common people to rebell, & to stirre vp those whom he knew meete men to like of chaunge. Whereby he procured Dion such trouble, and brought him into such perplexitie, that he knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them adulle to let Dionylius quietly come out of the castell: then they accused him, and sayd he did it to saue his life. If on the other side. bi-

gainft Dion.

Heraclides.a

make the

cause he would not trouble them, he continued seege still, and did establishe nothing: then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the warres in length, bicause he might the lenger time remaine their chiefetaine generall, and so to keepe the Citizens lenger in feare. At C Soft a wicked that time there was one Softs in SYRACVS A, 2 man of no name, but noted among the SYRA-CVS ANS for his villany and wickedness efteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might vnchecked licentiously speake what he would, as in deede he did. For he seeking to doe Dion a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsel he stoode vp on his feete, and called the SYRACVSANS beaftes, (amongest many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not per-

gainft him.

ceiue, that being come from a fond and droncken tyrannie, they had nowe receiued a fober master, and a wife and ware tyranne. So when he had thus openly shewed him selfe an enemy vnto Dion, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was feene ronning up and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore bloud, as if he had bene followed by men to have flayne him . Thus Sofis comming in this manner into the mid- D dest of the market place, cryed out, that Dions straungers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this fort, thewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuoufly, and cried out vpon Dion, and fayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by feare of murther and daunger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to speake. Nowe though the whole affembly hereuppon fell into an vprore withall, Diox notwithstanding came thither to cleare him felfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this Softs was brother to one of Dionyfus gard: who had put into his head, in this fort to put the citie of Syracus ain an uprore, bicause Dionysius had no other hope nor meanes to escape, but by stirring vp faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgions were fent for forthwith to fearche the wounde of this Sofis: who founde B that it was rather a litle scratche, then any violent wound given him. For the woundes or cuts of a fword, are euer deepest in the middest: and Sosis cut was but very litle, and not deepe, hauing had many beginnings, and given him (as it feemed) at fundry times, that for very paine, the party that cut him was driven to leave of, & so came to cut him at divers times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a raser before the affembly, and reported that as they came, they met Sofis by the way all bloudied: who fayd, that he fled from Dions fouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereuppon they prefently followed them, but found no man, and onely they faw a rafer, which fome bodye had cast vpon a hollow stone thereabout, where they first saw him comming vnto them. Thus Sosis deuise had but euill successe. For beside all these proofes and tokens, Dions houshold servaunts F came to be a witnes against him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with a rafer in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse Dian, knewe not what to fay

A the matter, but shroncke away : whereuppon the people condening Sofis to death, they were soft condens quiet againe with Dion. Yet were they alwaies affraid of these souldiers that were straungers.

specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the tyranne, was by sea, after that Philiftus was come from the coast of Apvolta with a great number of gallies to ayde the tyranne. For then they thought, that these souldiers the straungers being armed at all partes to fight by land, they would do them no more feruice by lea: bicause the Citizens them selues were they that kept them in fafetie, for that they were men practifed to fight by fea, and were also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this, the onely thing that made them

to be coragious again, was the good fortune they had at the battel by fea, in the which when

they had ouercome Philiftus, they cruelly and barbaroufly vsed him. Truely Ephorus faith, that Philiftus flain B Philistus flue him felfe, when he sawe his galley taken. Howbeit Timonides (who was alway with Dien from the first beginning of this warre) writing vnto Speulippus the Philosopher saith that Philistus was taken aliue, bicause his galley ranne a land: and that the Syracysans first tooke of his curaces, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villanie and fpight they could, they cut of his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the citie called ACRADINE, and then to cast it into the common primie. Timeus also to spight him the more, fayth that the boyes tyed the deadebodye by his lame legge, and so dragged him vp and downe the citie, where all the Syrac vs ans did what villanie to it they could, being glad to fee him dragged by the legge, that had fayd Dienyfius should not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the C legge against his will . Now Philistus reporteth this matter thus, not as spoken to Dionysius by

him selfe, but by some other. But Timeus taking a just occasion and culler to speake cuil of the Timeus, and good will, fidelitie, and care that Philiftus had alwayes feemed to thew in the confirmation & Histories 44 defence of the tyrannie: doth liberally bestow injurious wordes on him in this place. Nowe short regrefor them whome he had in deede offended, if they of malice and spight to be reuenged, did med. offerhim crueltie, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that fince

his death haue written the leasts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shewe them selves discreete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and estimation, they should not so fondly and outragiously haue reproued the aduersities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honestest man, D as vnto him. Thus fondely doth Ephorus prayle Philiftus, who though he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dithonest partes. and eloquently to deuise by honest words to defend an euill cause: yet can not he with all the fiue wits he hath excuse him self, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath

most fauored tyrannes, and that hath euer loued, and specially defired power, wealth, and alliance with tyrannes. But he in my opinion taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that nether doth commend Philiftus doings, nor yet casteth his aduersities in his teeth to his reproche. After Philistus death, Dionysius sent vnto Dion, to make him an offer to deliuer him the castell, armor, munition, and souldiers that were in it, with money also to paye them for fine monethes space. For him selfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to goe safely into Ira-E 1 y, and to lye there, to take the pleasure of the frutes of the contry called GYARTA, which was

within the territorie of Syracvs a, and lyeth out from the sea towardes the mayne land, Dion refused this offer, and aunswered the Ambassadors that they must moue the Syracvanisit it. They supposing they should easily take Dionysius aliue, would not heare the Ambassadors speake, but turned them away. Dionysius seeing no other remedie, lest the castell in the handes Dienysius styof his eldeft sonne Apollocrates, and having a lusty gale of winde, he secretly imbarked cer this man halound had wind having a lusty gale of winde, he secretly imbarked cer this man halound had wind have been a large that the secret winds. taine of his men he loued best, with the richest thinges he had, and so hoysed sayle, vnwares Apollogrates to Heraelides, the Admirall of Syracus A. The people were maruelously offended with He- the eldess raclides for it, and beganne to mutine against him. But Heraclides, to pacific this tumult of the Dion fine the

people, suborned one Hippon an Orator, who preferred the lawe Agraria vnto the people, for ponger. F the division of all the Iland amongest them; and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no landes. Heraclides gitting his confent to this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against Dion, that with stoode it: perswa-

Signes appearing to the Sy

1046 ded the Syrac vsans not onely to confirme the lawe Hippon had propownded, but alforo A discharge the hyered straungers, to choose other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid them selues of Dions seuere gouernment. But they supposing straight to have bene rid from the tyranny, as from a long and grieuous ficknes, ouerrashly taking vpon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid them felues, and ouerthrew Dions purpofe: who like a good Phisition was carefull to see the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were affembled to choose new officers in the middest of sommer, there sel such horrible thunders, and other terrible stormes, & vnfortunate signes in the element, that for the space offifteene dayes together, the people were stil scattered and dispersed when they were assembled: infomuch, that being affraide of these signes aboue, they durst not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had chosen a fayer time to proceede B to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with enery fight and noyle) fodainly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnes against the carter that

draue him, and breaking his yoke afonder, ranne straight to the Theater, and there made the

people runne into euery corner, to flye and faue them felues: and then flinging, and bearing

all downe before him that stoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the citie, as the e-

nemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithstanding, the SYRACVS ANS making light ac-

compt of all these signes, they chose fine and twenty Captaines, of the which Heraclides was

one: and fecretly they fent to feele the hiered fouldiers, to fee if they could entice them from Dion, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men, as them selues of Syracysa. The souldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully & C louingly tooke Dion amongest them with their armor and weapon, and putting him in the middest of them, led him in this manner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reprouing Dion depar their vnthankfulnes and villanie vnto all those they met by the way. Then the Syracus ans despiling them for their smal number, & bicause they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other fide to them selues for that they were the greater number: they came to assayle them, supposing they should easily our come them in the citie, & kil every man of them. Dion being thus at a straight, that of necessitie he must fight against his owne contry men, or els be flaine him felfe with his fouldiers: he held up his hands to the SYRAC VSANS & very earneftly praied them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the castell that was full of their enemies, which shewed them selues vpon the wals, & saw what they did. In the ende, when he D faw that he could not pacific their furie & tumult, and that all the citie was in an vprore with the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who like the sea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his fouldiers to give any charge vpon them, who notwithstanding made a countenaunce with great cryes, and ratling of their harnes, as if they had ment to ronne on them.

Then the Syracus and durst not abide by it, but ranne away like sheepe through the streets,

& no man chased them. So Dion called backe his men againe, & led them directly into the co-

lines of the try of the LEONTINES. The the new officers & gouernors of Syracvsa, perceiuing that the Бугаси[апл. women laughed them to scorne: bicause they would recouer the shame they had lost, they armed their men a new againe, & did marche after Dion to fight with him, whome they ouertooke at a river, as he was ready to passe over. Then began their horsemen a little to skirmishe B

seth out of

S)ra:u[a.

The Leon-

with Dions company. But when they faw he did no more beare with their faults for contries fake, but frowned in deede vpon them, & did fet his men in battel ray against them: then they turned their backs againe, with moreshame and reproache then before, and so fled vnto the citie of Syracus a, & had not many of their men flaine. The LEONTINES received Dion very honorably, tooke the straungers his fouldiers, and gaue them pay, & made them free Citizens with them: & fent Ambaffadors also vnto the Syrac vsans, to wil them to let the straugers hauetheir pay. The Syracvs ans on their fide also, fent Ambassadors vnto the LEON-TINES to accuse Dion. So all their confederats were assembled in the citie of the LEONTINES, &in that affembly, after both parties had bene heard, to heare what they would fay:it was indged that the Syracv sans were to blame. How beit they would not stand to the judgement of their confederats, for they were now growen proud & careles, bicause they were gouerned by no man, but had Captaines that studied to please them, & were affraid also to displease them.

A After that, there arrived certain gallies of Dionysius, at Syracysa, of the which, Nypsius N BA-POLITANWAS captaine: which brought vittels & money, to help the that were beleged within the castel. These gallies were fought with, & the Syracys ans obtained victorie, and tooke foure of the tyrannes gallies with three bancks of owers a peece: howbeit they fondly abufed their victorie. For they having no body to commaund nor rule them, imployed all their ioy, in ryoting and bancketting, and in fond and diffolute meetings, taking fo litle care and re- The meeting. gard to their busines, that now when they thought the castel was sure their owne, they almost some and lost their citie. For Nypsius perceiuing that every part of the citie was out of order, and that synandam. the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but by bbe and drinke drunke,

dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the gouernors them selues were very R glad also to see such feathing, or els for that they diffembled it, and durst not commaund and compell them that were droncke: he wisely tooke the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut up the castell, and wanne it, and ouerthrewe it. Then he sent the barbarous fouldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The Syrac vs ans then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue presentemedie. they were fo amazed and fodainely fet on: for in deede they made a right facke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrewe the wall, in another place they carried away women and litle children prisoners into the castell, weeping and crying out: and lastly.

they made the Captaines at their wits ende, who could give no present order, nor have their men to serue them against their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery side amongest c them. The citie being thus miserably in garboyle, and the ACRADINE also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rife againe: euery man thought then with him felfe that Dion must be sent for , but yet no man moued it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their vnthankefulnes and ouergreat folly they had committed, in driving him away . Yet necessitie inforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederats that cryed, they must fend for Dion, and the PELOPONNESIANS his fouldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Assoone as the first worde was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the Syracysans cryedout, there was the poynt: and they were so glad of it, that the water stoode in their eyes for ioy, and befought the gods it would please them to bringe him vnto them, they were so D desirous to haue him againe. For they called to minde howe valliant and resolute he was in daunger, and how that he was neuer affrayde, but did encorage them with his manhood in

fuch fort, that being led by him, they were not affrayd to fet vpon their enemies. So the confederats for them, fent presently Archonides and Telefides vnto him: and the noble men that ferued on horsebacke, they sent him also fine amongest them, beside Hellanieus. Who tooke The Syracustheir horses, and posted for life, so that they came to the citie of the LEONTINES about fant doe fend Sunne set, and lighting from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled downe at Dions gaine. feete, and weeping, tolde him the miferable state of the Syracysans, Straight there came divers of the Leontines, and many of the Peloponnesian fouldiers unto Dion, mistru-

fting then that there was some newes in hand, to see the earnest and humble sute the Ambas-E fadors of Syracysa made vnto him . Wherefore Dion tooke them prefently with him, and brought them him felfe vnto the Theater, where the common counsells and affemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ranne enery man to heare what the matter was . Then Archonides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, tolde openly before the whole affemblie, the greatnes of their miserie, and requested the hyered fouldiers to come and ayde the SYRA-CVSANS, forgetting the injurie they had received: confidering that they had more dearely payd for their follye, then they them selues whome they had so injured, would have made them to haue suffered. When they had sayd their mindes, there was a great silence through all the Theater: and then Dion rose vp, and beganne to speake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not suffer him to speake; wherefore the hyered souldiers being fory to

fee him weepe, prayed him notto trouble him felfe, but to be of good corage. Then Dion letting goe the sorowe and griefe he had conceiued, he beganne to speakevnto them in this manner. My Lordes of Peloponnesvs, and you also the confederats: I have called you Disservation

DION. 1048 dini, perfect to gether to consult with you, what you should doe. For my selfe, it were no honesty for me to A angunem 19 confult what I should do now, when the city of Syracvs a standeth in peril of destruction: & therefore if I can not faue it from destruction, yet at the least I wil bury my selfe in the fire and ruine of my contry. But for you if it please you once more to helpe vs. vnaduised & more vnfortunate people: you shal by your meanes set the poore distressed city of Syracvs againe 2 foote, which is your deede. Or if it be fo, that remebring the injuries the Syrac vsans haue offred you, you wil suffer it to be destroyed: yet I besech the gods that at the least they will requite your valliantnes, fidelity, & good loue you have borne me vntil this prefent, befeeching " you to remêber Dion, who nether for sooke you at any time when you have bene injuried, nor his cotry men, when they were in trouble. So, going on stil with his tale, the mercenary straugers stepped forth with great noise, & praied him to leade them to ayde Syracvsa. Then the B Ambaffadors also that were fent from the Syracv sans, faluted & imbraced them, & prayed the gods to bleffe Dion & them, with al the good hap that might be. So when al was whisht & quiet, Dion willed them forthwith to goe & prepare them selues, & that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aide Syrac vsa. But now

at SYRACVSA, while day light lasted, Dionylius fouldiers & captaines did al the mischief & vil-

lany they could in the city. & when night came, they retired again into their castel, having lost

very few of their men. Then the seditious gouernors of the SYRACVEANS tooke hart againe

vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be conteted with that they had done: & therfore

began a new to perswade the citizens to let Dion alone, & not to receive him with his merce-

The incomflancy of the Syracufani.

no fins foul-

nary fouldiers if they came to aide him, saying, that they them selues were honester men then C. the straungers, to saue their city, & to defend their liberty without help of any other. So other Ambassadors were sent again vnto Dion, some from the captaines & gouernors of the city, to flay them that they should not come: & others also from the horsemen, & noble Citizens his friends to haste his iorney. Whereuppo by reason of this variance, Dion marched very softly at his ease. Now by night, Dions enemies within the city got to the gates, & kept the that Dion should not come in. Nypfius on the other side made a fally out of the castel with his mercenary fouldiers, being better appointed, & a greater nuber of the then before: & with the he straight plucked downe all the wal which they had built before the castel, & ran & sacked the city. At this fally out of the castel, they did not only kill the men they met, but women & litle children alfo, & staied no more to spoile, but to destroy & put all to hauock. For bicause Dionysius saw D that he was brought to a straight & desperat case, he bare such mortal malice against the S y-RACVSANS, that fith there was no remedy but that he must needes forgo his tyranny: he determined to burye it, with the vtter destruction & desolation of their citie. And therefore to preuent Dions ayde, & to make a quick dispatch to destroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands, & did fet fire of all things they could come to: & further of they fiered their darts & arrowes, & bestowed them in every place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall. & flayne in the streetes by the fouldiers, and others also that ranne into their houses, were driven out againe by force of fire. For there were a number of houses that were afire, and fel downe you them that went and came. This mifery was the chiefest cause why all the Sya fire by Dio-RACVSANS agreed together, to fet open the gates vnto Dion. For when Dion heard by the way, E that Dionysius souldiers were gone againe into the castell, he made no great haste to marche forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horsemen from Syracvs a vnto Dion, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the city. Then also came other of his enemies vnto him, and prayed him to make hafte. Now their miserie increasing still, and they being brought into hard state: Heraclides first sent his brother vnto Dion, and then Theodotes his Vncle, to pray him to come quickly, and helpe them. For now there was no man left to refift the enemies, bicause he him selse was hurt, and the citie also was in manner cleane burnt & destroyed. When these newes came to Dion, he was yet about three score furlong from the towne. So he told his mercenary fouldiers the daunger the towne was in, & having encoraged them, heled them no more fayer & foftly, but running towards the city, F & meeting Messengers one of anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the posfible spede he could. By this meanes, the fouldiers marching with woderful spede & good will

1049 A together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called HECATOMPEDON. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to thende that the Syracy and seeing them, they might take a good hart again to them: whileft he himfelf in the meane time did fet al the other heavy armed fouldiers and Citizens that came to joyne with him, in battell raye, & did cast them into divers squadrons, of greater length then breadth, and appointed them that should have the leading of them, to thend that setting vpon the enemies in divers places together, they should put them in the greater feare & terror. When he had set all things in this order, & had made his prayers vnto the gods, & that they faw him marching through the citie against their enemies: then there rose such a common noyle & rejoycing, & great showte of the fouldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perswasions of all the SYRACVS ANS: that B they called Dion their god & fauior, & the mercenary fouldiers their brethren & fellow Citi-

zens. Furthermore, there was not a Syracvs anthat fo much regarded his owne life & person, but he seemed to be more affraid of the losse of Dion only, then of all the rest. For they law him the foremost man ronning through the dauger of the fire, treading in bloud, & vpon dead bodies that lav flaine in the middest of the streets. Now, in deede to charge the enemies, it was Dionifight in a maruelous daungerous enterprife : for they were like mad beafts, & floode befide in battell the dise of rav along ft the wal which they had ouerthrowen, in a very daungerous place, & hard to win.

Howbeit the daunger of the fire did most of all trouble & amaze the straungers, & did stoppe their way. For, on which side soeuer they turned them, the houses round about them were all of a fire, and they were driven to marche over the burnt timber of the houses, and to ronne in c great daunger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, & to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust, & beside, to keepe their rancks with great difficultie. And whe they came to affaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, bicause of the straightness of the place: howbeit the Syracvs ans with force of cries & showtes did so animat, & encorage their men, that at length they draue Nypsius & his men to forfake the place. The most part of them got into the castell, being very neare vnto them 20 place to forfake the place. the other that could not get in in time, fled itraglingly vp and downe, whom the GRECIAN on to flee into fouldiers flue, chafing of them. The extremitie of the time did not prefently suffer the Con-

querors to reape the frute of their victory, nether the ioyes & imbracings meete for fo great an exployte. For the SYRACVSANS went every man home to his owne house, to quenche the D fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When daye brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but codemning them selues they fled to take their fortune. Heraclides and Theodotes came together of their owne good wills to yeld them felues vnto Dion, confessing that they had done him wronge, and humbly praying him to shew him selfe better vnto them, then they had shewed them selues vnto him: & that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to shew him felfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselves to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the summe & effect of Heraclides & Theodotes submission vnto Dion. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice & enuy his honor: and E as he would doe the straungers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put Heraelides into their hands, to roote out of the common wealth of Syracvs a, his vile manner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as daungerous and great a plague to a citie, as the tyranny, Dion pacifying them, aunswered. Other generals of armies, said he, do imploy al their wits in marshall exercise & warres: but for him selfe, that he had of long time studied, & lear-Dions marsy

ned in the schole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contencion. The heartest noble proofe whereof is most seene, not in vling honest men and his friends moderately, but profit he sould thewing mercy also vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger against them that have offended the Academy him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome Heraclides, not in riches and wifedom, but at Athens. in clemency & iustice, for therein chiefly consisted excellencie, sith no man els in warres can F challenge power & gouernment, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though Heraclides, sayd

he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man : must Dion therefore through anger bleamish Noma Brould his vertue? In deede by mans law it is thought meeter, to reuenge an iniurie offered, then to be work by TTTT iii

DION. 1050 " doe an injurie: but nature sheweth, that they both proceede of one selfe imperfection. Now, A " though it be a hard thing to chaunge and after the cuill disposition of a man, after he is once "nuscled in villany: yet is not man of so wild & brutish a nature, that his wickednes may not be ouercome with often pleasures, when he seeth that they are continually shewed him. Dion asifwering his friends thus he forgaue Heraelides, & beginning againe to shut up the castell with a wal round about he comanded the Syrac vs ans euery man of them to cut downea stake. & to bringe it thither. So, when night was come, fetting his fouldiers the straungers in hand withall, whileft the Syracvs ansslept & tooke their ease: by morning he had compassed the castel round about with a pale. The next day, they that saw the greatnes & sodaine expedition of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as also the Citizens: & when he had buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken prisoners, (which were not much B leffe then two thowfand persons) he called a common counsel of the citie, in the which Heraslides made a motion, that Dion should be chosen general of Syrac vsa, with absolute power & authoritie, both by sea & land. The chiefest men of the citie liked very well of it, and would have had the people to have past it. But the rabble of these mariners, and other mechanical people liuing by their labor, would not fuffer Heraclides to be put from his Admiral(hip, but fel to mutinie, thinking that though Heraclides did them no pleasure els, yet he would euer be The freezed- a more populer man then Dion, & please the common people better. Dion graunted their de-

ther way whe he did not only reject the earnest sute they made to have the law Agraria passe

for division of lands in equalitie amongest them, but did also cancel & revoke all that had ben C.

fire, & made Heraelides Admiral againe of the fea: howbeit he did anger them as much an oracufans against Dien. Heraclides

done before. Wherefore Heraclides remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into againe stirvebell against

new practifes again, & to flatter the fouldiers & fea fairing men he had brought thether with Syraculani, him, & to stirre them vp to rebel against Dion, saying, that he would make him selfetyranne:& him selfe in the meane time secretly practised with Dionysius, by meanes of a Spartan called Pharax. The noblest men of the Syracvsansmistrusted it. & thereuppon there fell outgreat mutinie in their campe, whereby also followed great famine in Syracvsa: so that Dion was at fuch a straight, that he could not tell what to fay to it, & was reproued of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authoritie against him selfe, so vntractable a man, & so malicious & wicked a person as Heraclides was. Now, when Pharax laye in campe with an army neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: Dion did bringe D the army of the Syracus ans into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til another time. But through Heraclides, & the sea mens crying out, that said he would not try this warre by battel, but would draw it out in length bicause he would be still generall: he was forced to give battell, and loft it. Howbeit the overthrow was not great, and happened rather bicause his men were at a jarre among them selves, by reason of their faction and division, then otherwise, Dion therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together againe, incoraging them, when even at twylight word was brought him that Heraclides with al his fleete was ynder faile towards Synacys a, meaning to take the citie, & to flut Dion & his army out of it. Wherefore he presently tooke with him the chiefest men of authoritie in the citie, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were E at the gates of Syracvsa the next morning by nyne of the clocke, having ridden feuen hundredfurlong. Heraclides that had fayled with all the possible speede he could to preuent him

Gefria La-Syracufa,to boasted of it vnto the friends & confederats of Syracvsa, and sent a Herauld before vnto the be generall of she Syracu-

affavres did of necessitie require a LACED & MONIAN Captaine, yet that him selfe was he, for F that he was made free in SPART A. The Gafflus perceiving he could not obtaine to be general, he went vnto Syracys A, & came to Dion, & there made Heraclides & him friends againe, by friends again.

with his shippes, perceiuing that he came short, he turned saile, and taking seas at all aduen-

ture, by chaunce he met with Gafylus LACED EMONIAN, who tolde him he was fent from La-

CED EMON, to be general to the SICILIANS in this warre, as Gylippus was fent at other times

before. He was glad he had met with him, to have fuch a remedy and defence against Dion, &

SYRACVS ANS, Sumoning them to receive Gefylus LACED EMONIAN, who was fent to be their

general. Dion made aunswer: that the Syracy sans had governors enow, & though that their

A the great and solemne other he made: & bicause Gestilus also sware, that he him selfe would be reuenged of him for Dions fake, & punishe Heraclides, if cuer after he did once more conspire against him. After that, the Syracysans brake up their army by sea, bicause it did them then no feruice, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breede sedition and trouble amongest their gouernors: and so went to lay straighter siege to the castell then ever they did, and built up the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then Dionylius fonne feeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that vittels failed them, and further, that the fouldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them; he fel to a composition with

Dion, and deliuered up the castell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it; and so The castell of tooke his mother & his fifters of Dion, and put them abord vpon fine gallies, with the which rendred unit B he went vnto his father, through the fafe conduit of Dion. There was not a man at that time Dion. in all Syracvsa, but was there to fee this fight, or if by chaunce there were any absent, the

other that were there called them thither as lowde as they could crie, faying, that they did not fee the goodliest day and sunne shine, which the citie of Syracvsa might see then at her rifing, the same being now restored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this present day they doe reckon the flying of Dionylius, for one of the rarest examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greatest and notablest thing that euer was : what ioy thinke we had they that draue him out, & what pleasure had they with them selves, that with the least meane that could be posfible, did destroy the greatest tyrannie in the world? So, when Apollocrates Dionysius sonne was imbarked, and that Dion was entred into the castell: the women within the castell would not E tary till he came into the house, but went to meete him at the gates, Arsstomaché leading Dions fonne in her hand, and Areta following her weeping, being verie fearefull how the thould call

and falute her husband, having lyen with an other man. Dion first spake to his sister, and afterwards to his fonne : and then Aristomache offering him Areta, said vnto him. Since thy banish- The words of ment, O Dion, we have led a miserable and captine life: but now that thou art returned home trips much in the life with victorie, thou hast ridde vs out of care and thraldom, and hast also made vs againe bolde his entry into to lift up our heades, fauing her here, whom I wretched creature have by force (thy felfe aline) the caffell of feene maried vnto an other man. Now then, fith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giuest thou of this compulsion? Howe wilt thou have her to salute thee, as her " Vncle, or husbande? As Aristomaché spake these wordes, the water stoode in Dions eyes: so, Vncle, or husbande? As Arijtomache ipake there wordes, the water mode in Dioms eyes. 103

Dhe gently and louingly taking his wife Areta by the hand, he gaue her his fonne, and willed her bis wife Areta.

to goe home to his house where he then remained, and so deliuered the castell to the Syra- ta agains, CVSANS. He having this prosperous successe and victorie, would not reape any present bene- which had fite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed him selfe thankefull to his frends, geuen great maried unto gifts also vnto the confederats of Syracvs a, and speciallie, before he had geuen euerie one another man of his frends in the citie, and his mercenarie fouldiers the straungers, some honorable reward according to their deferts, exceeding his abilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him Dions tempes felfe lived foberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came first rance are to hand. Euery man that heard of it, wondered at him, confidering that not only all Sicilia and CARTHAGE, but generallie all GRECE looked vpon his great prosperitie and good for-

neither wondered at his great exploytes, valliantnes, nor victorie, but only confidered if he F did wiselie and modestlie vie this fortune he had, and could so keepe him selfe within modest boundes, having done so great thinges. Furthermore, touching the gravetie he had when he spake to any bodie, and his inflexible seueritie which he vsed towards the people, he determi-

E tune, thinking no man liuing greater then him selfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained to

fuch fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithstanding, Dion lived as

temperatly and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of servaunces, and service at

his bord, as if he had lived with Plato in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conver-

fant amongest fouldiers and Captaines, which have no other comfort nor pleasure for all the

paines and daungers they suffer continuallie, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their

pleasure all day long. Plato wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But Dion,

in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and

would have no other Iudges nor lookers into his doinges, but the schollers of the same: who

TTTT iiii

cie (as we fayd before) was the companion of folitarines. But it feemeth to me that Dion did

others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not ouerthrowen and

rased the castell: and also bicause he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of

Dionysius the elder, to cast out his bodie: & bicause he sent for counsellers to Corint HE and B

DION.

vie it for two respectes. The first, bicause nature had not framed him curreous and affable to winne men: fecondly, he did what he could to drawe the Syracysans to the contrarie, who were ouerlicentious & spoyled with too much flattery; for Heraelides began agains to be bufie with him. First of all, Dion sending for him to come to counsell, he sent him word he would compress a gaine against not come: and that being a private citizen, he woulde be at the common counfell amongest

difficult of the citizens his companions in the government of the common wealth. In Dian Sent to deede to confesse a troth, Dion had sent for certaine CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to stablish the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For ans to stablish his minde was veterly to breake the government of Demogratia. (to wit, the absolute govern-S) racusans. abolifh Demouratie, and Ariflocratia.

meath to the ment and authoritie of the people in a citie not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and market where thinges are folde, as Plato fayth) and to stablishe the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a Princely, and popular government; & that should be, Aristocratia, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that should gouerne and direct the chiefelt and waightieft matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the CORINTHIANS The authori- the metest men to help him to frame this comon wealth, cosidering that they gouerned their C it of the perph, refinibled affaires more by choosing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwise, and that they did not by Piato 104 referre many thinges to the voyce of the people. And bicause he was assured that Heraclides fayer, or mar- would be against him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knewe he was a seditious, a troublesome, and light headed fellow: he then suffered them to kill him who had long before wealth of the done it, if he had not kept them from it, & fo they went home to his house, and slue him there. The murther of Heraclides was much milliked of the SYRAE VSAN s: howbeit Dion caused him of Heraclides. to be honorablie buried, and brought his bodie to the grounde, followed with all his armie. Then he made an Oration him felfe to the people, and told them, that it was impossible to auoyde fedition and trouble in the citie, folong as Dion and Heraclides did both gouerne together. At that time there was one Callippus an ATHENIAN, a familiar of Dions, who (as Plato D fayth) came not acquainted with Dion through the occasion of his studie in Philosophie: but bicause he had bene his guide to bring him to see the secret misteries and ceremonies of the facrifices, and for fuch other like common talke and companie. This notwithstanding, Callippus did accompanie him in all this warre, and was verie muche honored of him, and was one of the first of all his frendes that entred into Syracvsa with him, and did valliantlie behaue callippus A- him felfe in all the battells and conflicts that were fought. This Callippus feeing that Dions best & chiefest frends were all slaine in this warre, & that Heraelides also was dead, that the people of Syrac vs a had no more any heade, and besides, that the souldiers which were with Dion did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfullest man and the veriest villan of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his frend Dion, he should vindoubtedly come to E haue the whole government of all Sigilia, and as some doe reports, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talentes for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practife, to bribe, and to subborne certaine of the mercenarie fouldiers against Dion, and that by a maruelous craftie and futtle fetch. For, vling commonly to report vnto Dion certeine fe-Note the fin- ditious wordes, spoken peraduenture by the souldiers in deede, or else denised of his owne head : he wan such a libertie and boldnes by the trust Dion had in him, that he might fafely say what he would to any of the fouldiers, and boldly speake euil of Dion by his owne commaundement: to thend he might thereby understand the better whether any of the souldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this pollicy, Callippus straight foud out those that bare

Dion grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man F

vnwilling to geue eare vnto him, went and told Dion, that Callippus would have intifed him to

conspire against him: Dien was not angrie with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had

commaunded

1641 A commaunded him to doe. Now as this treason was practifing against Dion, there appeared a Aspirite as great and monftruous ghost or spirit vitto him. By chaunce sitting late one euening all alone, peared will in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with him felfe, fodainly he heard a noyfer and therewith casting his eye to thend of his gallery, (being yet day light) he saw a monstrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies shewed in playes, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his frends, and told them what a fight he had seene : and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were

a man befide him felfe, fearing leaft the spirite woulde come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which not with standing he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, The lumen-

his fonne being growen to mans state, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was table death of B but a boy, he cast him selfe hedlong downe from the toppe of the house, and so was slaine. Dion being in this state, Callippus went on still with his treason, and spred a rumor abroade among the Syracus ans, that Dion feeing him felfe nowe destitute of children, was determined to fend for Apollocrates, Dionysius sonne, to make him his heire and successor, being cosin Apollocrates germaine to his wife, and his fifters daughters fonne. Then began Dion, his wife, and fifter to Diony fine mistrust Callippus practises, and they were told of it by divers sundrie and manifest proofes. But

Dion being forie(as I suppose) for Heraclides death, and inwardlie taking that murther in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he fayd he had rather dye a thowfand deaths,

and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would live in that miferie. to be compelled to take heede as well of his frends, as of his enemies. Callippus then feeing the women to buste and inquisitive of his doings, & fearing least he should be bewrayed; he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was readie to affure them of it by any maner of way they would deuise. The women then willed him to sweare by the great othe, which was in this maner. He that must take this othe, commeth into the temple of the The great oth goddeffes The smooth ores, which are Ceres and Proferpina. And after certaine facrifices done he of the sme. putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddesse Proferpina, holding a burning torch in his hand cusant. and sweareth in this maner. Callippus having done all these ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I have told you: he made so light accompt of the goddesses, that he taried no lenger

to do the murther he had determined but till the very feast day of the goddesse should come.

by whom he had fworne: and flue him on the day of the feaft of Proferpina. Nowe, I doe not Dionflaine D thinke that he chose that day of sette purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sinne a- by Callippus gainst her, what time soeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes speciallie admitted to the focietie and brotherhoode with him, of the fraternity and misteries of Ceres & Proferpina. Of this conspiracie there were divers. For as Dion was set in his chamber talking with his frends where there were many beddes to fit on: fome compassed the house round about. others came to the dores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should doe the deede to dispatche him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers, came into his chamber in their

dores after them, and locked them in, least any man shoulde come out: and they that were within, fell vpon Dion, and thought to haue strangled him. But when they saw they could not. p they called for a sworde. Neuer a man that was within, durst open the dores, though there were many with Dion. For they thought enery man to faue their owne lines, by fuffering him to be killed, and therefore durft not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one Lycon a Syracysan, that gaue one of these ZACYNTHIAN fouldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut Dions throate.as a weather they had holden a long time in their handes, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they cast his fifter, and wife, great with childe, into prison, and there the poore Ladie was pitiefullie brought to bedde of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to Dions wife bring vp, then otherwise to doe any thing with the childe. Their keepers that had the charge brought to

tall goddes he was most affrayed of, having defiled his handes in so damnable a treason. And

coates without any fword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the

of them, were contented to let them do it, bicause Callippus began then a litle to grow to some bed of a sonne F trouble. For at the first, after he had slaine Dion, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept in prison. the citie of Syracvs a in his hands: & wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immorThe punish-

cap.24. Callippus flaine with

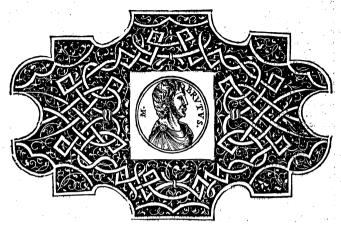
The crueliie of the Syra. cufans บทเอ Dion and his

therefore, in my opinion, it was not cuill spoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that A bringeth forth the best men when they geue them selues to goodnes, & the wickedest people alfo, when they doe dispose them selues to euill : as their contrie also bringeth foorth the best honnie that is, and hemlocke in like maner that quickely dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not fuffer this treason and wicked man to raigne long, having comen to the government of a realme by fo damnable a murther: but shortly after they gave him his payment he had deserved. For Callippus going to take a little towne called CATANA.

he lost the citie of Syracysa: whereupon he fayd that he had lost a citie, and got a * cheefeknife. Afterwards he went to affaile the MESSENIANS, and there he loft a great number of his knifets frage men, and amongest them were slaine those that killed Dion. Now Callippus finding no citie in or cut cheefe, all Sicilia, that woulde receive him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to B take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great distresse and neede of all thinges, marker, Indian and not able to maintaine his fouldiers: he was flaine by Leptines, and Polyperchon, with the Pollux. lib. 10 felfe same dagger wherewith Dion before was slaine: the which was known by the facion, being short after the LACONIAN daggers, and also by the workemanshippe vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of Callippus. Now for Aristomaché and Areta, they were taken out of prison : and Icetes SYRACYSAN, that somtimes had bene one of Dions frends, tooke them home to his owne house, and vied them verie well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by Dions enemies. So he caused a shippe to be provided for them, and bare them in hande that he would sende them into P s-LOPONNES VS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and C to throw them ouer bord into the fea. Some fay, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were cast aliue into the sea. But this reward of the sinfull act that he committed, returned againe vppon him felfe, as it had

done before vnto others. For he was taken by Timoleon that put him to death: and besides, the SYRACVSANS did also kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnes he had shewed vnto Dion.

THE LIFE Marcus Brutus.



etus in contrarie maner, whose life we presently wryte, having framed

D

Arcus Brutus came of that Junius Brutus, for whome the auncient Ro-MANES made his statue of brasse to be set up in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked fword in his hand: bicause he had valliantly put downe the TARQVINES from their kingdom of Rome. But that Junius Brutus being of a fower stearne nature, not softned by The pareinge reason, being like vnto sword blades of too hard a temper: was so subiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrannes, that for their lect to his choller and mance he batter has the sale of the fakes he caused his owne some to be executed. But this Mayeus Bru-

his manners of life by the rules of vertue and studie of Philosophie, and having imployed his ners. B wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his verie enemies which wish him most hurt, bicause of his conspiracy against Iulius Casar: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracie, they referre it whollie vnto Brutus, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto Cassius, who was Brutus familiar frend, but not fo well geuen, and condicioned as he. His mother Seruilia, Seruilia M. it is thought came of the blood of Seruilius Hala, who, when Spurius Melius went about to make him felfe king, and to bring it to passe had entifed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it close under his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had fomewhat to fay vnto him, and preffed as neere him as he

C stabbed him in with his dagger, and slue him. Thus muche all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto Brutus, bicause of the Brutus parent death of Iulius Cafar, doe maintaine that he came not of Iunius Brutus that draue out the TAR- 14ge by his QVINES: for there were none left of his race, confidering that his two fonnes were executed father. for conspiracie with the TARQVINES: and that Marcin Brutin came of a meane house, the which was raifed to honor and office in the common wealth, but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher wryteth the contrarie, that Iunius Brutus in deede flue two of his sonnes which

could: wherefore Melius stowping downe with his head, to heare what he would say, Brutus

furthermore, that there were in his time certeine famous men of that familie, whose stature

and countenaunce resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And thus much for this mat-

ter. Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother vnto Seruilsa M. Brutus mother; whom Brutus

studied most to follow of all the other ROMANES, bicause he was his Vncle, and afterwards he

losopher of them, but he heard and liked it : but aboue all the rest, he loued Plates sect best,

& did not much geue him selfe to the new nor meane Academy as they call it, but altogether

to the old Academy. Therefore he did euer greatly esteeme the Philosopher Antiochus, of the

knowledge was inferior to many other Philosophers, but for wifedom & curtefie, equall with

the best and chiefest. Touching Emplus, whom Marcus Brutus him selfe doth mencion in his

wrote of the death of Iulius Cafar, and tituled it Brutus. He was properly learned in the Latine

Latine. But for the Græke tongue, they do note in some of his Epistells, that he counterfea-

ted that briefe compendious maner of speach of the LACED EMONIANS. As when the warre

Dolobella money: if you have done it willingly, you confesse you have offended me: if against

Your counsels be long, your doinges be flowe, confider the ende. And in an other Epistell he

wrote vnto the PATARETANS: The XANTHIANS despissing my good wil, have made their con-

trie a graue of dispaire: and the PATAREIANS that put them selues into my protection, haue

loft no iot of their libertie. And therefore whilest you have libertie, either choose the judge-

ment of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. These were Brutus manner of

to CYPRVS with his Vncle Cato, who was fent against Ptolomy king of ÆGYPT, who having

flaine him felfe, Cato staying for certaine necessarie busines he had in the Ile of RHODES, had

alreadic sent * Caninius, one of his frends before, to keepe his treasure and goods. But Cato fea-

ring he woulde be light fingered, wrote vnto Brutus foorthwith to come out of PAMPHYLIA, D

(where he was but newlie recoursed of a fickenesse) into Cyprvs, the which he did. The

which iorney he was forie to take vpon him, both for respect of Caninius shame, whome Cate

as he thought wrongfullie flaundered: as also bicause he thought this office too meane and

vnmeete for him, being a young man, and genen to his booke. This notwithstanding, he be-

letters which were honored for their briefenes. So Brutus being but a young ftripling went in-

citie of Ascalon; but he was more familiar with his brother Arifton, who for learning and B

Sernilia Caroes fifter.

Brutus studies maried his daughter. Now touching the GRECIAN Philosophers, there was no sect nor Phi-

Brutus follo-Academyks.

Emplus an Epistells, and his frends also in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he Cefarideath, tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it, beside that he could also plead verie well in and intituled of my sing his was begonne, he wrote vnto the PARGAMENIANS in this forte. I vnderstand you have geven A briefe les- your wills, shewe it then by gening me willinglie. An other time againe vnto the Samians: C

Brut:us follo-

* Or Cani-

haued him felfe so honestlie and carefullie, that Cate did greatly commende him : and after all the goodes were fold and converted into readie money, he tooke the most parte of it, and returned withall to Rome. Afterwards when the Empire of Rome was deuided into factions, and that Cefar and Pompey both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of Rome was in garboyle and vorore: it was thought then that Brutus woulde take parte with Cafar, bicause Pompey not long before had put his father vnto death. But Brutus preferring the E respect of his contrie and common wealth, before private affection, and perswading himselse Trainstaleth that Pompey had juster cause to enter into armes then Casar: he then tooke parte with Pompey, though oftentimes meting him before, he thought fcorne to speake to him, thinking it a great finne and offence in him, to speake to the murtherer of his father. But then submitting him felfe vnto Pompey, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he failed into Sicilia, Lieutenant under Sestius that was Gouernor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rife, nor to do any noble exployts, and that Cafar & Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory:he went of him selfe vnsent for into MACEDON, to be partaker of the daunger. It is reported that Fompey being glad, and wondering at his comming when he fawe him come to him : he role out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vied F Econo exer- him as honorablie, as he could have done the noblest man that tooke his parte. Brutus being in Pompeys campe, did nothing but studie all day long, except he were with Pompey, & not only

A the dayes before, but the felfe fame day also before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of PHARSALIA, where Pompey was ouerthrowen. It was in the middeft of fommer, and the funne was verie hotte, besides that the campe was lodged neere vnto marishes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereuppon, being verie wearie with travell, fcant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others flept, or thought what woulde happen the morrowe after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long British findied till night, wryting a breularie of Polybius. It is reported that Cefar did not forgette him, and in Poinpeis that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they shoulde beware they killed Indiac Caffa not Brutus in fight, and if he yeelded willinglie vnto them, that then they shoulde bring him careful of vnto him : but if he resisted, and woulde not be taken, then that they shoulde lette him goe, Briting forp. R and doe him no hurte. Some faye he did this for Seruiliaes fake, Brutus mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with Seruilia, who was extreamelie in loue with him. And bicause Brutus was borne in that time when their loue was hottest, he per- wind cafer fwaded him felfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the reporte goeth, that when the loued Strait

waightiest matters were in hande in the Senate, about the conspiracie of Catiline, which matters was likelie to haue vndone the citie of Rome, Cafar and Cato fate neere together, and were both of contrarie mindes to eache other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered Cafar a letter. Cafar tooke it, and red it foftlie to him felfe: but Cato cried out vpon Cafar, and fayd he did not well to receive advertisementes from enemies. Whereuppon the whole Senate beganne to murmure atit. Then Cafar gaue Cato the letter as it was fent him, who red rit, and founde that it was a loue letter fent from his fifter Seruilia: thereuppon he caft itagaine to Casar, and sayde vnto him, holde, dronken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: fo commonlie was the love of Seruilia knowen which she bare vnto Casar. So, after Pompeys ouerthrowe at the battell of PHARSALIA, and that he fledde to the fea: when Cafar came to befeege his campe, Brutus went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and lept into a marishe full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of LAR ISs A: from whence he wrote vnto Cafar, who was verie glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come vnto him. When Brutus was come, he did not onelie pardon him, but also Brutus faute kept him alwayes about him, and did as muche honor and efteeme him, any man he had in by India Ce-D his companie. Nowe no man coulde tell whether Pompey was fledde, and all were maruelous desirous to knowe it: wherefore Casar walking a good waye alone with Brutto, he did Phasaille. aske him which way he thought Pomper tooke. Cafar perceiving by his talke that Brutus gefsed certainlie whether Pompey shoulde be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iorney directlie towardes ÆGYPT. Pompey, as Brutus had coniectured, was in deede fledde into ÆGYPT, but there he was villanouslie slayne. Furthermore, Brutus obteyned pardon of Ca- * This king far for Cassius: and defending also the king * of LYBIAES cause, he was ourrlayed with a was lubar worlde of accusacions against him, howebeit intreating for him, he saued him the best parte me allo, that of his realme and kingdome. They fay also that Cafar fayd, when he hearde Brutus pleade: I Brusus made knowenot, sayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willeth it vehefor Deissams

E mentlie. For as Brutus granetie and constant minde wouldenot grannt all men their requests king of Galathat fued vnto him, but being moued with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that the who was which was good and honest: euen so when it was moued to followe any matter, he vsed a whishanding kinde of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obteyned his desire. of the most For by flattering of him, a man coulde neuer obteyne any thing at his handes, nor make him parts of his to doe that which was vniust. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and e- cafer and stimacion, to yeelde vnto the requestes and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate su-three sorts as the state of the ter, requesting thinges vnmeete: the which notwithstanding, some men doe for shame, bi-placewere beff

uill brought vp in their youth, that coulde deny nothing. Nowe when Cafar tooke fea to goe Distante. F into A FRICKE, against Cato and Scipio, helest Brutus Gouernour of Gavle in Italie, on Brutus Go this fide of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that pronince. For where others work of were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and couetousnesse of the Gouernours, as if it had file the most

cause they dare deny nothing, And therefore he was wont to say, that he thought them e- sanda, by

Cafar returned out of AFRICKE, and progressed up and downe ITALIE: the things that plea-

fed him best to see, were the cities vader Brutus charge and government, and Brutus him felfe: who honored Cafar in person, and whose companie also Cafar greatlie esteemed. Now there were divers fortes of Prætorshippes at Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassim would make fute for the chiefest Prætorshippe, which they called the Prætorshippe of the citie: bicause he that had that office, was as a Judge to minister justice vnto the citizens, Therfore they strong one against the other, though some say that there was some little grudge

Rrutus and Casius conbetween them for other matters before, and that this contencion did fette them further out, send for the though they were allyed together. For Cassim had maried Junia, Brutus fifter. Others say, that B Pretor hip this contencion between them came by Cafar himselfe, who secretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their fute for the Pratorshippe was so followed and laboured of either Iunia, Brutus partie, that one of them put an other in fute of lawe. Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploytes in armes, which Casius had done against the Par-THIANS, So Cafar after he had heard both their objections, he told his frendes with whom he consulted about this matter: Cassius cause is the inster, fayd he, but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorshippe, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Casar so much for the Prætorshippe he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had lost, But Brutus in many other thinges talted of the benefite of Cafars fauour in any thing he requested. For gainst Casar. if he had lifted, he might have bene one of Cafars chiefest frendes, and of greatest authoritie C and credit about him. Howebeit Cassius frendes did dissiwade him from it (for Cassius and he were not vet reconciled together fithence their first contencion and strife for the Prætorship)

and prayed him to beware of Cafars sweete intilements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the

which they favd Cafar gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his conftant minde, framing it to the bent of his bowe. Now Calar on the other fide did not trust him ouermuch. nor was not without tales brought vnto him against him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & frends. Yet on the other fide also, he trusted his good nature, & fayer condicions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him: he auniwered, that there fat long heared men made him not affrayed, but the leane and

whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by Brutus and Cassius. At an other time also when one D accused Brutus vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, sayd he againe, clapping his e-fart fajing hand on his brest: thinke ye that Brutus will not tarie till this bodie dye? Meaning that none but Brutus after him was meete to have suche power as he had. And surelie, in my opinion, I am perswaded that Brutus might in dede have come to have bene the chiefest man of Rome, if he

could have contented him felfe for a time to have bene next vnto Calar, & to have suffred his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to confume with time. But Cassus being a chollericke man, and hating Casar privatile, more then he did the tyrannie ocassiminen- penlie: he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus coulde cuill away with

he had done him, and amongest others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. Cas- E fius had provided them for his sportes, when he should be Ædilis, and they were found in the Caffine Lione Citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by Calenus, and Cafar kept them. The rumor went, that

these Lyons did maruelous great hurt to the MAGARIANS. For when the citie was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loofe, thinking they would have

done great mischiese to the enemies, and have kept them from setting vppon them; but the Lyons contrarie to expectacion, turned vpon them selues that fled vnarmed, & did so cruelly tare some in peces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, as some do Castim an e- report, that made Cassims conspire against Casar. But this holdeth no water. For Cassims even fro his cradell could not abide any maner of tyrans, as it appeared when he was but a boy, & went vnto the same schoole that Faustus, the sonne of Sylla did. And Faustus bragging among other F boyes, highly boafted of his fathers kingdom: Caffius rofe vp on his feete, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. Faultus gouernors would have put this matter in fute against Cassius:

Seil Brane a- the tyrannie, and that Cassius hated the tyranne: making many complayntes for the injuries

A But Pompey woulde not fuffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them howe the matter came to passe. Then Cassus, as it is wrytten of him, fayd vnto the other: goe to Faustus, speake againe and thou darest, before this noble man here, the fame wordes that made me angrie with thee, that my fiftes may walke once againe about thine eares. Suche was Casius hotte stirring nature. But for Brutus, his frendes and contrie How Brutus men, both by divers procurementes, and fundrie rumors of the cirie, and by many bills alfo, was incenfed did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did For worder the image of his gainft calm.

did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did. For, under the image of his auncester Innius Brutus, that draue the kinges out of Rome, they wrote: O, that it pleased the goddes thou wert nowe aliue, Brutus: and againe, that thou wert here amonge vs nowe. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience duringe the time he was Prætor, was full of suche B billes: Brutus, thou art a fleepe, and art not Brutus in deede. And of all this, Cefars flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and vnspeakeable honors they davly deuifed for him, in the night time they did put Diadeames vppon the heades of his images, supposinge thereby to allure the common people to call him kinge, insteade of Dictator. Howebeit it turned to the contrarie, as we have wrytten more at large in Iulius Calars life. Nowe when Cassus felt his frendes, and did stirre them yp against Casar: they all agreed and promised to take parte with him, so Brutus were the chiefe of their conspiracie. For they told

him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so muche require men of manhoode, and courage to drawe their swordes: as it stoode them vppon to haue a man of suche estimacion as Brutus, to make euerie man boldlie thinke, that by his onelie presence the fact c were holie, and just. If he tooke not this course, then that they should goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they shoulde be more searefull: bicause euerie man woulde thinke that Brutus woulde not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had bene good and honest. Therefore Cassus confidering this matter with him selfe, did first of all speake to Brutus, since they grewe straunge together for the sute they had for the Præ- cassimpraints torshippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one an o- Braum first, to ther: Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house, the first day of the put downs the

moneth of Marche, bicause he heard say that Casars frendes shoulde mouethe counsell that gran. day, that Cafar shoulde be called king by the Senate. Brutus aunswered him, he would not be

there. But if we be sent for sayd Cassus: howethen? For my selfe then sayd Brutus, I meane D not to holde my peace, but to withfrande it, and rather dye then lofe my libertie. Castius being bolde, and taking holde of this worde: why, & he, what ROMANE is he aliue that will fuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or such elike base mechanicall people, that wryte these billes and scrowles which are founde dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the noblest men and best citizens that doe it? No, be thou well affured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common distribucions amongest the people, and for common playes, and to see fensers fight at the sharpe, to shew the people passime: but at thy handes, they specially require(as a due det vnto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to fuffer any extremity for thy fake, fo that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art, E Thereuppon he kiffed Brutus, and imbraced him: and so each taking leaue of other, they

went both to speake with their frendes about it. Nowe amongest Pompeys frendes, there was

was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And Brutte matherefore in his hearte he was alway his mortall enemie, and was besides verie familiar keib Ligarius with Brutus, who went to fee him beinge ficke in his bedde, and fayed vnto him : O Liga- one of the corius, in what a time art thou sicke & Ligarius risinge vppe in his bedde, and taking him by the right hande, fayed vnto him: Brutus, fayed he, if thou hast any great enterprise in hande worthie of thy felfe, I am whole. After that time they beganne to feele all their acquaintaunce whome they trusted, and layed their heades together consultinge vppon it, and did not onelie picke out their frendes, but all those also whome they thought flowt enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loase their lives, ÝVVV

one called * Caius Ligarius, who had bene accused vnto Cesar for taking parte with Pompey, * In an other and Cafar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cafar so muche for his discharge, as he place they cal

They do bide For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracie, although he was a man A whome they loued dearelie, and trusted best: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his feare, he woulde quite turne and after all their purpose, and quenche the heate of their enterprise, the which speciallie required hotte and earnest execucion, seeking by perswasion to bring all thinges to suche safetie, as there should be no perill. Brutus also did let other of his frendes alone, as Statilius Epic vrian, and Faonius, that made profession to followe Marcus Cato. Bicause that having cast out wordes 2 farre of, disputing together in Philosophie to feele their mindes: Faonius aunswered, that civill warre was worse then tyrannicall government vsurped against the lawe. And Statilius worse then to tolde him also, that it were an vnwise parte of him, to put his life in daunger, for a sight of ignoraunt fooles and affes. Labeo was present at this talke, and maintayned the contra-R rie against them both. But Brutus helde his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a harde thing to have decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made Labeo priuie to his intent : who verie readilie offered him felfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in an other Brutus to ioyne with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his handes him felfe, but bicause he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaues, and fensers at the sharpe, whome he kept to shewe the people pastime with their fighting, befides also that Cafar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo tolde Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no aunswere. But when he had spoken with

fecresse of the Conspirators

sees danghter, wife unto of Brusus Percia ftudied in Phi-

rence between harlet. Porciaes words unso her huband

Brutus him felfe alone, and that Brutus had tolde him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conspiracie: then he willinglie promised him the best aide he coulde. Furthermore, the on- C lie name and great calling of Brutus, did bring on the most of them to geue consent to this conspiracie. Who having neuer taken othes together, nor taken or genen any caution or full faith and affuraunce, nor binding them felues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter so secret to them selues, and coulde so cunninglie handleit, that notwithstanding the goddes did reueale it by manifest signes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of facrifices: yet all this woulde not be beleued. Nowe Brutus, who knewe veriewell that for his fake all the noblest, valliantest, and most couragious men of Rome did venter their liues, waying with him felfe the greatnesse of the daunger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and facion his countenaunce and lookes, that no man coulde discerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he D was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him against his will when he woulde haue flept, or else oftentimes of him selse he fell into suche deepe thoughtes of this enterprise, cafting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was some maruelous great matter that troubled his minde, not beinge wont to be in that taking, and that he coulde not well determine with him felfe. His wife Porcia (as we have tolde you before) was the daughter of Cato, whome Brutus maried being his cosin, not a maiden, but a youngewidowe after the death of her first husbande Bibulus, by Bibulus booke whome the had also a younge sonne called Bibulus, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and leastes of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young Ladie being excellentlie well seene in Philosophie, louing her husbande well, and being of a noble courage, as she E was also wise: bicause she woulde not aske her husbande what he ayled before she had to congest made some proofe by her selfe, she tooke a little rasor suche as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and causinge all her maydes and women to goe out of her chamber, gaue her felfe a greate gashe withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a goare bloode, and incontinentlie after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reason of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her husbande was maruelouslie out of quiet, and that he coulde take no rest: euen in her greatest payne of all, she spake in this sorte vnto him. I being . O Brutus. (fayed the) the daughter of Cato, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy beddefellowe and companion in bedde and at borde onelie, like a harlot: but to be partaker also with thee, of thy good and cuill fortune. Nowe for thy felfe, I can finde no cause of faulte in thee tou- p chinge our matche: but for my parte, howe may I showe my duetie towardes thee, and howe muche I woulde doe for thy fake, if I can not constantlie beare a secret mischaunce

A or griefe with thee, which require th secrecy and fidelity? I confesse, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a fecret fafely: but yet, Brutus, good educacion, and the companie of vertuous men, haue some power to reforme the detect of nature. And for my selfe. I " haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of Cato, & wife of Brutus. This not withftanding. I did not trust to any of these things before: vntill that now I have found by experience, that no paine nor griefe what soeuer can ouercome me. With those wordes she shewed him ,, her wounde on her thigh, and tolde him what she had done to proue her felfe. Brutus was 2- >> mazed to heare what the fayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heaten, he befought the goddes to geue him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as Porcia; so he then did comfort her the best

B he coulde. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Cafar woulde not faile to come: the conspirators determined then to put their enterprise in execucion, bicause they might meete safelie at that time without suspicion, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the citie woulde be there. Who when they should see suche a great matter executed, would euerie man then set to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the counsell shoulde be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the citie had made and confectated in honor of him: when he did beautifie that parte of the citie with the Theater he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the affembly of the Senate appointed to be, iust on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the Ro-MANES call, Idus Martias: fo that it seemed some god of purpose had brought Casar thither to beflaine, for reuenge of Pompeys death. So when the day was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gowne, that no bodie sawe nor knewe, but his wife onelie. The other conspirators were all affembled at Cassius house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilist and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto Pompeys porche, looking that Cafar woulde straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull affured constance of The worderthese conspirators, in so daungerous and waightie an enterprise as they had vndertaken. For of the constitution of the constit D many of them being Praetors, by reason of their office, whose duetie is to minister justice to rators, in kil-

euerie bodie : they did not onelie with great quietnesse and curtesse heare them that spake yn- ling of cesar. to them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentine eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gave just sentence, and carefullie dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto Cafar. Then Brutus casting his eyes uppon the conspirators, sayd, Cafar shall not lette me to fee the lawe executed. Notwithstanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes vnto Sundrie mitthe lawe executed Notwith tanding tins, by channel the the first and chiefest was, Cafars long fortunes to them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest was, Cafars long have broken tarying, who came verie late to the Senate: for bicause the signes of the sacrifices appeared of the emer-E valuckie, his wife Calpurnia kept him at home, and the Soothfayers bad him beware he went profes not abroade. The seconde cause was, when one came vnto Casea being a conspirator, and taking him by the hande, fayd vnto him: O Casca, thou keptest it close from me, but Brutus hath tolde me all. Cafea being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and fayd: why, howe nowe, howe commeth it to passe thou art thus riche, that thou doest sue to be Ædilis? Thus Casca being deceived by the others doubtfull wordes, he tolde them it was a thowsand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. An other Senator called Popilius Lana, after he had faluted Brutus and Cassius more frendlie then he was wont to doe: he rounded softlie in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you have taken in hande, but withall, dispatche I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had F fayd, he presentlie departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conspiracie

woulde out. Nowe in the meane time, there came one of Brutus men post hast vnto him, and tolde him his wife was a dying. For Porcia being verie carefull and penfine for that which

VVVV iii

The meaker was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward griefe of minde: she A nes of Porcie, coulde hardlie keepe within, but was frighted with euerie litle noyse and crieshe hearde, as ding her for. those that are taken and possess with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came from the market place, what Brutus did, and still fent messenger after messenger, to knowe what newes. At length, Casars comming being prolonged as you have heard, Porciaes weakeneffe was not able to holde out any lenger, and thereuppon the fodainlie fwounded, that the had no leasure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middest of her house, where her speache and sences failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed in her bedde, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these newes, it grieued him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not of the care of his contrie and common wealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that Casar was B comming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (bicause he was affrayed of the valuckie fignes of the facrifices) but to adiorne matters of importaunce vnto the next fession and counsell holden, faining him selfe not to be well at ease. When Cafar came out of his litter: Popilius Lana, that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterprise to passe: went vnto Casar, and kept him a long time with a talke. Cafar gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conspirators (if so they shoulde be called) not hearing what he sayd to Cafar, but coniecturing by that he had tolde them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie discouerie of their conspiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were C apprehended, but rather that they should kill them selues with their owne hands. And when Cassius and certaine other clapped their handes on their fwordes vnder their gownes to draw them: Brutus marking the countenaunce and gesture of Lana, and considering that he did vse him selie rather like an humble and earnest suter, then like an accuser: he sayd nothing to his companion (bicause there were many amongest them that were not of the conspiracie) but with a pleasaunt countenaunce encouraged Cassius. And immediatlie after, Lana went from Cafar, and kiffed his hande: which shewed plainlie that it was for some matter concerning him selfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Nowe all the Senators being entred first into this place or chapter house where the counsell should be kept: all the other conspirators ftraight ftoode about Cefars chaire, as if they had had fome thing to haue fayd vnto him. And D fome fay, that Cassius calting his eyes voon Pompeys image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. * Trebonius on thother fide, drewe Antonius atofide, as he came into the house where the Senate fate, and helde him with a long talke without. When Cafar was come into Brause Albi- the house, all the Senate rose to honor him at his comming in. So when he was set, the con-"", that kept fpirators flocked about him, & amongst them they presented one * Tullius Cimber, who made humble fute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were interceffors for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kiffed his head and breft. Cafar at the first, simplie refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwardes, perceiuing they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cafars gowne ouer his shoulders, and Cafea that stoode behinde him, drew his E dagger first, and strake Casar vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. Casar feeling cestes, the fifth him selfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hande he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitor, Casca, what doest thou? Casca on thother side cried in Græke, and called his brother to helpe him. So divers running on a heape together to flie vppon Casar, he looking about him to haue fledde, fawe Brutus with a fworde drawen in his hande readie to strike at him: then he let Cascaes hande goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered euerie man to strike at him that woulde. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon an other bicause euerie man was desirous to haue a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting vpon one bodie, one of them hurte an other, and among them Brutus caught a blowe on his hande, bicause he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them P bloudied. Cafar being flaine in this maner, Brutus flanding in the middeft of the house, would haue spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracie, to haue tolde

A them the reason why they had done this facte. But they as men both affrayd and amazed. fled one vpon anothers necke in hafte to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For it was fet downe, and agreed betwene them, that they should kill no man but Cafar onely, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, bicause he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauored tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with fouldiers, having bene conversant of long time amongest them; and specially, having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Conful with Cafar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he fayd it was not honest: secondly, bicause niw was not he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not miltrust, but that Antonius be. staying with

B ing a noble minded and coragious man (when he should knowe that Cafar was dead) would cafar. willingly helpe his contry to recouer her libertie, having them an example vnto him to follow their corage and vertue. So Brutus by this meanes faued Antonius life, who at that prefent time disguised him selfe, and stale away. But Brutus & his consorts, having their swords bloudy in their handes, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMANES as they went to Brusha with take their libertie againe. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were went unto fodaine outcryes of people that ranne vp & downe the citie, the which in deede did the more the Capitolle increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, nether did spoyle or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, & many of the people imboldening them felues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being affembled toge-

C therone after another: Brutus made an oration vnto them to winne the fauor of the people. and to instific that they had done. All those that were by, sayd they had done well, and cryed vnto them that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereuppon, Brutus and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in trowpe, but Brutus went formost, very honorably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, thorough the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people faw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all forces, and had a good will to make fome fturre: yet being ashamed to doeit for thereuerence they bare vnto Brutus, they kept filence, to heare what he would fay. When Brutus began to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have spoken, and began to accuse Casar: they fell into a great vprore among them, and marueloufly reuiled him. Infomuch that the conspirators returned againe into the Capitol. There Bru-

tus being affrayd to be befeeged, lent back againe the noble men that came thither with him. thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being affembled, and holden within the temple of the goddesse Tellus, to wete the earth: and Antonius, Planeus, and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that affembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to stablishe friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not onely be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honors F should be approved veto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up, and Antonius greed on the

the Conful, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, fent them his forme for a pledge. mucherer of Vpon this affurance, Brutus and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where eue- Cafar. ry man faluted and imbraced eche other, among the which, Antonius him felfe did bid Califus to supper to him: and Lepidus also bad Brutus, and so one bad another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counfell, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civill warre: then they also gave Brutus and his conforts great prayles, and lastly they appoynted them seuerall gouernments of provinces. For vnto Brutus, they appoynted C RB-TA: A FRICK, VINTO Cassius: A SIA, VINTO Trebonius: BITHYNIA, VINTO Cimber: and VINTO the O-F ther Decius Brutus Albinus, GAVLE on this fide the Alpes, When this was done, they came

to talke of Cafars will and testament, and of his funeralls and tombe. Then Antonius thinking Cafar will congood his testament should be red openly, and also that his body should be honorably buried, funeralle, VVVV iiii

raged his ferrefull con-

Bratus with

hu counte-

Antonius with a talke withent. * In Cefart Cimber. The murther Brutus committed too greas faults after Cafart death

nerall oration for Cafar.

The straunge dreame of

The marde of Cinnashe Poet, being mistaken for an other of that name. Brus u and his conforts dee flye from

and not in hugger mugger, least the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offen- A ded if they did otherwife: Casius stowtly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion,& agreed vnto it: wherein it feemeth he committed a fecond fault. For the first fault he did was, when he would not confent to his fellow conspirators, that Antonius should be slavne: And therefore he was justly accused, that thereby he had faued and strengthened a stronge & grieuous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that Casars funeralls thould be as Antonius would have them: the which in deede marred all. For first of all, when Cafars testament was openly red among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of Rome, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this side of the river of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruelous fory for him. B Afterwards when Cafars body was brought into the market place, Antonius making his funerall oration in praise of the dead, according to the auncient custom of Rome, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking Cafars gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the fight of them all, hewing what a number of cuts and holes it had yoon it. Therewithall the people fell prefently into fuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongeft the common people. For fome of them cryed out, kill the murtherers; others plucked vp formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funeralls of Clodius, and having layed them all on a heape together, they fet them on fire, and thereuppon did put the bodye of Cafar, and burnt it in the middest of the most holy places. C And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, some here, some there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houses that had killed him, to set them a fire. Howbeit the conspirators foreseeing the daunger before, had wisely prouided for them selues, and fled. But there was a Poet called Cinna, who had bene no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of Casars chiefest friends: he dreamed the night before, that Cafar bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to goe, Cafar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruelously affrayd, he was driven to follow him in spite of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried Cafars body to buriall, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals: D he went out of his house, and thrust him self into the prease of the common people that were in a great vprore. And bicause some one called him by his name, Cinna: the people thinking he had bene that Cinna, who in an oration he made had spoken very euill of Cefar, they falling vpon him in their rage, flue him outright in the market place. This made Brutus and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the citie of ANTIVM, hoping to returne againe to Rome, when the furie of the people were a litle affwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, confidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vinconstant multitude, easye to be carried, and that the Senate stoode for them: who notwithstanding made no enquiery of them that had torne poore Cinna the Poet in peeces, but caused them to be fought E for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to fet fire of the conspirators houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius pride and infolency, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that Brutus might return eagaine, and it was also looked for, that Brutto would come him felfe in person to playe the playes which were due to the people, by reason of his office of Prætorship. But Brutus understanding that many of Casars fouldiers which ferued vnder him in the warres, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wayte for him to kill him, and that they dayly by fmall companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durst no more returne thither, but Brown plants yet the people had the pleasure and pastyme in his absence, to see the games and sportes he made them, which were fumptuouslie set foorth and furnished with all thinges necessarie, F sparing for no cost. For he had bought a great number of straunge beastes, of the which he would not geue one of them to any frende he had, but that they shoulde all be employed in

BRVTVS. 1064 A his games: and went him felfe as farre as BYZANTIVM, to speake to some players of comedies and Musitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that what soeuer they did, they should intreate him to play in these playes: For favd he it is no reason to compell any GRECIAN, vnles he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer he wrote also vnto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case, to be at these playes. Now the state of Rome standing in these termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteracion, when the younge man Octavius Cafar came to Rome. He was the sonne of Julius for comming Calars Nece, whome he had adopted for his sonne, and made his heire, by his last will and te- to Rome. stament. But when Iulius Cafar his adopted father was flayne, he was in the citie of Apollo-NIA, where he studied tarying for him, bicause he was determined to makewarre with the

B PARTHIANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned against to Rome, where to begin to curry fauor with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, & made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed ynto them. By this meanes he troubled Antonius forely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers fouldiers together, that had ferued in the warres with him. And Cicero him felfe, for the great malice he bare Antonius, did fauor his proceedings. But Brutus Brutus Primerepre-Citers him lette, for the great mance he bate 2months, that he feemed by his doinges not to rading part

be fory to have a Maister, but onely to be affrayd to have one that should hate him: and that with offering all his doinges in the common wealth did witnesse, that he choic to be subject to a milde and Cafar.

curteous bondage, fith by his words and writings he did commend this young man Octavius C Cafar, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predecessors sayde he, would never abyde to be fubiect to any Maisters, how gentle or mild soeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had never resolutely determined with him selfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certenly minded neuer to be flaue nor fubicet. And therefore he wondred much at him, how Cicero coulde be affrayd of the daunger of civill warres, and would not be affrayd of a shameful peace: and that to thrust Antonius out of the vsurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to stablishe younge Octavius Cafar tyranne. These were the contents of Brutus first letters he wrote vnto Cicero. Now the citie of Rome being deuided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, other also leaning vnto Octavius Casar, and the souldiers making

port fale of their feruice to him that would give most: Brutus feeing the state of Rome would D bevtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of ITALY, and went a foote through the contry of LVKE, vnto the citie of ELEA, standing by the sea. There Porcia being ready to de- Porciaes fopart from her husband Brutus, and to returne to Rome, did what the could to diffemble the remfull regriefe and forow the felt at her hart: But a certaine paynted table bewrayed her in the ende, for the ab although vntill that time the alwayes thewed a conftant and pacient mind. The denife of the fence of her table was taken out of the Greeke stories, howe Andromache accompanied her husband He- husband Bructor, when he went out of the citie of Troy to goe to the warres, and how Hettor deliuered The Borr of her his litle fonne, and how her eyes were never of him . Porcia feeing this picture, and like. Heller and ning her felfe to be in the fame case, the fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentymes in felfeth in a day to fee it, the wept still, Acilius one of Brutus friendes perceiving that, rehearfed the verses pained tables

Andromache speaketh to this purpose in Homer: Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother, And husbandeke and in all: I mind not any other.

Then Brutus fmyling, aunswered againe: but yet (fayd he) I can not for my part fay vnto Porcia as Hector aunswered Andromache in the same place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou with wveying devuly ovut Thy mayds their task, and pricking on a clowet.

For in deede, the weake constitution of her body, doth not suffer her to performe in shew. the valliant acts that we are able to doe: but for corage and constant minde, she shewed her felfe as flowt in the defence of her contry, as any of vs. Bibulus, the fonne of Parcia, reporteth F this ftory thus. Now Brutus imbarking at ELEA in LVKE, he fayled directly towards ATHENS. How Brune When he arrived there, the people of Athens received him with common loyes of reioyeing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whome he went show.

mendesh Ciceroes Conne.

reth him jetfe

daily to heare the lectures of Theomnestus ACADEMICE Philosopher, and of Cratippus the Pa- A RIPATETICK, and so would talke with them in Philosophie, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gaue h m felfe onely vnto studye: howbeit secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for warre. For he fent Heroltratus into M ACEDON, to winne the Captaines and fouldiers that were youn those marches, & he did also enterteyne all the younge gentlemen of the Romanes, whome he founde in Athens studying Philosophie: amongest them he found Ciceroes fonne, whome he highly prayled and commended, faying, that whether he waked or flept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrannes. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertifed that there came out of A si A a certaine fleete of R o M A N E flips that had good flore of money in them. and that the Captaine of those shippes (who was an honest man, and his famillier friende) B came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leaue his shippes in his hands. Whereuppon he made him a notable banket at his house, bicause it was on his birth day. When the feast day came, & that they began to drinke lustely one to another: the ghests dranke to the victorie of Brutus, and the libertie of the ROMANES. Brutus therefore to encorage them further, called for a bigger cuppe, & holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake this alowd:

> My destiny and Phæbus are agreede. To bring me to my finall end with feede.

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the fame day he fought his last battell by the ci- C tie of Philippes, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and signall of battell, Phabus: to that it was thought ever fince, that this his fodaine crying out at the feaft, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him of the money he caried into ITALY, 50, Myriades. Furthermore, all Pompeys fouldiers that straggled vp and downe THESS ALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from Cinna also, fine hundred horsemen, which he caried into As IA, vnto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea vnto the city of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to Antonius: and the which had bene made and forged there by Iulius Cafars commaundement, for the warres against the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, Hortensiae gouernor of MACEDON, did refigne the gouernment thereof vnto him. Besides, all the Princes, kings and D noble menthereabouts, came and joyned with him, when it was told him that Caius, (Antonius brother) comming out of ITALY, had passed the sea, & came with great speede towards the citie of DYRRACHIVM, and APOLLONIA, to get the fouldiers into his hands, which Gabinius had there. Brutus therefore to preuent him, went presently with a fewe of his men in the middest of winter when it snewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and sowle contries, and made such speede in deede, that he was there long before Antonius sumpters, that carried the vittells. So that when he came neare vnto Dyrkachivm, a disease tooke him which the Philitions call Beautia, to fay, a cormorant and vnfatiable appetite to eate: by reafon of the cold and paynes he had taken. This ficknes chaunceth often, both to men & beafts, that trauaile when it hath snowen: Either bicause the naturall heate being retyred into the E inward parts of the body, by the coldnes of the ayer hardening the skinne, doth straight difgest and consume the meate: or els bicause a sharpe suttell wind comming by reason of the fnow when it is molten, doth pearce into the body, and driveth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the body: causeth the sweates that follow the disfeafe. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faynt, and having nothing in his campe to eate: his fouldiers were compelled to goe to their enemies, & comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vie the Citizens there- F of curreoufly, but all the inhabitants of the citie also for their sakes. Now, when Caim Antoniwas arrived in the citie of Apollonia, he fent vnto the fouldiers thereabouts to come

A ftrannge difeafe tooke Brutus at D; rrachium VVby by from the hun gry difeafe sakcih nien shas are wea. ried with tra-

Brut 4 than clemency.

A vnto him. But when he understoode that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the Citizens of Aponionia did fauor him much: he then for fooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of Bythrotys, butyet he lost three of his enseignes by the way, that were flavne energy man of them. Then he fought by force to winne certaine places of strength about BYLLIS, &c to drive Brutus men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtayne his purpose he fought a battell with Cicero, the sonne of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whome he was ouercome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a Captaine, and did many notable exploytes by his seruice. Shortly after, having stolen vpon Caius Antonius in certein marishes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not fet on him with furie, but onely road round about him, commaunding his fouldiers to spare him & his men, as reckoning them all his own R without stroke striking: and so in deede it hapned. For they yelded them selues, and their Cap-

taine Antonius, vnto Brutus: fo that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept C. Amenius this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and fignes of Braum. his Consulthip, although many of his friends, & Cicero among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he sawe Antonius secretly practised with his Captaines to make some alteracion: then he fent him into a shippe, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whome C. Antonius had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of APOLLONIA, and fent from thence vnto Brutus to come vnto them: he made them aunswer, that it was not the maner of Romane Captaines to come to the fouldiers, but the fouldiers to come to the Cap-

taine and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereuppon they came to him, and C he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to goeinto Asia, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at Rome. For Octanius Cafar was in armes, by commaundement and authoritie from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of IT ALY, the Senate then began to be affrayd of him: bicause he sued to be Consul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other fide, Octavius Cafar perceiuing the Senate stayed not there, but turned vnto Brutus that was out of ITALY, and that they appoynted him the government of certaine provinces: then he began to be affrayd for his part, and fent vnto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then comming on with his armye neare to Rome, he made him felfe to be chosen Consul, with Anional whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a strippling or springal of twenty yeare ". Dold, as him felfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Conful, he prefently

appoynted Judges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefest Magistrate, without law or judgement: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So, the parties accused were condemned, bicause the Iudges were Brunu accus compelled to give fuch fentence. The voyce went, that when the Herauld (according to the fed, and con-

custom after sentence given) went up to the chaier or pulpit for orations, & proclaymed Bru- Official Cotus with a lowd voyce, fummoning him to appeare in person before the ludges: the people sar meanes, that stoode by sighed openly, and the noble men that were present honge downe their heads, for the death & durst not speake a word. Among them, the teares fell from Publius Silicius eyes : who short- fe. ly after, was one of the profcripts or outlawes appoynted to be flayne. After that, these three

E Octavius Cafar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between them selves, and by those The Trimes-

articles deuided the prouinces belonging to the Empire of Rome amonge them selues, and wirase. did fet vp billes of profcription and outlary, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of ROME to suffer death, and among that number, Cicero was one. Newes being brought thereof into MACEDON, Brutus being then inforced to it, wrote vnto Hortensius, that he should put C. Antonius Caius Antonius to death, to be reuenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the murdered. which the one was his friend, and the other his kinfeman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the battell of PHILIPPES, he made him to be slayne vpon his brothers tombe. But then Brutus fayd, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was flayne, then he was otherwife fory for his death: and that he could not but greatly F reproue his friendes he had at Rome, who were flaues more through their owne fault, then through their valliantnes or manhood which vsurped the tyranny: considering that they were

so cowardly and faynt harted, as to suffer the fight of those things before their eyes, the report

Brutus and Caßius doe io) ne armiei

together.

The Charpe condicions of Brutus gentle and far er condicions.

Brutsu inhe had ouer

Callina.

whereof should onely have grieved them to the hart. Nowe when Brutus had paffed over his A army (that was very great) into Asia, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of shippes together, as well in the coast of BITHYNIA, as also in the citie of Cyzrcvm, bicause he would have an army by sea: and him selfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience vnto Princes and noblemen of the contry that had to doe with him. Afterwards, he fent vnto Cassius in Syria, to turne him from his iorney into A-GYPT, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for them selues, that they wandred vo and downe in that fort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their contry agains to their libertie: and that the multitude of fouldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the tyrannes that would keepe them in flauery and fubication. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intentithey should not be farre from ITALY, as heare as they could possible, but p should rather make all the haste they could to helpe their contry men. Cassius beleued him. & returned. Brutus went to meete him, and they both met at the citie of SMYRNA, which was the first time that they saw together, since they tooke leave eche of other, at the haven of PIREA in ATHEMS: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were maruelous joyfull, and no leffe coragious, when they faw the great armies together which they had both leavied: confidering that they departing out of ITALY, like naked and poore banished men, without armor and money, nor having any shippe ready, nor souldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, hauing shippes, money and souldiers enowe, both sootemen & horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now Caffins would have done Brutus as much honor, as Bru-C tus did vnto him: but Brutus most commonly preuented him, and went first vnto him, both bicause he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of bodye. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwife maruelous chollerick and cruell, who fought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other fide he was too famillier with his friends, and would iest too brodely with them. But Brutus in contrary manner, for his vertue and valliantnes, was wellbeloued of the people and his owne, esteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: bicause he was a maruelous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleafure and couetoufnes, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would never yeeld to any wronge or iniuffice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good n will that every man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleue, that if Pompey him felse had ouercome Cafar, he would have refigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would fill keepe the fourrainty and absolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to please the people, the title of Conful or Dictator, or of some other more civill office. And as for Cassius, a hot, chollerick, & cruell man, that would oftentymes be caried away from inflice for gayne: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put him felfe into fundry daungers, more to have abfolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his contry. For they that will also confider others, that were elder men then they, as Cinna, Marius, and Carbo: it is out of doubt that the ende and hope of their victorie, was to be Lordes of their contry: and in manner they did all P. confesse that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lordes of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies them felues did neuer reproue Brutus, for any fuch chaunge or defire. For, it was fayd that Antonius spake it openly diners tymes, that he thought, that of all them that had flayne Cafar, there was none but Brutus only that was moued to doe it, as thinking the acte commendable of it felfe: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some private malice or enuy, that they otherwise did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be seene by his writings. For approaching neare to the instant daunger, he wrote vnto Pomponius Atticus, that his affayres had the best happe that could be. For, saydhe, eyther I will fet my contry at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And p furthermore, that they being certeine and affured of all thinges els, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should line or dye with libertie. He wrote also that Antonius

BRVTVS. A had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might have bene a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassus, and Cato, & haue made one with them: he liked better to choose to be iovned with Octavius Cafar alone: with whome, though now he be not ouercome by vs. yet shall he shortly after also have warre with him . And truely he proued a true Prophet, for so came Brown, a rue it in deede to paffe. Now whileft Brutus and Cafrius were together in the citie of SMYRNA: Bru-Prophet of tus prayed Cassim to let him haue some part of his money whereof he had great store, bicause all that he could rappe and rend of his fide, he had bestowed it in making so great a number of shippes, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commaundement. Cassus friendes hindered this request, and earnestly disswaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassus had gotten together by B sparing, and leanied with great euill will of the people their subjects, for him to bestowe liberally vppon his fouldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gaue him the thirde parte of his totall summe. So Cassius and Cassius werns Brutus then departing from eche other, Cassius tooke the citie of RHODES, where he too dishonestly & cruelly vsed himselse: although when he came into the citic, he aunswered some of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and king, that he was nether Lord nor king, but he onely that had flaine him, that would have bene Lord and king. Brutus departing from thence, fent vnto the Lycians, to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebell against him, insomuch that the contry men of that contry kept the straights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to stoppe Brutus opaffage. Wherefore Brutus fent his horsemen against them, who stale vppon them as they were at dinner, and flue fix hundred of them: and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he tooke, goe without payment of ransome, hoping by this his great curtes in the winne them, to drawe all the rest of the contry vnto him. But they were so in Iyid. fierce and obstinate, that they would mutyne for euery small hurt they receyued as they pasfed by their contry, and did despise his curtesie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to befeege the citie of the X ANT HIANS, within the which were shut vppe the cruellest and mostewarrelikest men of Lycia. There was a ryuer that ranne by the walls of the citie, in the which many men faued them selues, swymming betweene two waters, and fledde: howbeit they laved nettes ouerthwart the ryuer, and tyed litle bells on the toppe of them, to D found when any man was taken in the nettes. The XANTHIANS madea false out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of battery that bette downe their walls : but they were prefently driven in agayne by the Romanes, foloone as they were discovered. The winde by channe was maruelous bygge, and increased the slame so fore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, fo that the next houses vnto them were straight set The citie of a fire thereby . Wherefore Brutus beeing affrayde that all the citie woulde take of a fire, he afre. presently commaunded his men to quenche the fire, and to saue the towne if it might be, But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frensie, and straunge and horrible dispayre, that no man can well expresse it: and a man can not more rightly compare or lykenit, then to a franticke and moste desperate desire to dye. For all of them together, with their wines and children. Maisters and fermanns, and of all sortes of one what some finds of the E and children, Maisters and seruaunts, and of all sortes of age whatsoeuer, fought vppon Xambiana. the ramper of their walles, and did cast downe stones and serworkes on the Romanes, which were very buffe in quenching the flame of the fire, to faue the citie. And in contrary manner also, they brought fagotts, drye wodde, and reedes, to bringe the fire further into the citie asmuch as might bee, increasing it by suche thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place: Brutus beeing forye to fecit, gotte vppon his horse, and rode rownde about the walles of the citie, to fee if it were possible to faue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citye, and to faue them felues. Howbeit they woulde not be perswaded, but did all that they coulde possible to cast them sclues aways F not onely men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and cryingrout, did cast them selves into the fire: others headlong throwing them selves downed from the walles, brake their neckes: others also made their neckes bare; to the naked

The Paterei ans doe seld shem feluer unto Brutus. The extreme constantines and crueliie of CaBins to she Rhodians.

Theodorus borne in Chio 15 Ptolomy theyoung king of AE-Theodorus faying:a dead man bisesh

> Theodotus Chian.the Rethorician shat zoue counsell to

swordes of their fathers, and vadid their clothes, praying them to kill them their owne A handes. After the citye was burnt, they founde a woman hanged vppe by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande deade by her, hanged vppe also: and in the other hande a burning torche fetting fire on her house. Some woulde haue had Brutus to haue seene her, but he woulde not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sownd of trompet, that he woulde giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that coulde saue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftye of them faued, and yet they were faued against their willes. Thus the XANTHIANS having ended the revolution of their fatall destinie, after a longe continuance of tyme: they did through their desperation, renue the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres R of the Persians, did burne their citie, and destroyed them selues. Therefore Brutus likewife befeeging the citie of the PATAREIANS, perceyuing that they stowtly refisted him: he was also affrayde of that, and could not well tell whether he should give assault to it, or not. least they woulde fall into the dispayre and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe agayne, without payment of ransome. Nowe they that were the wives and Daughters of the noblest men of the citie. reporting vnto their parents, that they had founde Brutus a mercifull, iuste, and curteous man: they perswaded them to yeelde them selues and their citie vnto him, the which they did, So after they had thus yeelded them selues, divers other cities also sollowed them, and did the like: and founde Brutus more mercifull and curteous, then they thought they thould C. haue done, but specially farre aboue Cassius. For Cassius, about the selfe same tyme, after he had compelled the RHODIANS every man to deliver all the ready money they had in gold and filuer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eyght thowsande talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to paye the summe of fine hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had leauyed of all the contrye of Lycia but a hundred and fiftye talents onely: he departed thence into the contrye of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Nowe Brutus in all this iorney, did many notable actes and worthy of memorie, bothe for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deseruedit: Wherefore among the reft, I will tell you of one thinge, of the which he him felfe. and all the noble men of the ROMANBS were maruelous glad. When Pompey the great (ha- D uing lost the battell against Iulius Casar, in the fieldes of PHARSALIA) came and fell vopon the coast of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PBLVSIVM: those that were protectors to the young king Ptolomy, beeing then but a childe, fate in counfell with his feruaunts and friendes, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mynde in this consultacion: for some thought it good to receyue Pomper, others also, that they shoulde drive him out of AGYPT. But there was a certayne Rethoritian called Theodotus, that was borne in the Ile of CHIO, who was the kinges Schoolemaister to teache him Rethoricke. He beeing scholemaister called to this counsell for lacke of sufficienter men, sayde, that bothe the one and the other fide went awrye, aswell those that were of opinion to receyue Pompey, as the other that woulde haue had him driven awaye: and that the best waye was (considering the present E tyme) that they should laye holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence, that a deade man byteth not. The whole counsell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto Pompey: Pompey the great was flayne, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwardes did him felse boalt of it. But when Iulius Cafar came afterwardes into ÆGYPT. the wicked men that confented to this counfell, had their payment according to their deferts : for they dyed enery man of them a wicked death, fauing this Theodotus, whome fortune respyted a litle while lenger, and yet in that tyme he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer tarying longe in any one place. So Brutus going vppe and downe Asia, Theodotus coulde hyde him selfe no lenger, but was brought vnto Brutus, where he suffered paines of death: F fo that he wanne more fame by his deathe, then euer he did in his life. About that tyme, Brutus fent to praye Cassius to come to the citye of Sardis, and so he did Brutus

BRVTVS.

107F A vnderstanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their as- 411 Pompon mies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Nowe, as it commonly hapneth in great death by Brit affavres between two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many Captaines yn der them : there ranne tales and complaints betwirt them. Therefore; before they fell in Hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad enery man aboyde, meet at he and did thur the dores to them. Then they beganne to powre out their complaints one to the cities sadd other, and grew hot and lowde, earneftly accuting one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them lowd within, and angry be plaint one twene them selues, they were both amased, and affrayd also lest it would grow to further matter:but yet they were commaunded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding one M. Phanium R Marcus Phaonius, that had bene a friend and follower of Cato while he lived, & tooke vpon him a follower of to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisedom and discretion, but with a certaine bedlem Care. and frantick motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let Phaonius, when a mad moode or toye tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hafty man, & fodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vied this bold manner of speeche after the profession of the Craick Phile Cynick Philosophers, (as who would say, doggs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, bicause they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the

he counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor sayd in Homer months My Lords, I pray you harken both to mee, For I have seene moe yeares than such ye three.

Cassius fel a laughing at him:but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, & called him dogge. and counterfeate Cynick. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left eche other. The felfe fame night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friendes with him . So when they were fet at supper, Phaonius came to sit downe after he had washed. Brutus tolde him alowd, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower ende of the bed. Phaonius made no ceremonie, butthrust in amongest the middest of them, and made all the companye laugh at him: So they were merry all supper tyme, and full of their Philosophie. The next daye after, Brutus, vpon-D complaynt of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had benea Prætor of the ROMANES, and whome Brutus had given charge vnto: for

that he was accused and connicted of robberie, and pilferie in his office. This judgement: much misliked Cassus: bicause he him selfe had secretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleered them : but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued Brutus, for that he would shew him selfe so straight and severe in fuch a tyme, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take thinges at the world. Brutus in contrary manner aunswered, that he shoulde remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme Indian Cestar they flue Iulius Cafar: who nether pilled nor polled the contrye, but onely was a fauorer and flagne as the E suborner of all them that did robbe and spoyle, by his countenaunce and authoritie. And if Idu of March there were any occasion whereby they might honestly sette aside instice and equitie: they

should have had more reason to have suffered Casars friendes, to have robbed and done what wronge and injurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then fayde he. they could but haue fayde they had bene cowards: and nowe they may accuse vs of imuftice, The wonderbeside the paynes we take, and the daunger we put our selues into. And thus may we see what full confluency Brutus intent and purpole was . But as they both prepared to passe ouer againe, out of Ast a. of Brutus, in into Evrope: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull figne vnto him . British fire and a was a carefull man, and flept very litle, both for that his dyet was moderate, as also bicanse he quite. was a carefull man, and nept very nete, notified that his dyet was inductate, as and or the rewer was continually occupied. He neuer flept in the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the day tyme, and tyme, and tyme, and tyme, and tyme, and

F tymehe was driven to be alone, and when every bodye els tooke their rest. But nowe whilest he was in warre, and his heade euer bufily occupied to thinke of his affayres, and what would happen: after he had flumbered a litle after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dif-

XXXX ii

doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine (coffing & mocking gefture which

to pray for victory. But Brutus skorning this miserie and niggardlines, first of all mustered his

armie, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the manner of the Romanes: and then he

gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to facrifice, and fiftie filuer Drachmasto euery

him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he should have worne

on his head in the tyme of facrificing. Moreouer it is reported also, that at another tyme be-

fore, in certaine sportes and triumphe where they caried an image of Cassim victorie of cleane

gold, it fell by chaunce, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a

maruelous number of fowles of praye, that feede vpon dead carkaffes: and beehiues also were

founde, where bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the

and byckerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and euer had the better: that yet

quickned his spirits againe, and did put him in better hart. And furthermore, bicause that some

moreouer diuers others would doe the like: that made many of Cassus friendes, which were

of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in counfell whether the battell shoulde be

fought or not) that they were then of Brutus minde. But yet was there one of Brutus friendes

D of their owne men had already yelded them selues to their enemies, and that it was suspected

A that it was an encoragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, & that it maketh the beauty of them also fight like deuills that loue to get, and be affrayd to lose: bicause they fight to keepe their ormor

1074

their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their and a capons, armies, Octavius Casar tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue his men onely a litle corne, and fine filuer Drachmas to enery man to facrifice to the gods, &

fouldier. So that Brutus and Cassius souldiers were better pleased, and more coragiously bent to fight at the daye of the battell, then their enemies fouldiers were . Notwithstanding, being Pulsely B bufily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chaunced figure vines

certaine vnlucky fignes vnto Cassim. For one of his Sergeaunts that caried the roddes before Cassim.

campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would have of it. The which C beganne somewhat to alter Cassius minde from Epicurus opinions, and had put the souldiers allo in a maruelous feare. Thereuppon Cassius was of opinion not to trye this warre at one battell, but rather to delay tyme, and to drawe it out in length, confidering that they were the

ftronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But Brutus in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that tyme also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, on about base assone as might be possible: to the ende he might either quickely restore his contry to her 10th. former libertie, or rid him forthwith of this miferable world, being still troubled in following and mainteyning of such great armies together. But perceiving that in the dayly skirmishes

called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tary the next winter. Attenue opinion that they should tary the next winter. Mininfor the

Brutus asked him what he should get by tarying a yeare lenger? If I get nought els, q Attel-banes. lius agayne, yet haue I liued so much lenger . Cassius was very angry with this aunswer: and Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereuppon it was presently determined they should fight battell the next daye. So Brutus all supper tyme looked with a

cheerefull countenaunce, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wifely of Philoso-E phie, and after supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by him felfe in his tent with a fewe of his friendes, and that all supper tyme he looked very fadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he tooke Castinu words him by the hande, and holding him fast (in token of kindness as his manner was) tolde him in "this Messacratic last the manner was) tolde him in "this Messacratic last the manner was) tolde him in "this Messacratic last the manner was and make the manner was tolde him in "this Messacratic last the manner was and make the manner was and make the manner was a last the manner was a last the manner was and make the manner was a last the man Greeke: Meffala, I protest vnto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled against before the

thy minde and will (as Pompey the great was) to leopard the libertie of our contry, to the ha-banel.

zard of a battel. And yet we must be liuely, and of good corage, considering our good fortune, whome we shoulde wronge too muche to mistrust her, although we followe enill counsell. Messala writeth, that Cassius having spoken these last wordes vnto him, he bad him sarewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, bicause it was his birth

day. The next morning by breake of day, the fignall of battell was fet out in Brutus and Cassius campe, which was an arming scarlet coate: and both the Chiefetaines spake together in the British and middeft of their armies. There Cassius beganne to speake first, and sayd: the gods graunt vs, O cassius talks before the

parching of his waightieft causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any ley- A fure left him, he would read some booke till the third watche of the night, at what tyme the Captaines, pety Captaines and Colonells, did vie to come vnto him. So, being ready to goe into Evrops, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a littlelight, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and moncitie of Sardis struous shape of a body comming towards him, and sayd neuer a word. So Brutus boldly asked whathe was, a god, or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him. I am thy enill spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Brutus beeing no otherwise affrayd, replyed againe vnto it: well, then I shall see thee agayne. The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard R no noyle, nor fawe any thinge at all. Thereuppon Brutus returned agayne to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the daye brake, he went vnto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared vnto him in the night. Cassus beeing in opinion an Epic VRIAN, and reacasina opini- forning thereon with Brutus, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our secte, Brutus, we haue an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or fee, that which we suppose we doe both fee and feele: but that our fenfes beeing credulous, and therefore eafily abused (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjedure that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without eyther cause or matter) any thinge in the imagination what soeuer. And therefore the imagination is refembled to clave, and the minde to the potter: who without any other C cause than his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And this doth the diversitie of our dreames shewe vnto vs. For our imagination doth vppon a fmall fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and formes of thinges imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continual mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholick discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and sences having bene overlabored, doe easilier yeelde to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angells, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockerye. And for myne owne parte, I would there were fuche, bicause that we shoulde not onely have souldiers, horses, and shippes, but also n the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honest and honorable attempts. With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they rayled their campe. there came two Eagles that flying with a maruelous force, lighted vppon two of the forefigne by two Eagles. moste enseignes, and alwayes followed the fouldiers, which gaue them meate, and fedde them, untill they came neare to the citie of PHILIPPES: and there one daye onely before the battell, they bothe flewe awaye. Now Brutas had conquered the moste parte of all the people, and nations of that contry: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleere before them, and so drewe towards the coasts of Thas sos. There Norbanus lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called Symbolon: (which is a port of the fea) Cassius and Brutus compassed him in in such fort, E that he was driven to for fake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in daunger beside to haue lost all his armye. For, Octavius Casar could not followe him bicause of his ficknes, and therefore stayed behind: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not Antonius ayde bene, which made fuch wonderful speede, that Brutus could scant beleue it. So Cafar came not thether of ten daies after: & Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on thother before the ci- fide against Cafar. The ROMANES called the valley betweene both campes, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer feenetwo to great armies of the ROM ANES, one before the other, Offanine Ca- ready to fight. In truth, Brutus army was inferior to Octanius Cafars, in number of men: but for brauery and rich furniture, Brutus army farre excelled Cafars. For the most part of their armors were filuer and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given them: although in all other things he

which fouldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpon their backes: he thought

sie of Philippes:against for to Anso

dien branely taught his Captaines to live in order without excesse. But for the bravery of armor, & weapo, mion for

frer to Caf-

BRVTVS. 1074 Brutus, that this day we may winne the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quiet- A ly, one with another. But fith the gods have so ordeyned it, that the greatest & chiefest things amongest men are most vicertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to daye then we wishe or looke for, we shall hardely meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flye, or dye? Brutus aunswered him, being yet but a young man, and not ouergreatly experienced in the world: I trust, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue Cate for killing of him felfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valliant, not to give place and yeld to divine providence, and not constantly and paciently to take what soeuer it pleaseth him to send vs , but to drawe

backe, and flie: but being nowein the middest of the daunger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it benot the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for R hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for warre againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my contry in the Ides of Marche, for the which I shall liue in another more glorious worlde. Cassius fella laughing to hearewhat he fayde, and imbracing him, come on then fayde he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this mynde. For eyther we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to seare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultacion amonge their friendes for the ordering of the battell. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might have the leading of the right winge. the which men thought was farre meeter for Casius: both bicause he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gaue it him, and willed that Mes-(who had charge of one of the warrelikest legions they had) shoulde be also in that c winge with Brutus . So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well ap-The banellar poynted, and his footemen also were as willing and ready eto give charge. Nowe Antonimen did cast a trenche from the marishe by the which they lave, to cutte of Cassius way to come to the sea: and Casar, at the least his armye, styrred not. As for Octavius Casar him selfe, he was not in his campe, bicause he was sicke. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would have given them battell, but onely have made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trenche, and with their darts and slings to have kept them from sinishing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to give them battell, maruelled much at the great noyle they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trenche. In the meane tyme Brutus that led the right winge, sent litle D billes to the Colonells and Captaines of private bandes, in the which he wrote the worde of the battell: and he him selfe riding a horse backe by all the trowpes, did speake to them, and incoraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very fewe of them vnderstoode what was the worde of the battell, and besides, the most parte of them neuer taryed to haue it tolde them, but ranne with greate furie to affayle the enemies: whereby through this diforder, the legions were maruelously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, Messalegion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left winge of the enemies, and did nothing, but glawnfing by them, ouerthrewe some as they went, and fo going on further, fell right vpon Cafars campe, out of the which (as him felfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a little before, thorough the counsell and ad- E uise of one of his friendes called Marcus Artorius: Who dreaming in the night, had a vifion appeared vnto him, that commaunded Octavius Cafar should be carried out of his campe. Infomuch as it was thought he was flayne, bicaufe his lytter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through & through with pykes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongest others, there were slayne two thowsand LACED EMONIANS, who were arrived but euen a little before, comming to ayde Cefar. The other also that had not glaunsed by, but had giuen a charge full vpon Cafars battell: they easily made them flie, bicause they were greatly troubled for the losse of their campe, and of them there were slayne by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to followe the chase of them that sled, they ranne in amongest them handouer headinto their campe, & Brutus among the But that which the coquerors thought p not of occasion shewed it ynto them that were ouercome: & that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, & vngarded of the of the right wing, who were strayed too far of, in followA ing of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gave a hot charge vpon them, But not with franding all the force they made, they coulde not breake into the middest of their battell, where they founde men that received them, and valliantlie made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrewe the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also bicause they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them beating them into their campe, the which they spoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the first charge, was gotten into the next marish: and no man coulde tell what became of Octavius Casar, after he was caried out of his campe. Infomuche that there were certaine fouldiers that shewed their

fwords bloodied, & fayd that they had flaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what of anim rea B age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the middest of Brutus battell, had alreadie put for fallely reall their enemies to flight that withstoode them, with great flaughter: fo that Brutus had con-flaine at the quered all of his fide, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing vadid them, but bassell of that Brutus went not to helpe Cassius, thinking he had ouercome them, as him selfe had done: Philippes. and Callius on the other fide taried not for Brutus, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him former. felfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on Brutus fide, Messala confirmeth it: that they wanne three Eagles, and divers other enfignes of their enemies, and their enemies wanne neuer a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked Calars men: he wondred muche that he coulde not see Cassius tent standing up high as it was wont. neither the other tentes of his campe standing as they were before, bicause all the whole cape C had bene spoiled, and the tentes throwen downe, at the first comming in of the enemies. But

they that were about Brutus, whose fight served them better, tolde him that they sawe a great gliftering of harnes, and a number of filuered targets, that went & came into Caffius campe. and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to gard the campe: and yet that they faw not fuch a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there should have bene, if so many legions had bene slaine. This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemie which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide Cassius, who was in this ftate as you shall heare. First of all he was maruelous angrie, to see how Brutus men ranne to cassius offen. n geue charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaunde- ded with the

ment to geue charge: and it grieued him beside, that after he had ouercome them, his men rous British fell straight to spoyle, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of the enemies behinde, and his men But with tarying too long also, more then through the valliantnesse or forelight of the Cap-committed in taines his enemies: Caffius founde him selfe compassed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereuppon his horsemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towardes the sea. Fur-

thermore, perceiuing his footemen to geue ground, he did what he could to kepe them from flying, and tooke an enfigne from one of the enfigne bearers that fled, and flucke it fast at his feete: although with much a do he could scant keepe his owne gard together. So Caffins him cassin valfelfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a little hill, from whence they liammes in E might easely see what was done in all the plaine: howebeit Cassius him selfe sawe nothing, for his fight was verie bad, fauing that he faw (and yet with much a doe) how the enemies fpoiled his campe before his eyes. He fawe also a great troupe of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he fent Titinnins, one of them that was with him, to goe and know what they were. Brutus horsemen sawe him comming a farre of, whom when they knewe that he was one of Cassius chiefest frendes. they showted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horses, and went and imbraced him. The rest compassed him in rounde about a horsebacke, with fongs of victorie and great rulhing of their harnes, so that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all, For Cassius thinking in deede that Titinnius was taken

F of the enemies, he then spake these wordes: desiring too much to line, I have lived to see one The imperof my best frendes taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he gotte into a tent where sance of error no bodie was, and tooke Pyndarus with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he referred in warren XXXX iiij

head, & holding out his bare neck vnto Pindarus, he gaue him his head to be striken of. So the

head was found seuered from the bodie: but after that time Pindarus was neuer seene more,

Wherupon, some tooke occasion to fay, that he had slaine his master without his comaunde-

ment. By & by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, & might see Titinnius crow-

ned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great speede vnto Casius. But when he

perceived by the cries and teares of his frends which tormented them felues, the misfortune

felfe a thowfand times that he had taried fo long, and fo flue him felfe prefentlie in the fielde.

throwen; but he knew nothing of his death, ull he came verie neere to his campe. So when

he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassus, calling him the last of all the

ROMANES, being unpossible that ROME should ever breede againe so noble & valliant a man

as he: he caused his bodie to be buried, and sent it to the citie of Thassos, fearing least his

funerals within the campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together,

& did encorage them againe. And when he faw that they had loft all their cariage, which they

could not brooke well: he promifed euerie man of them two thowfand Drachmas in recom-

pence. After his fouldiers had heard his Oration, they were al of them pretily cheered againe,

wondering much at his great liberalitie, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went

And to speake the trueth his deedes shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For

with fewe legions, he had flaine and driven all them away, that made head against him: and

yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to

runne to spoyle their goods: furely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left ne-

uer a man of them alive. There were flaine of Brutus fide, about eight thowfand men, couting

there were flaine as he supposeth, more then twife as many moe. Wherefore they were more

discoraged then Brutus, untill that verie late at night, there was one of Casius men called De-

of men flaine, the fouldiers flaues, whom Brutus called Brigas : and of the enemies fide, as Meffala wryteth,

his way, praising him, for that he only of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. C

Brutus in the meane time came forward ftill, and understoode also that Cassus had bene ouer- B

Caffins flaine Pindarus.

The death of that had chaunced to his Captaine Calling, by mistaking; he drew out his fword, cutting him

metrius, who went ynto Antonius, and caried his maisters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his fword also. This encoraged Brutus enemies, and made them so braue, D that the next morning betimes they stoode in battell ray againe before Brutus. But on Brutus fide, both his campes stoode wavering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full of priloners, required a good garde to looke vnto them: and Casius campe on the other fide tooke the death of their Captaine verie heauilie, and befide, there was some vile grudge betwene them that were ouercomen, and those that did ouercome. For this cause therefore Brutus did for them in battell ray, but yet kept him felfe from geuing battell. Now for the flaues that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, & went & came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commaunded they shoulde kill them. But for the freemen, he fent them freely home, and faid, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were flaues and servauntes: and with him, they were free E men, and citizens. So when he faw that divers Captaines and his frendes did so cruelly hate Brutus clem? fome, that they would by no meanes faue their liues: Brutus him felfe hid them, and fecretlie fent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius a leaster, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no accompt at all. Howbeit his frends brought them vnto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to fcorne, and to least broadly with them. Brutus made no aunswere to it, bicause his heade was occupied otherwayes, Whereupon, Messala Corninus sayd: that it were good to whippe them on a skaffold, and then to fende them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to shewe them their shame, to keepe suche mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them foort. Some that stoode by laughed at his deuise. But Publius Casea, that F gaue Inlius Calar the fifft wounde when he was flaine, fayd then: It doth not become vs to be thus merie at Cassius funeralls: and for thee, Brutus, thou shalt showe what estimacion thou

A madest of suche a Captaine thy compere, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloodes, who hereafter will mocke him, and defame his memorie. Brutus aunswered againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, Cafea, and doe not your felues what you thinke good? When they hearde him fay so, they tooke his aunswere for a consent against these poore vnfortunate men, to suffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & flue them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promife he had made to the fouldiers, and gaue them the two thowfand Drachmas a peece, but yet he first reproued them, bicause they went & gaue charge vpon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell geuen them: and made them a new promife also, that if in the second

battell they fought like men, he would geue them the facke and spoyle of two cities, to wit. B THESSALONICA, and LACED MMON, In all Brutus lifethere is but this only fault to be found. and that is not to be gainefaid: though Antonius and Octavius Cafar did reward their fouldiers Ensur fault farre worse for their victory. For when they had driven all the natural ITALIANS out of IT As wifely excu-LIE, they gaue their fouldiers their landes and townes, to the which they had no right: and fed by Plus moreouer, the only marke they shot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigne. Where in contrarie manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus vertue, that the common voyce and opinion of the world would not fuffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to faue him felfe, otherwise then justile and honestly, and speciallie after Cassius death; whome men burdened, that oftentimes he moued Brutus to great crueltie. But nowe, like as the mariners on the fea after the rudder of their shippe is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some

c other peece of wodde in liew thereof, and doe helpe them selues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be voon that instant daunger: euen so Brutus, having such a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires standing verie tickle, and having no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie and authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind him felfe also to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them ferue like noble fouldiers at time of neede. For Cassius fouldiers were verie euill to be ruled, and did shewe them selves verie stubborne and lustic in the campe, bicause they had no Chieftaine that did comaund them: but yet rancke cowards to their enemies, bicause they had once ouercome them. On the other side Octavius Casar, and Antonius, were not in much better state: for first of all, they lacked vittells. And bicause they were lodged in low n places, they looked to abide a hard and sharpe winter, being camped as they were by the ma-

the great losse they had of their men by sea. For Brutus shippes met with a great aide and supplie of men, which were fent them out of ITALIB, and they ouerthrewe them in fuche forte, rie by fee. that there scaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled Wonderfull to eate the tackle and failes of their shippes. Thereuppon they were verie desirous to fight a famine among battell againe, before Brutus (hould have intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chau- Cafars foulced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfe same day it was fought by lande. But by The ignorates E ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victory came of Braune vinot to Brutus eare, till twentie dayes after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not have mashin one bene brought to haue fought a fecond battell, confidering that he had excellent good prouifion for his armie for a long time, and belides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marueloufly encoraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lordes, but required one only abfolute Gouernor: God, to preuent Brutus that it shoulde not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in decde it came but a litle too late. For the day be-

rish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne.

where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the colde did

F fore the last battell was genen, vericlate in the night, came Clodius, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that Cafar hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by fea, defired nothing more then to fight a battell before Brutus vnderstoode it. Howebeit they gave no credit to his

freeze incontinentlie. But beside all these discommodities, there came newes vnto them of

The ewil Bi vit appeared againe unso Restue Strannge fightes before Brutus fecond

great skill in

The death of the valliant young man Caso, the Conne of Marciu Ca-

Thefidelitie of Lucilius Pato Brutus.

words, but despised him so muche, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto Brutus, A bicause they thought it was but a lye denised, to be the better welcome for this good newes. The (elfe tame night, it is reported that the monstruous spirit which had appeared before vnto Brutus in the citie of SARDIS, did now appeare againe vnto him in the felfe fame shape and forme, and so vanished away, and sayd neuer a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a graue & wife Philosopher, that had bene with Brutus from the beginning of this warre, he doth make mencion of this spirite, but sayth: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a fwarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whole arme fodainly fell a fweating. that it dropped ovle of roles from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but all would doe no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruelous great filence all the B valley oner, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and that in the end, the Eagle towardes Brutus gave over, and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standard bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an ATHIOPIAN, whome the fouldiers for ill lucke mangled with Brutus fecond their fwordes. Now, after that Brutus had brought his armie into the fielde, and had fet them in battell ray, directlie against the voward of his enemie: he pawsed a long time, before he gaue the fignall of battell. For Brutus riding vp and downe to view the bands and companies: it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so muche as he thought. Moreover, he fawe his horfemen fet forward but faintly, and did not goe lustely to gene charge: but still stayed, to see what the sootemen woulde doe. Then sodainly, one of C the chiefest Knightes he had in all his armie called Camulatius, and that was alway marueloufly effeemed of for his valliantnes, vntill that time: he came hard by Brutus a horsebacke, and roade before his face to yeeld him felfe vnto his enemies. Brutus was maruelous forie for it, wherefore partely for anger, and partely for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to marche, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that place where he him felfe fought in perion, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gaue charge with his footemen; when they faw the enemies in a maze, and affrayed. Howbeit the other also on the right wing, when the Captaines would have had them to have marched: they were affraid to haue bene compassed in behinde, bicause they were sewer in number then their enemies, D and therefore did fored them selues, and leave the middest of their battell, Wherby they habing weakened them felues, they could not withstande the force of their enemies, but turned taile ftraight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to compasse Brutus behinde, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull Captaine and valliant fouldier: both for his wifedom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him at the seconde. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the seconde battell, of Cassius men that were put to flight, there were fewe flaine: and they that faued them felues by speede, being affrayed bicause they had bene ouercome, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to lovne with them, & filled all the E army with feare & diforder. There was the fonne of M.Cato flaine, valliantly fighting amongst the luftie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and ouerharried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling alowde his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongest many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had flaine rounde about him. So there were flaine in the field, all the chiefest gentlemen and nobilitie that were in his armie: who valliantlie ranne into any daunger, to faue Brutus life. Amongest them there was one of Brutus frendes called Lucilius, who feeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men elfe they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behinde, told them that he was Brutus: and bicause they should beleue him, F he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he fayd he was affrayed of Cafar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking

A them selves happie men: they caried him in the night, and sent some before vnto Antonius, to tell him of their comming. He was maruelous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to fee him, some pitying his hard fortune, & others faying, that it was not done like him selfe so cowardlie to be taken aliue of the barbarous people. for feare of death. When they came neere together, Antonius stayed a while, bethinking him selfe how he should vse Brutus. In the meane time Lucilius was brought to him, who stowtly with a bold countenaunce favd. Antonius. I dare affure thee, that no enemie hath taken, nor shall take Marcus Brutus aliue: and I befeech God keepe him from that fortune. For wherefocuer he be found, aliue or dead; he will be found like him felfe. And nowe for my felfe, I am come vnto

B thee, having deceived these men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was Brutus: and doe not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. Lucilius wordes made them all amazed that heard him, Antonius on the other fide, looking vpon all them that had brought him. favd vnto them: my companions, I thinke ye are forie you have failed of your purpole. & that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong : but I doe affure you, you have taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in steade of an enemie, you have brought me a frend: and for my parte, if you had brought me Brutus aliue, truely I can not tell what I should haue done to him. For, I had rather have suche men my frendes, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his frendes in custodie, and Lucilius ever after ferued him faithfullie, even to his death. Nowe Brutus having paffed a

C litle river, walled in on either fide with hie rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then Bruw sping. darke night, he went no further, but stayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and frends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of starres. fighing, he rehearfed two verses of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect,

Let not the vaight from wwhom this mischiefe wwent (O Ioue)escape vvithout devv punishment.

And fayth that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his frendes Appin meathat he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before: spe- neih this by cially, when he came to name Labio, and Flauius, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other, Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie

D being a thirst, and seeing Brutus a thirst also: he ranne to the river for water, and brought it in his fallet. At the felfe fame time they heard a noyfe on the other fide of the river. Whereupon Volumnius tooke Dardanus, Brutus fernaunt with him, to fee what it was : and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left. Brutus fmiling, gentlie tolde them all was dronke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereuppon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great daunger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being fore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men flaine in battell, and to know the trueth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promifed to goe through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to goe see their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he woulde lift vp a torche light in the ayer, and then returne againe with speede to E him. The torche light was lift up as he had promifed, for Statilius went thither. Nowe Brutus feeing Statilius tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he fayd: if Statilius be aline, he will come againe. But his cuill fortune was fuche, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was flaine. Now, the night being farre spent, Brutus as he sate bowed to- The death of wards Clitus one of his men, and told him formwhat in his eare, the other aunswered him not, Statilius. but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued Dardanus, and fayd fomwhat alfo to him: at length he came to Volumnius him felfe, & speaking to him in Græke, prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he woulde helpe him to put his hande to his fword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongest the rest, one of them sayd, there was no tarying for them there, but that they

with a cheerefull countenance. It rejoyceth my hart that not one of my frends hath failed me with fewe.

him felfe. Strato, Brutu. familiar and frend.

lv after. Cafar being at good leafure, he brought Strato, Brutus frende vnto him, and weeping sed into Cafærs frendfrend,

Brutus fune-

tue wife kil-

at my neede, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but only for my contries fake: for, as for A me, I thinke my felfe happier than they that have ouercome, confidering that I leave a perpetuall fame of our corage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and vniust men haue slaine good men to vsurpe tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Hauing fayd fo, he prayed euerie man to shift for them selves, and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strate was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he coulde, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, & falling downe vpon the poynt of it, ran him felfe through. Others fay, that not he, but Strato(at his request) held the sword in his hand, & turned his head

aside, and that Brutus fell downe vpon it: and so ranne him selfe through, and dyed presently, B

Messala, that had bene Brutus great frend, became afterwards Octavius Casars frend, So, thort-

fayd: Cafar, beholde, here is he that did the last feruice to my Brutus, Cafar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull service in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN els he had about him, vntill the battell of Activm. It is reported also, that this Messala him selfe Meffala Cor- aunswered Casar one day, when he gaue him great praise before his face, that he had fought valliantlie, and with great affection for him, at the battell of Activm: (notwithstanding that he had bene his cruell enemy before at the battell of PHILIPPES for Brutus (ake) I euer loued. fayd he, to take the best and justest parte. Now, Antonius having found Brutus bodie, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest cote armors he had. Afterwards also, Antonius under- C standing that this cotearmor was stollen, he put the theefe to death that had stollen it, & sent Porcia, Bru- the ashes of his bodie vnto Seruilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus wife: Nicolaus the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus doe wryte, that she determining to kill her selfe (her parents and frendes carefullie looking to her to kepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her selfe. There was a let-

> ter of Brutus found wrytten to his frendes, complaying of their negligence, that his wife being ficke, they would not helpe her, but fuffred her to kill her felfe, choosing to dye, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it appeareth, that Nicolaus knewe not well that time, fith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the difeafe and loue of this Lady, and also the maner of her death.

D

THE COMPARISON OF

Dion with Brutus.



O come nowe to compare these two noble personages together, it is certaine that both of them having had great gifts in them(& specially Dion) of small occasions they made them selves great men: & therfore Dion of both deserueth chiefest praise. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatnesse, as Brutus had of Cassius: who doubtlesse was not comparable vnto Brutus, for vertue and respect of honor, though otherwise in matters of warre, he was no lesse wise and valliant then he. For many doe impute vnto Cassius, the first beginning and originall of all the warre and enterprise: and fayd it was he that did encourage

Brutus, to conspire Casars death. Where Dion surnished him selfe with armor, shippes and

B fouldiers and wanne those frendes and companions also that did helpe him, to prosecute his

warre. Nor he did not as Brutus, who rose to greatnesse by his enterprises, and by warre got all his strength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, spent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his contrie and disbursed of his owne money, that should have kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessity to make warres. bicause they coulde not have lived safelie in peace, when they were driven out of Rome: for that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driven to hazard them selves in warre, more for their ownesafetie, then for the libertie of their contrie men. Whereas Dion on the other fide, liuing more merily and safelie in his banishment, then the tyranne Dionysius him selfe that had banished him: did put C him selfe to that daunger, to deliuer Sicile from bondage. Nowe the matter was not a like vnto the Romanes, to be deliuered from the gouernment of Cafar: as it was for the Syra-CVSANS, to be ridde of Dionysius tyrannie. For Dionysius denyed not, that he was not a tyranne, having filled Sicile with fuche miferie and calamitie. Howebeit Cafars power and gouernment when it came to be established, did in deede much hurt at his first entrie and beginning vnto those that did resist him: but afterwardes, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouernment, it feemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranne, then otherwise that he was so in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarilie, it seemed that he was a mercifull Phisition, whom God had ordeyned of speciall grace to be Gouernor of the Empire of Rome, and to fet all thinges againe at quiet stay, D the which required the counfell and authoritie of an absolute Prince. And therefore the Ro-MANES were maruelous forie for Cafar after he was flaine, and afterwardes would neuer par-

don them that had flaine him. On the other fide, the cause why the Syracusans did most accuse Dion, was : bicause he did let Dionysus escape out of the castell of Syracus a, and bi-

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DION and BRVTVS. 1082 cause he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, towching the A warres: Dion alway (hewed him felfe a Captaine vnreprouable, having wifelie and skilfullie taken order for those things, which he had enterprised of his owne head and counsell: and did amende the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them.

In what things Dion was inferior unio Briaus.

Where it seemeth, that Brutus did not wisely to receive the second battell: considering his rest floode voon it. For after he had loft the battell it was vnpoffible for him euer to rife againe: & therefore his hart failed him, and fo gaue vp all, and neuer durft striue with his euill fortune as Pompey did, confidering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his souldiers, and being beside a dreadfull Lorde all the sea ouer. Furthermore, the greatest reproache they could object against Brutus, was: that Iulius Casar having saved his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his frende, B and honoring him about all his other frends: Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood, wherewith they could neuer reproue Dion. For on the contrarie fide, fo long as Dion was Dionysius frende and kinseman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was banished his contrie, and that his wife was forciblie maried to an other man, and his goodes also taken from him': then he entred into iust and open warres against Dionysius the tyranne. But in this poynt, they were contrarie together. For wherein their chiefest praise consisted, to witte, in hating of tyrannes and wicked men: it is most true that Brutus defire was most fincere of both. For having no private cause of complaint or grudge against Casar, he ventred to kill him, onely to set his contrie againe at libertie. Where if Dion had not received private cause of quarrell against Dionysius: he woulde never have C made warre with him. The which Plato proueth in his Epistells, where is plainlie seene: that Dion being driven out of the tyrans Court against his will, and not putting him selfe to voluntarie banishment, he draue out Dionysius. Furthermore, the respect of the common wealth caused Brutus, that before was Pompeys enemie, to become his frende, and enemie vnto Casar, that before was his frend: only referring his frendshippe and enmitie, vnto the consideracion of iustice and equitie. And Dion did many things for Dionylius sake and benefit, all the while he trusted him: and when he beganne to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his frendes did not beleue, but after he had driven out Dionysus, he would stablish the government to him selfe, flattering the people with a more curteous and gentle title then the name of a tyranne. But for Brutus, his verie enemies them selues confessed, that of all D those that conspired Casars death, he only had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterprise, but to restore the Empire of Rome againe, to her former state & government. And surthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with Dionylius, as it was to have to doe with Iulius Cefar. For no man that knew Dionysus, but would have despised him, considering that he spent the most parte of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewde womens company. But to have vindertaken to destroy Iulius Casar, and not to have shroncke backe for feare of his great wifedom, power, and fortune, confidering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euerie man, and also not to suffer the kings of PARTHIA and INDIA to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a maruelous noble minde of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his corage. And therfore, to fone as Dion came into Sicilia, many thowfands of men B came and joyned with him, against Dionysius. But the fame of Iulius Cafar did set up his frends againe after his death, and was of suche force, that it raised a young stripling, Octanius Casar, (that had no meanes nor power of him felfe) to be one of the greatest men of Rome: and they vsed him as a remedie to encounter Antonius malice and power. And if men will say, that Dion draue out the tyran Dionysius with force of armes, and fundrie battells: and that in contrarie maner Brutus flue Calar, being a naked man, and without gard: then doe I aunswere againe, that it was a noble parte, and of a wife Captaine, to choose so apt a time and place, to come yppon a man of so great power, and to finde him naked without his gard. For he went not sodainlie in a rage, and alone, or with a small companie, to assaile him: but his enterprise was long time before determined of, and that with divers men, of all the which, not F a man of them once fayled him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else that by his choyse of them, he made them good men. Whereas

A Whereas Dion, either from the beginning made no wife choyle in trulting of euill men, or elfe bicause he could not tell how to vie them he had chosen: of good mee he made them become euill, fo that neither the one nor the other coulde be the parce of a wife man. For Plate him felfe reproueth him, for that he had chosen suche men for his frendes, that he was flaine by them, and after he was flaine, no man woulde then reuenge his death. And in contrarie ma- Bretty better ner, of the enemies of Brutus, the one (who was Antonius) gaue his bodic honorable burialli red of his eand Offauius Cafar the other, referred his honors and memories of him. For att Millayee, (a bis death. citie of GAVLE on ITALIE fide) there was an image of his in braffe, verie like varo him; the

which Cafar afterwardes passing that way, behelde verie aduisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was verie like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly a-B gaine, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them, all tolde them, that the citie-

zens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, bicause they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stowtlie detived it; and none of them knowing what enemie he ment, one of them looked on an other, Octaviou Gas Bratter image far then turning him vnto Brutus statue, bending his browes, sayd vnto them: this man you ang mbraffe fee standing vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worke as in Millaine, fraved then before, & could not tel what answere to make him. But Cefar laughing, and come was presented mending the GAVLES for their faithfulnes to their frendes, euen in their aduetifies; bewas offening contented Brutus image should stand still as it did. ... or hog finder og far.





Hrisppus the Philosopher (my frend Polycrates) being affrayed as it feemeth of the euill found of an auncient prouerbe not rightlie as it was spoken, and in vie, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this ma-

VV hat children do their auncetors commend. But those whom fortune fauors to the end? But Diony Codorus TROE ZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearfe the prouerbe rightly as in deede it is?

VV hat children do their auncetors commend,

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But those wwhose life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe stoppeth their mouthes who of them selues are vnworthie of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their auncesters, whose praise they hiely extoll. But affore those that (as Pindarus fayth,)

Do match their noble auncetors in provvesse of their ovvne,

And by their frutes commend the stocke wwhence they them selues are growne.

(As thy selfe that conformest thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy vertuous aun-The example cefters:) it is no small good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their paof our conter rentes in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for them selues oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glorie: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their R auncesters, they do increase their glorie, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their discent by blood. Therefore, having wrytten the life of Aratus thy contrie man, and one of thy auncesters, whose glorie and greatnesse thou does not blemishe, I doe sende it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou hast more diligentlie then any man else, searched out all his deedes and fayings: But yet, bicause that thy two sonnes, Polycrates, and Pythocles, reading, and still hearing some thing reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their auncefters, whose deedes shall lye before them to followe. For he loueth him selfe more, then he regardeth perfit vertue, or his credit: that thinketh him felfe so perfit, as he neede not follow any others example.

meale of the Sicyonians

Abantidas. 2) ran of Sicy-Aratus the fonne of Clithe handes of the syran A-

Arasus malice against

Arasus wrote Abantidae the tyran flaine. Aristotle the

The citie of Sicyone, after it fell from her first government of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the cities of the Dorians: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and feditious practifes, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceassed to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway chaunging new tyrannes, vntill that Cleon being flaine, they chose Timoclidas and Clinias their Gouernors, two of the noblest men & of greatest authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certeine state of gouernment, Timoelidas dyed: and Abantidas, the sonne of Paseas, pretending to make him felfe Lord of the citie, he flue Clinias, and put to death some of his parentes and frendes, draue away others, and fought also to put his sonne Aratus to death, that was then but seuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, Aratus flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the citie, being scared and af- D frayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans house, called Sofo, which was Abantidas fister, and wife vnto Periphantus, his father Clinias brother. She being of a noble minde, and judging that the childe Aratus by Gods providence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her house, and in the night secretlie sent him vnto the citie of A RG os. Now after that Aratus had scaped, and was safe from this daunger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against tyrannes, the which still increased in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuouslie brought vp in the citie of ARGOS, with his fathers frends: and perceiuing with him felfe that he waxed bigge and ftrong, he disposed his bodie to divers exercifes, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fine manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, ful and well E liking, as one that fed well, and the maiestie of his countenaunce argueth that he vsed suche exercise: and suche commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not geue him selfe so muche to pleading, as peraduenture was requisite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howebeit, some doe judge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloabooke of Co-quenter tongue then seemed vnto some: bicause he wrote them in hast, having other busines in hand, and euen as things came first into his minde. But afterwards, Dinias and Aristotle Logitian, slue Abantidas, who did commonlie vseto sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After Abantidas death, his father Pafeas possessed the tyrannie: whom Nicocles afterwardes flue also by treason, and made him selfe tyranne in his place. It is reported F that this Nicocles did liuelie resemble the countenaunce of Periander, the sonne of Cypselsus, as Orontes PERSIAN was very like vnto Alemaon, the sonne of Amphiaraus; and an other young

A LACED E MONIAN, VIITO Héttor of TROYA, whom Myrfilus wryteth, was troden under mens feete, through the ouergreat preffe of people that came to fee him, when they hearde of it. This Nicoeles was tyranne foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the citie, and had almost lost it, the ATOLIANS comming on a sodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Nowe Aratus was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatlieefteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they founde in him, which was no small matter: and besides that, he had a maiestie in his countenaunce, being wiser then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the banished men from the citie of Sickons, repaired vnto him before any other man. Nicocles for his parte alfo was not careleffe of his doinges, but had an eye euer to fee what Aratus intended, although

B he litle mistrusted any suche bolde enterprise, nor so daungerous an exployt of him: but did onely coniecture that he did stirre up the kings which had bene his dead fathers frendes. And fo in deede Aratus tooke that course. But when he saw that Antigonus still delayed his promises, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from king Ptolomy of Ao YET was too farre of: at length he determined to vndertake to destroy the tyranne him selfe. So he first consulted with Aristomachus and * Ecdelus : of the which the one was banished from S1- Aratus gonth CY ONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philosopher, and a about to delia valliant man of his hands, and had bene scholler to Arcesslaus the Academicke, in the citie of from the go-ATHENS. These two men being contented to joyne with Aratus, he practised with other of remnie.

the banished men also: of the which there were some that were assamed, not to be partakers C of his hope & noble attempt, and so did also ioyne with him. Howbeit the most part of them less him Ecdid not only refuse to enter into that practife, but further, went about to diffwade Aratus from his enterprise, saying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderstoode not the driftmuchus daunger in vndertaking such a matter, alrogether so vnikelie. Nowe as desired the state of the st daunger in vndertaking such a matter, altogether so vnlikelie. Nowe, as Aratus was thinking decisine with in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of Sievone, from whence they might Analus. make warre with the tyrannes: there came a prisoner vnto them out of the citie of ARGOS, that had broken prison from the tyranne of Sicyone: and was brother vnto Xenocles, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same Xenocles vnto Aratus, told that in the place whereby he had faued him felfe, the grounde within was almost as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that parte ioyned vinto high stonie places: and that without the wall the D height was not so great, but that it was caselie scalable with ladders. When Aratus heard that, he lent two of his men, Seuthas, and Technon, with Xenocles to viewe the wall, being determi-

ned if it were true, rather to proue fecretile to execute his pretended enterprise, and quickely to put it to a venter: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open armie, he being a private man, to goe against the power of a tyranne. Xenocles being returned againe to Aratus, after he had measured the height of the wall: hereported that the place was not vnscalable, but yet very hard to come to it undiscouered, bicause of certeine lite curst curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leave barking. Howbeit Aratus would not leave of his enterprise so. Now it was not straunge to see euerie man prepare them selues of armor and weapon, bicause at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed E by high wayes, and one would affault an other: but for the ladders, Euphranor that was a car-

penter and maker of engines, did not sticke to make them openlie, bicause his common occupation did take away all suspition why they were made. For this carpenter was him selfe alfo a banished man from Sicrons, as the residue were. Furthermore, Aratus frendes he Aratus prehad in Argos, of those fewe menthey had, did euerie man of them lende him tenne men, passion deand armed thirtie of his owne men: beside them, Aratus him selfe also did hyre some prette there has a number of fouldiers, by the practife of Xenophilus, whome the Captaines of the theeues did ramie. furnish him. They were genen to understand that they should be ledde to the territorie of S1-CYONB, to take a pray of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were fent before, some one way, some another, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Poly-

F gnotus, where they should tarie. So he sent Caphesias also before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who shoulde come to this gardiners house in the night, like straungers and trauellers; to lye in his house, and to locke him vppe and his dogges,

eo deceine

nering of his

bicause they had no other deuise to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were A certaine spialls of Nicocles the tyranne discouered, that walked vp and downe the citic (ma-Aranu policy king no countenaunce of any matter) to see what Aratus did. Wherefore, Aratus went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his frendes. Then he went to the thewe place (or place of exercises) and there stripped him felfe, annoynted him, and wreftled, and in the ende tooke certaine of the young gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merie, and to passe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his feruauntes was feene in the market place, carying of garlandes of flowers. An other was feene also buying of linckes and torches, and an other hyering of these common dauncing and finging women, which followe feastes and bankets with their instruments. Nicocles spialls seeing that, were deceived: for one of them laughing on an other sayd, B that they might easely see by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timerous then a tyran: confidering that Nicocles being Lord of so great a citie, was affrayed of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rappe & rend to keepe him in his banishment, vpon vaine bankets, and feasts, at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrans spialls finely mocked. Aratus selfe departed immediatly after dinner out of Argos, & went vnto his fouldiers, whom he had appointed before to mete him at the tower of Polygnotus, & led them straight vnto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, having before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and also made them maruelous fayer promises. Then he gaue them for their watche word, Apollo fauorable, and so went directly to the citie of Sicyone, marching with great speede at the first bicause of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwardes slackened C his pace a litle, so that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners house that was harde by the wall. So Caphelias, whome he had fent before vnto the gardiners house, came to meete with Aratus, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, bicause they ranne away: howbeit that he had made fast the gardiner in his owne house. This discoraged the most parte of all the companie, who would needes have him in any case to returne backe againe. But Aratus then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them backe againe, if it chaunced that the dogges were too busie with them: and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to goe before, whom Ecdelus and Mnasitheus led, and he him selfe came faver and softly after. Aratus daun- The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about Ecdelus & his companie. This not- D withstanding, they came safely to the wall, and did set up their scaling ladders. But even as the first men got vp on them, the Captaine of the watch that had genen place to him that should the tyranny of ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and passed hard by them, visiting the souldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great novie of menthat followed him. They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and stirred not: and thereby the fouldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came towards them also, which did put them in great daunger to be discouered: but yet they once againe scaped them and were not discouered, bicause the second watch went beyond them. and stayed not. Then Ecdelus and Mnasttheus immediatly scaled the wall, & sent Technon with all possible spede vnto Aratus, to will him to make all the hast he could to come to them. Now E there was no great distance betwext the garden where the dogges were, and the wall, and a litletower where they kept a great greyhounde to keepe watche: but the greyhounde neuer heard their comming, either bicause he was a cowardly curre of nature, or els for that he had bene ouercoursed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhounde with their barking, who at the first began to aunfwere them with a foft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked our alowde, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Infomuch, that the skowte which was further of, called allowed to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were any thing sturring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower aunswered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell # a barking at the lights of the watch that paffed by, and at the noyfe of the bell. This made Aratus fouldiers a great deale the bolder: bicause they thought that the hunte had bene made

A primy to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secretattempt, and hoped also that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterprise. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, bicause the ladders thooke, and bowed by reason of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp fayer and loftly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in some perill, bicanse the cocks began to crowe, and the contry folke that brought things to the market to fell, began to come a pace to the towne out of enery quarter. And therefore Aratus made hafte to get vp having onely forty men aboue with him, and looked for some besides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrannes pallace, where his hiered fouldiers the cities of the cities kept watch and ward: and comming fodenly vpon them, layed hold of euery man of them, & Siegene with

B flue not one. Then he fent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Therevppon they ranne out of enery corner to Aratus. Now the day began to breake, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, bicause of the novse and sturre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter ment : vntill at length an Herauld proclay med with open voyce, that it was Aratus the sonne of Clinias, who called his contry men and Citizens to the recourrye of their libertie. Then they perswading them selves, that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was nowe come to passe: they ranne all in a trowpe together to the tyrannes house, and set it a fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in enery part, that it was seene to the citie of CORINTHE: infomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter should be, were in mind to have gone to helpe it. C Now for Nicocles, he faued him selfe, and got out of the citie by secret vaults he had made vit- Nicolashe

der the ground. The fouldiers on the other fide quenching the fire with the helpe of the Ciri- man fly eth. zens, did facke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which Aratus hyndered not, but did moreouer make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongest them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne company slavne he brought with him. nether any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exployr fo pure and cleane from any bloudshed. Then Aratus restored soure score men vnto their lands & goods againe, whome the tyrant Nicocles had banished: and others also, that had benebanished by former tyrants, to the number of fine hundred men, who had bene well neare fifty yeares space banished out of their contry. Nowethe most of them being comen home poore and needy, D would have entred on their goods and lands they enjoyed before; and for entring agains upon their lands in their contry, and their houses in the citie, they amazed Aratis withall, seeing Antigonus on the one fide practife all the meanes he could to winne Sic rong beeing nowe free and they all in an vprore and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the best counsell

he could thinke vppon and deuile, confidering the daunger of the preferit tyme? he joyned Araus ioythe citie in league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, and of them all, made but one bodye! neth the citie

And bicause the Citizens of Sicyone were Dorians, they were glad to submit them selies of Sicyone to be governed and protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that tyme of no chaians. great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of landes ne ther were they very special good, for that they stoode vpon the sea side, where was no manner E of hauen nor port, but stones and rockes good store : and the sea beating visit Hiefin, did eate into the mayne land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know that the power of GRECE when it was vnited and gouerned by good policie was of great force, and almost inuincible. For the A CHAIANS being in comparison of the auncient force of Griece, of the fee gard, and but a part of one citic enfeebled with citill and forrein warre! So long as they could fubmit them selves to be ruled by the wisedom and vertue of their Captaine, and not entire malice his prosperitie and souerainty; they did not onely mainteyne them selues as free inenin the middest of the serviced of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliver many other people of GRECE from their tyrants. Now, for Aratas manners the Wastone Hat Arana referin nature loued civill government, and equalitie among Citizens in one felfe citie: he was red all things I nobly minded, and more paintfull about the affayres of the common weale, then carefull of mon weale. his owne busines, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or enill will whole for the service of the common wealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so sownd a friend,

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for the common wealth. To be thort, it was a generall and common voyce amonge all the ci-

ties confederats, in private company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that Aratus lo-

ued nothing but vertue, and honesty. That in open warres he was not so valliant and coragi-

ous as he was crafty and futtell, to take a citie on the fodaine. Furthermore, though he was

valliant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to passe; yet it seemeth he left many thinges possible vndone, the which he might easily haue VVir orles done for that he durst not venter on them. For as there be beastes whose sight is perfittest by by day.

so king Prolomy into AE -

night, and nor night, and by day they can see nothing, bicause the subtilitie of the humor and movsture in their eyes is dried vp, and cannot abide the bright light of the daye: euen fo, men that otherof Philisophy wife by nature are very wife, are eafely affrayd of daunger, when they must venter on it at B be liked on- noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in fecret enterprises, sodeinly to attept any thing. Now, this contrarietie and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance & lacke of instruction of Philosophie, which of it selfe doth norish vertue, as frute that springeth vp without planting or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So Aratus hauing joyned him felfe and his citie Sicyone vnto the Achaians, and feruing in person as a man of armes among the rest: he was maruelously beloued of his generalls, that saw him so obedient. For not with standing that he had made so large a contribucion as the estimation of him selfe, and the force of his citie vnto the common wealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commaundements of the generals, as the poorest and meanest fouldier, were he of DYMA, or of TRITA, or of any other small village whatsoeuer. Further- C more, a great fumme of money beeing fent him from king Ptolomy for a gifte, amounting to twenty and five talents, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongest his poore contry men, both to releeue their want, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding, the banished men still vexed & troubled them that had their goods & lands, to haue the out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no meanes. Their common wealth therefore beeing in great daunger to fall into civill warre, Aratus perceiving there was no other way to helpe this mischiefe, but by Ptolomies liberalitie: he determined to goe vnto him, to praye him to helpe him with money to pacific this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of Metho-NA, about the foreland of MALEA, to fayle from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had fuch a contrary wind, and the lear of e so hie, that the maister of the shippe was driven to let her goe D whether the woulde to take fear oome. So beeing driven quite from his direct course, with great daunger he got to the citie of A DRIA, which was his enemy: bicause Antigonus kept it, and had a garrifon in it. But Aratus did wifely preuent it, going a shore, & wandred farre from the sea, with one of his friends called Timanthes, and got into a wodde, where they had an euill nights rest. He had not gone farre after he had lest his shippe, but the Captaine of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servaunts had mocked him finely, being before instructed by Aratus what aunswer they should make) saying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of Ev BOE A. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garrison stayed the shippe, his men, and all things els the had in her, and tooke her for a good prife. Within fewe dayes after, Aratusbeing maruelously troubled, and at a straight with him selfe what he should doe: there E happily arrived a Romane shippe hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide him felfe, and partly also to see if he could discouer any thing. This shippe was bownd for Syria. So he had delt with the mafter of the flippe in that force, that he tooke him abourd, and promised he would deliuer him in CARIA, and so he did . But he was in as much daunger, this second iomey againe by sea, as he was in the first he made towards AGYPT. From CARIA, long time after, Aratus went into Agypt, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for Aratus feed him still by sending of him passing fayer tables, and pictures of GRECE, of excellent workemanship. And in deede haning a singuler good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of Pamphilus and Melanthus, to fend them vnto the king. For learning florished yet in the citie of SI- F CYONE, and they effeemed the paintings of tables in that citie, to be the perfitteft for true cullers, and fine drawing, of all other places. Infomuch as Apelles, (though he was then of marueA lous fame for paynting) went thither, and gaue to these two excellent paynters a talent, to re-passe all the amayne a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as there- in Grece, by to winne him selfe fame. And therefore when Aratus had restored his citic againe to libertie, he caused all the images of the tyrannes to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he The excellen stoode doubtful a long tyme, whether he should deface Aristratus picture or not, who raigned the oither

in the tyme of Phillip. For it was paynted with the hands of all the schollers of Melanthus, be-the tyran of ing by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victorie, and as Polemon the Geographer writeth, Sicyone, pain-Apelles hand was to it. This picture was a paffing peece of worke to fee to, so that Aratus at the Loubus febolfirst yelded, and was contented to saue it for the excellencye of the workemanship: yet in the lers and A. ende, ouercome with the extreme hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now pelles help: 69 B it is reported also, that Nealces the paynter being one of Aratus friends, prayed him with the fullation for teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of worke. But when he sawe Aratus so hard the defains. harted that he would not graunt it: he tolde him it was good reason to make warre with ty- of it.

The loging of rants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (4 he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victo- Nealess the rie, and I will make thee fee Aristratus, willingly to come out of the table. Aratus was conten- paymer, onted to let him haue his will. Then Nealces defaced the picture of Aristratus, and in place there-

of drue onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing els to it of his owne deuise. Some fay, that

vnder the chariot were conucied Aristratus feete defaced, So Aratus by meanes of these tables

and pictures, was marueloufly well beloued of king Prolomy. But after that he was acquaynted with him, and knew his conversation: he loued him then better then before. Insomuch that The great C he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his citie withall: of the which he caried for- berafitie of ty away with him vnto Peloponnesvs, and the king afterwards fent him the rest at fundry Prolomy unto

tymes. Nowe this was a maruelous matter of him to get fuch a maffe of money together for his Citizens: confidering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle fumme of money onely which they have taken of kings and Princes, have bene corrupted & betrayed their townes and contry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and riche, and furthermore, faued vpright all the people of Sicyone, where he shewed him selfe maruelous wise, and temperate, being of that Arabu trus-

great power and authoritie he was. For after they had chosen him Arbitrator to judge, com-

pownd, and absolutely to decyde all quarrells and strife betwene the banished men: he would neuer vndertake it him felfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefest Citizens with him. and with them, with great paynes and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of Sicyone together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but also the banished men them selves did privately cast his image in brasse, and set it vp. vnder the which they caused this inscription to be grauen.

Thy prouvesse and thy feates of armes, thy counsell sage and uvise, Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skyes, But also to the vitmost streyts of Marrok blouven by fame. And we that through thy goodnes home into our contry came, Have set this image up to thee Aratus, as a signe Of our deliurance through thy loue and through the power dinine. For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore Vs contry, lauves, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus having done all these thinges, he suppressed the enuye of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king Antigonus being angry with Aratus in his mind, and feeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of Ptolomy: he did him many other great curtefies, Aratus neuer feeking them at his hands. But one day specially about the rest, as he did facrifice vnto the gods at Corinth, he sent Aratus part of his weathers he had facrificed, vnto Sicyone. And at the feast of his facrifice in the hea-F ring of many noble men that were bidden ghests, he sayd openly of Aratus: I did alway thinke that this young Sicyonian could not but have a liberall mind, louing the libertie of his contry and contry men: but I perceive now he is a man that can judge of Princes manners and

affayres. For heretofore he made no accompt of vs, bicause his hope was out of this contry, A

and he greatly esteemed the riches of AGYPT, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a

in his first Prasorship

great fleete of thippes, and of fuch a fumptuous Court, as king Ptolomyes Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a fmoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: & for my part, he is welcome to me, & I will have you all to take him for my friend. These words of king Antigonus, were straight taken at bownd of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke of better matter vnto king Ptolomy, euery man striuing who should write all the euil they could against him: So that Ptolomy thereuppon sent a Messenger of purpose vnto him, to reproue him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, between the earnest loue of these Prin-Araku doings ces and kings, that contended with eche other who should have Aratus, Furthermore, the first tyme that Aratus was chosen Lieuetenant generallof the trybe of the A CHAIANS, he forraged B and spoyled the contry of LOCRIDE, which lyeth directly ouer against ACHAIA, and CALY-DONIA alfo. Howbeit he came not tyme enough to ayde the BOBOTIANS, in the battell which they lost before the citie of CHERONEA, against the ÆTOLIANS: where Abaccritus, Gouernor of BOROTIA was flayne in the field, with a thowfand other BOROTIANS, Howbeit the next yeare following, he being the fecond time chosen Lieuetenant generall, he attempted to win the castell of Corinthagaine, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the private benefit of Sicyone it felfe, and the trybe of the Achaians, but also of all GRECE besides. For, he was fully bent to drive the garrison of the MACEDONIANS thence, the which seemed euen a very yoke that held all the GRECIANS nofes to the gryndstone. For like as Chares, Captaine of the ATHENIANS, having in a certaine conflict discomfitted the kings Lieuetenants, C wrote to the ATHENIANS that he had wonne a victory halfe fifter to the victory of Marathon: Euen so me thinkes it were no diffrace to fay, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by Pelopidas THEBAN, and Thrasybulus ATHENIAN, fauing that this last acte was more famous, bicanse it was not against GRECI-ANS, but against straungers, and forreyn power and gouernment, you whom it was executed. For the Ishmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which seperateth the sea Ægeum from the sea lonium, doth come and joyne the firine land of the rest of GRECE, with the PRESCHE, an Iland of Peloponnesvs. Euen so likewise, the Mountaine called Acrocorinthe, on the which the castell standeth, rising up in the middest of GRECE, when there is any garrison of men of warre in it, it cutteth of all traffike and paffage by, of any armies of them which inhabite with- D in the straite: from them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him onely Lorde of the contry that keepeth the castell. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that Philip the young king of MACED ON was wont to call the citie and castell of CORINTH, the stockes and gyues of GRECE. And therefore was this castel maruelously wished and defired of euery man, but specially of kings and Princes. But the defire Antigonus had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantick louer. For he did nothing els continually but study and deuise howe he might winne it vppon the fodeine, from them that kept it: bicause otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of Alexander that kept that castell, being poyloned (as it is reported) by Antigonus practife, the castell being left in the handes of his wife Nicea, who go- E uerned the state of CORINTHE, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediatly fent his sonne Demetrius thither, and put Nicas in good hope to mary her with this young Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well, though she was very olde. So, for her selfe, the was wonne straight, by meanes of his young sonne Demetrius, whome he vsed as a stale to. intrappeher. Howbeit Nicaa for all this goodly offer, forfooke not her castell, but alwayes made it straightly to be looked vnto. Autigonus seemed to make no accompt of it, but dayly gaue him felle to make fumptuous facrifices, feafts, and playes to the gods, within the citie of CORINTHE for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but bancketing and iolitie all that might be. When the hower was come to fee these sportes, and that the Musition Amabeus began to finge: he him selfe made as though he would accompany Nicea vnto the F Theater, being conveyed thither in a sumptuous riche lytter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing leffe then of that which happened her . But

when Antigonus came to the ende of a streete that turned to goe up the hill towards the castell he bad her keepe on still to the Theater: and him selfe in the meane time left Amabeus there with his finging, and all the feast of the mariage, and went straight vp to the castell, forcing him selfe about his strength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates shut, he knocked with his staffe, and commaunded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondring to fee him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceeding joyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joye, but would bancket in the middeft of ftreetes, and in the market place, having minftrells to playe kets the revoon their instruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for iove, and fell of the Man did fo fondly and lightly behave him felfe, as if he had bene a light young man, and not (as he recommbe.

R was anolde man; who had proued fuch fundry chaunges of fortune, and yet suffered him felfe to be thus caried away with pleasure, that he imbraced, and spake to enery man he met. Wherby it is easte to judge, that toy possessing a man without wit or discretion; it maketh him Ourgress besides him selfe, and doth more trouble his wirs, then payne or feare. Now Antigomes halling in to a simple wonne the castell of the Acrocorinthe, as you have heard, he put it into the Hands of the length man, maketh multed best, to befafely kept: and therefore made Perfaus the Philosophiel Cabraine of Buthin mad castell But in deede Aratus was in mind to have attempted the taking of the antill fin Mexagit philosopher,

ders life tyme : yet he let it alone, bicaufe he ioyned him felfe with the Achar Ass. But It that made captains tyme there was offered him another occasion againe to attempt it, and this if was Att Columbia. KINT He, there were foure brethren borne in STRIA, of the which, one of them Heing called trans deter-C Diotles, was a fouldier of the garrison of the castell: and the reft, having robbed the kings treat mination for fure.went straight vnto Sicvons, to AEgias the banker, whome Aratio imploved in his far the drocecultic. These three brethren immediatly fold him part of the gold they had robbed and after sinthe. wards, one of them called Erginus, comming often to fee him, by little and little fold him all the seft. By this meanes AEgias fell into famillier acquaintance with him, and taked with him of the garrison of the castell of the Acrocorinthe. Erginus told him, that going vinto his brother vp those steepe and higherockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the castell, which was very lowe. AEgias hearing that, auniwered biling

finyling: alas, my friend, what meane you to fleale a litle peece of golde to hinder the king.

when in one howers space you can sell such a great masse of money together? for aswell fills D you dye if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwise attained for treason. Erginus with that fell'a laughing, and promifed that he would feele his brother Diocles minde in it, for he did not greatly trult his other brethren . So returning shortly after, he bargayied with Aratus to bring him to a place of the wall that was not about fifteene foote highe, promiling that he would helpe him to execute the rest, with his brother Diocles Aratus promised? then to give him fifty talents, if he brought his enterprise to passe: and if he fayled, that he would then give either of them a house and a talent. Erginus would have the whole 50, talents' put into AEgias the bankers handes. Aratus had not so much ready money, and besides, he would not take it vp at very for feare of giuing cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he tooke all his place of gold and filuer, and his wives iewells, and layed them to gage to Aleias, E to disburse the sayd summe. But Aratus had so great and noble a mind in him, and was so bent

to doe notable acts: that knowing howe Photion and Epaminondas had bene effeemed for the instell and honestell men of GRECE, bicause they had refused great giftes that were offered them, and would neuer fell nor stayne their honor for money . he yet fur passing them; was contented to fpend his owne, to bring any good enterprise to passe, & did put his life in dainger for the common benefit of his contry menthey them felices knowing nothing of his enterprife, which turned all to their benefit. What is hethen, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and corage of fuch a man, and that will not even nowe as it were, be willing to ayde him: confidering how dearely he bought fo great a danneer of his person, and howe he lated his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be broughern the night among the middelt

F of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauling no other gage nor pledge; but the hope of such a noble enterprise, and nothing els? Burnow, though the enterprise of it self was daungerous, an error chauncing through ignorance are the first; made it yet more daun-

Iland of Pe loponnefus.

Young king Philips fay-ing, of the ca-

craft and de-

The error and

daunger in

The happy

gerous. For Aratus had fent Technon, one of his men before with Diocles, to viewe the wall. A This Technon had neuer spoken with Diocles, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that Erginus had given him of him: that he had a blacke curled heare, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe Technon being come to the place where Erginus fayd he would be with Diocles: he stayed before the towne in a place called Oan 15. So whilest he was tarying there, the elder brother of Diocles, called Dionysius (who knew nothing of the enterprise, nor was made acquaynted withall, and looked very like his brother Diocles) came that way by chaunce. Technon being moued by the markes he fawe in him like vnto those he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne to Erginus. The ather aunswered, he was his brother. Then Technon perswading him selfe it was certenly Dioeles that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiery of hims he B tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practife he had with Erginge, and to aske him of it. Dienyfine taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the citie, holding him on still with talke, Technon mistrusting nothing. But euch as Dionylus was ready to take him fast by the choller; his brother Erginus came. Who perceyuing how Technon had miltaken the matter, and the daunger he was in beckned to him with his head to flye and so they both ranne for life vaso Aratus, to faue them schies. Howbeit Arathe was nothing the more discoraged for this, but sent Erginus straight to cary his brother Dionyline money, and to praye him not to be aknowen of anything: who furthermore brought him with him unto drafus. But after they had him once, they made him fuer for starting : for they bound him, and locked him up fast in a chamber, whilest they went about their enterprile. So when allthings were ready, Aretus commaunded the rest of his army that they should tary behind, armedall night; and he him felfe, with foure hundred of the best men he had, (not knowing them felies whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the citie passing by the temple of Iuno. This was about the middest of summer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleere without clowdes: infomuch that they were affraid their armors, would glifter by Moone light, and bewray them. But as the formost of them came neare vnto the citie, there role clowdes out of the fea that darkened all the citie & places thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then all of them sitting downe on the ground, plucked of their thoes, both bicaute they should make lesse noyse, as also for that their footing should besverer, and that they should slippe lesse vpon the ladders. But Eiginus, and seven other com- D panions with him like men that travell, came fecretly into the gate of the citie, and flue the porter and warders there. At that very instant, Aratus caused the ladders to be set up against the walls, and made a hundred of his fouldiers get vp on them: and fent also to commaund the rest, that they should follow him with all possible speede. Then drawing up his ladders after him, as fast as he could he went through the citie with his hundred men roward the castely with fuch a joyfull cheere, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he faw he was not discouered. But as he went on, he saw source of the watch comming with a light against them. They faw not Aratus and his company, but the enemies faw them plainely a farre of, Aratus &c his men therefore stoode up close against old walls to tary their comming, and at the first onfer flue three of them: but the fourth having a blowe on his head with a worde, ranne away, E. making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trompets forthwith fownded the alarom, all the citie was in an yprore, the streetes were straight full of people ronning yp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as also in the castell, and the noylewas great enery where, Aratus in the meane tyme forced to get up the hie rocks fayer & fostely at the first, and with great payne and difficultie, being out of his pathe he should have found, which he miffed, being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crookes and crankes. went to the foote of the castell : but sodainely even as it had bene by miracle, the Mooneappearing through the clowdes, when they were in their worst way, it gaue the light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they (hould be, and straight the Moone was shadowed againe. Now the three hundred fouldiers whome Aratus had left at the gate by the temple of P. Tuno, when they were come into the cirie, being full of lights, and in vprore, and befides could not find the path by the which their Captaine Aratm went before them: they stoode close toA gether under a rockethat shadowed them, forowfully looking to heare some newes of Arabin who was then fighting with the garrison of the castell, the which made head againshim with all the force and power they could . Vnder the castell there was a great noyse theard of men that fought, but yet the noyle was so confused by the sound rebounding against the rocks and mountaine, that they could not deuile whence it thould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them selues: Archelaus, Captaine of king Antigonus men, hauing a good number of fouldiers with him, went up the hill with great cryes and noyfe of trumpets, to fet vpon Aratus, and his company behind. But after he was passed by these three hundred fouldiers of Aratus band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they hadbene layed there in ambushe of purpose, and slue the first they encountered withall, and made the others

B fo affrayde, and Archelaus him felfe, that they dispersed them, and made some flye one way, fome another wave. So, as they were ouerthrowen, Erginus, came to these three handred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that Aratus and them of the castell, were come to the sworde together, and valliantly defended them selues, lustely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was tyme for them to helpe tim quickly . Then the fouldiers bad him bringe them thit her straight , and so he did . So they clyming up the hill, did signifie by their cryes to their men, that they came to ayde him Furthermore, the Moone beeing then at the full, and thining on their harnes, made their enemies in the castell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, bicause of the longe wave they had to make to gette vppe vpon the rockes: and also bicause of the found in

C the night, that made their crye feeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length the draw they have fought to we for lightly that they have been fought to the draw. they joyning with Aratus, they fought it out fo luftely, that they draine the garrifonous of rinhs. the walls, and by breake of daye wanne the castell. So that their exployt was discouered by the rifing of the Sunne, and besides, all the rest of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whomethe Corinthians very gladly receyted, and did fet open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take king Antigonius men . Afterwards, when they thought that all was fafe, then Aratus came from the castell vnto the Theater of the citie, whether repayred an infinite number of people, aswell for the desire they had to feehim, asalfort heare him speake vnto the Corinthians. So having placed the Acharans of either fide jat the comming into the Theater: Aratus being armed, went up into the chayer or publication

D orations, having his face quite chaunged, both for the great paynes he had taken, and also for lacke of fleepe: fo that his body being ouerwearied, his spirits were even done. Now when all the affembly of the people (seeing him in the chayer) did humble them selues to showe him all the honor and kindnes they could possible: he tooke his speare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body formewhat, he leaned upon it, and fo ftoode a great while in this manner before he spake, receiving the cryes of ioy and clapping of handes which the people made, prayfing his valliantnes, and bleffing his good happe and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, meete for the enterprise from whence he came: and perswaded them to loyne to the ACHAIANS, So. E therewithall, they presently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer be-

fore that tyme in their power, fince the raigne of king Philip. Nowe touching the other Cap. Arani logtaines of king Antigoniu: Aratus having taken Archelaus prisoner, he let him goe; but put The of Committee of ophrassus to death, bicause he would not goe out of Corinthe. Persaus (Captaine of the ca- into debate. ftell) feeing the castell but lost: he fecretly faued him selfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHRE-Es. Andit is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philosophie, where one maintey- Zmoss opinining that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfit wife man. This (q, he) is could not be a one of Zenoes opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best but now this young \$1. good Capraine CYONIAN Aratus, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this faying of Per, white he were laws. Furthermore Aratus wanne presently the temple of time, and the house of the perit will be perfectly the same and the house of the same and th Jaus. Furthermore Aratus wanne presently the temple of Juno, and the hauen of LECHEYM, man.

F where he tooke fine and twenty thippes of king Antigonus, and fine hundred horse of service Possus and for the warre, and foure hundred Syrians, which he fold every one of them. The Achaian's former of the warre, and four hundred Syrians, which he fold every one of them. The Achaian's opinion. left within the castell of the Acrocorinthe, a garrison of foure hundred sootemen, and fiftye

doggs, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the Ro- A MANE'S wondring at the valliantnes of Philopemen: they called him the last of the GRECIANS. we say famous man of Euen so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this acte is the last and most famous of all the the Gracians. GRECIANS, and descrueth to be equal, as well for valliantnes, as also good successe, with the

greatest exployees of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediatly after doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS revolting from king Antigonus, did straight ioyne with Aratus: and the TROEZENIANS also with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, So at the first inuation he made, he went to spoyle the contry of ATTI CA, and croffed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and spoyled and destroyed it euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of prison to serue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he fent home the ATHENIAN prifo- p ners without paying of ranfom; and all of policie to make them defirous to rebell against the

Aranus bower and asubority with the A.

MACEDONIANS, Furthermore, he made king Ptolomy a friend and confederat of the ACHAI-ANS, with condition, that he should be Lieuetenant generall both by sea & by lande. For these respects Aratus was of maruelous estimation and credit with the Achaians: insomuch that where they could not yearely choose him their general, being contrary to their law; they chose him at the least every second yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduise and counsell. For they faw plainly, that it was nether honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & Princes, nor the private benefit of his owne citie wherein he was borne, nor any other thing elsthat he

preferred before the glory & increase of the common wealth of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by the felues were but weake, & being joyned together with the chaine of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserve the other. And in like manner, even as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beafts haue life & fustenance, being joyned & knit together, & straight so soone as there is any seperation of them thone from thother, they live no more & putrifie: euen so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their focietie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increase, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wifedom & good counfell. So Aratus feing the chiefest cities thereabouts enjoy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to leave the ARGIVES in flauery & bondage, Wherefore he practifed to kil the tyrant Aristomathat gouerned them, both to thew him felfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing vppe there as also to joyne that great & mighty citie vnto the tribe of the A CHAIANS. Now there D

were divers men that had the harts and corage to vindertake to doe it, of the which the chie-

Aratus goeth about to fes Argos as li bersie.

felt were AEschylus, and Charimenes the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grieuous punishments ordevned for them that should red little fbor daggers a-

be found with any fwordes. Aratus therefore caused certen litle short daggers to be made at CORENTHE for them, the which he fowed up in packes carried on certen beafts loden with other baggage and stuffe. But the Soothfayer Charimenes, did impart this enterprise vnto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them . AE(chylus being very much offended with it, beganne therefore to enter into practife by him felfe, and left their company. Chariménes perceiuing that, tooke fuch a toye in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most parte of the R

conspirators faued them selues, and fled to Corin the So the tyrant Aristomachus was slaine

shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant, Aristippus, a crueller man than the first, zam of the ci- made hafte to take the tyranny before he could be relifted. This not with standing Aratus, with all the young men of the ACHAIANS able to ferue in the field, went fodainly thither with ayde,

hoping to find them of the citie very glad to recouer their libertie. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time vied paciently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, fauing that thereby the Achaians were accused, bicause that in open peace they had made warre, & therfore they were put in fute before the Mantinians, at Arilippus request, tyrant of Ar-GOS. The matter was pleaded in Aratus ablence, & the ACHAIANS were condened to pay the F fumme of 30. Minas. After this proofe & attept of Aratus, Ariftippus being affraid of Aratus, & hating him to the death, fought waies to kil him, with the help of Antigonus, who did aide him

A in it: and almost there were spialls in every corner, that did nothing els but lye in wayte to execute Aristippus minde. Now, there is no suerer garde vnto a Prince, then the perfit loue 26 funn and good will of his subjects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people have benev-

fed to feare, not him, but those that for him commaund them : he then feeth with many eyes, we lose of his heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre of . Here therefore I will a little digresse from my historie, to showe you the manner of Aristippus life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this so much defired tyrannical government, and smoke of signiorie, so estecmed of all men. Now, though Aristippus had king Antigonus his friend, and that he kept a great gard of fouldiers about him for the lafety of his person, and that there was not an enemy of rifinguished

his left aliue in all the citie: yet he made his fouldiers watche and lye without his pallace, vn. man of me B der the cloifters and galleries thereabouts, & after supper turned all his men out of the dores, & then shut his Court gates to him, and locked him selfe alone with his Concubine, in a little hie chamber with a trappe dore, and fet his bed vpon it, & fo flept, as one that continually was affraid of him felfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and so did let it downe agains the next morning. and called this trymme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a snake that should haue crept out of her hole. Where Aratus in contrary manner, not having obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being fimply apparelled with Arme to

a poore gowne of smal price, & shewing him self a mortal enemy vnto all sorts of tyrants: hath """" left a race & noble of spring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet vntill this present day, when we will be the control of th Contrarily also, there are fewe tyrants that doe viurpe the castells of free cities, that keepe so many fouldiers in pay that make fuch prouision for armor and weapon, & haue so many gates and drawbridges for the fafety of their persons, that in the ende can keepe them selves from violent death, no more then hares: nether doe leaue also any posteritie, house, or graue, why their memorie should be honored after their death. So Aratus having divers waies made sundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise sodainely, to take the citie of Angos, and to thrust out the tyrant Aristippus: he euer fayled of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entred the citie very daungerously, with a fewe souldiers with him, and slue the fouldiers that came to give fupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tyrant with all his forces came to fet vpon him: the ARGIVES sturred not at all, as if D Aratus had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene ludges appoynted to fit

to fee the sportes of the games Nemee, to judge the game vnto the Conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. Aratus in the meane tyme fighting like a valliant man, was thrust at with a pyke, and ronne through the thighe. This not with standing, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force soeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could possibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtayned his purpose. For the tyrant looked for no other but to flye, and had already fent divers of his goods to the fea. Howbeit no man once came to tell Aratio any newes of it. befides also lacking water, and for that he could not helpe him selfe bicause of his wound, he was driven to leade his men away, and fayled of his purpole. So, dispayring that he could ever E take it by stellth, he went thither with open warres, and spoyled and destroyed all the contry of Anoos: and having fought a great battell against the tyrant Artstippus, by the ryner of Cha-choust. res, they blamed Aratus much, that he for sooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the Aratus much, that he for sooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the battell. For the rest of his army doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in within

chale: when he fled, being affrayd, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their enemies

(whome they had ouercome and put to flight) to fette vppe markes of triumphe in token of victorie: Aratus beeing ashamed of it, determined to fight once agayne, for the markes of F triumphe. Whereuppon, resting his men but one daye, he led them agayne into the field, and fetting his armye in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he fawe a great supply comming to his enemye, and that the tyrants men came to fight more

were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also flayne a greater number moe

of them then they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardlines shoulde suffer their enemies

Aratus firasageane to intrappe the s:rant Aristippus.

Aratus vieto ry of the tyrant Arifi.p-Aristipp:us the tyrant flayne.

Aphilesophi-call question bling, and chaunging of culler in daunger,be a figne of cowardlines. La fiadat,ty ran of Mega

lustely, and with better corage then before: Aratus durst not abyde them, but retyred, and A fent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to bury them. Yet he could speake so curteoufly, and behaue him felfe fo wifely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and also for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of CLEONES ynto the ACHATANS, where he caused the feasites of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the CLEONEIANS, then vnto the Ar-GIVES. This notwithstanding, the ARGIVES did keepe it also, and then was the first time that the fanctuary and priviledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted vnto all them that came to play for the games: bicause the ACHAIANS did make them prisoners that sought in Ar Gos as they returned through their contry, and fold them as enemies, So marueloully did Aratus and the Achaian's hate all forces of tyrants, without respect of pardon. Shortly after R he was advertised, that the tyrant Aristippus did lye in wayte to spye oportunitie, to take the citie of CLEONES from him: howbeit that he was affrayd of it, bicause he remayned at that tyme in CORINTHE. So Aratus straight sent out commaundement into every place, to asfemble the army of the trybe of the ACHAIANS, and that they should bring vittells with them for many dayes: and so craftily came downe to the citie of CENCHREES, to intile Aristippus, by his going away fo farre of, that in his absence he shoulde attempt to set vpon the CLEO-NIANS, as in deede he did. For the fayled not presently to goe thither with his armye. But Aratus returning from CENCHREES VIITO CORINTHE, very late in the night, and having layed good watcheeuery way: he fodainely brought the armye of the ACHAIANSVIITO CLEO-NES with fuch speede and quietnes, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into thecitie of CLEONES by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were fetopen by breake of daye, and the fignall of battell given by found of trumpetts: and fo fetting vpon the tyrants men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to slight. And bicause the place where the ouerthrowe was given had many turnings: Aratus following the chafe tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the citie of Mychnes. There the tyrant was overtaken by a C RETAN called Tracileus, (as Dinias reporteth) who flue him: and there were flayne of his men also, aboue fifteene tho wland. But now Aratus having wonne such a famous victorie, and lost neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of ARGOS, nor set it againe at liberty. For one AEgias, and another Arillomachus, got into the towne with the kings D army, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victorie Aratus did race out a great part of the reproache they gaue him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the tyrants deuised of him. Who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight in deede, the generall of the ACHAIANS had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dymnesse in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the found of the trumpetts. And furthermore alfo, when he had fet his men in battell raye, and given them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he should neede to be there in person, bicause he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre of as he could to fee the ende of the battel. This talke was fo common, that the Philosophers them selues disputing of it, to wete, whether to tremble and change culler in present daunger and perill; be signes of a faint hart, or of an euill complexion and cold- B nes of body: they alway vouched Aratus, that had bene a good and valliant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight he was euer in that taking. So when he had ouercome Ariftippin, he fought meanes also to destroy Lysiadas MEGALOPOLITAN, who as absolute Lord and king of the contry, kept the city of MEGALIPOLIS. Notwithstanding, he had no base minde in him; nether was he caried away with a cruell defire of tyrannye to line at his pleafure, nor through extreme conetoulnes, as most Princes be but being a young man, & pricked forward with defire of honor & fame, & having vnaduifedly coceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principality, as of a state most blessed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make him felfe Lord of his contry. But afterwards, he was soone weary of the daungers & troubles such maner of gouernmet bringeth with it, & de- p fired to follow Aratus, whome he fawe prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke holde of a noble deuile: first to rid him selfe of the

A malice and feare of the prison and garde of his souldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his Lyfreday.gr. contrv. So he lent for Aratus, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliueted vp his citie to the trybe livelis leauth of the ACHAIANS. They so extolled him for this acte, that they choic him their Lieuetenant the grannie, generall of all their tribe, Wherefore, Lysiadas, striuing at the first to excell Aratus in honor, attempted divers things which were not very needefull: as amonge others, to make warre with his dominion, the LACED &MONIANS. But Aratus was very much against him in that, though some thinke it and the Awas for enuy. Thereuppon they chose Lysiadas generall of the ACHAIANS the second tyme:al-chaians. though Aratus openly both spake, and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had an other to haue bene chosen. For the him selfe was every other yeare generall. So Lyliadas was chosen againe generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with enery bodies good will: and Aratus and he had absolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other.

But when they faw that Lyfiadas became open enemy vnto Aratus, and did still accuse him in Diffenion be all their counsels and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they rejected him. and 19stadate. For they thought his but a conterfeate vertue, to contend with the perfitnes of Aratus vertue. Much like vnto one of Isopes fables, saying that litle birdes did aunswer the cuckow on a tyme, sales of the asking them why they did flie from her: bicause we are affrayd (sayd they) thou wilt be a sper- Cuckone hawke one day. Euen io it feemeth, that there was a certaine sufpition in mens minds of Lylia- question to

das tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyrannie with good will. like birdes. Now Aratus on thother fide, wanne as great praise and honor by his doings against the Æro-LIANS. For when the ACHALANS would needes have fought voon the confines of the territo- Arasu mile ry of the MEGARIANS, and that Agis, king of LACED EMON, being come with his army to the counfell acampe of the tribe of the Achaians, did perswade them hardily to give battell : Aratus was Atolians, stowtely against it, and did abide many mocks and tawnts they gaue him, saying, that it was for cowardlines he would not goe. This notwithflanding, he would not leaue his wife and fafe determination for all that open shame: but suffered the enemies to passe ouer the Mountaine Gerania, and to inuade PELOPONNESVS, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, Gerania mons

when he saw that at their first comming they had taken the citie of PALLENA: he then chauged his mind, and would deferre time no lenger to tary till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith against his enemies, with those few he had, who matuelously weakned them selues by their insolency and disorder after their victory, keeping no watche nor warde. n For after they had entred the citie of PALLENA, the foldiers ranne into euery house, one thru- reth von his sting in an others necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines also fell to ra- lastinious of uithing of maides, and the PALLENIANS wives, and put their burganets and morrions ypon nemies.

their heades, that none other should take them, bicause that by the same the souldiers should know whose they were, and to whome the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie: newes came fodainly that Aratus was come. This made them quake for feare, when they faw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all understoode of the daunger by their fodaine fetting on them, the ACHAIANS were fighting already within the suburbs and gates of the citie, against the first that resisted, whome they flue. They being broken, & put to flight, made the rest so affraid that were gathered together to ayde them, that they wish not E what to doe. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a prisoner, that

was the Daughter of Epigethes one of the noblest men of the citie, and she a maruelous good. A roma with ly woman, and paffing fayer: who being fet in the temple of Diana, whether a Captaine had also fen has for him falls. brought her that had chosen her for him selfe, and had put his burganet on her head : she so- med a mondainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when she heard the from thing. noyse of them that fought, to see them fight. The Citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maiefty, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other fide were so affraid to see her, thinking she had bene some spirit: that not a man of them durationce desend them selves. So the PALLENIANS say, that the image of Diana all the test of Diana with the tyme is kept locked vp, and no body toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth the Pallent-

F it doth cary it diwhere, no man dare looke on it, but every man turneth his eyes away : bicause the fight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it also killeth the frute of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the A-

ZZZZ iii

gesh the AEsolians in

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TOLIANS mindes fo muche, bicause the Nunne remouing the image of the goddesse Diana, A the turned it towards them. How beit Aratus in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth that when he had defeated the ÆTOLIANS, following them in chase. he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them, and flue feuen hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene efteemed amonge the chiefest afterwards: and the paynter Timanthes hath drawen and fet it forth in table very lively. This notwithstanding, bicause divers Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against the ACHAIANS: Agatus presently made peace with the ÆTOLIANS by the practise of Pantaleon, who bare great fivaye and authoritie amongest them. Furthermore, Aratus being de-

firous to fet the Athenians at libertie, he fodainly attempted to take the hauen of PIREA for the which the Achaians reproued him, bicause he had broken the peace they had made n with the MACEDONIANS. But Aratus in his commentaries doth stowtely denye that it was he, and layeth the fault vpon Erginus, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinthe: faving that it was he, that of his owne minde did fet a scaling ladder to the wall. and that his ladder breaking under him, he fled upon it, and perceyuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he styll cryed out, Aratus, as if he had bene there, and by this pollieve mocked his enemies, and faued him felfe. Howbeit me thinkes this auniwer is not true. For it is not credible, that Erginus a private fouldier, and a Syrian borne, shoulde haue so greate an enterprise in his head, vales it had bene by Aratus consent and commaundement, who had given him men, tyme, and meanes to vindertake it. And this appeared playnely afterwardes. For, Aratus did not attempt it twyle or thryle onely, but oftener then fo (as those that extreamely defire a thinge) to take the hauen of PIREA on the sodaine, not giving over for once fayling, but rather imboldening him felfe agayne with good hope, bicause he mist it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another tyme alfo amongest others, flying through the playne of Thriasia, he brake his legge, and was driven to have many incifions to heale it: fo that he was a longe tyme together caryed in his lytter to the warres. After that king Antigonus was deade, and that Demetrius his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set the citye of Athens at libertye, making small accompt of the MACEDONIANS. Aratus therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto PHYLACIA, by king Demetrius Lieuete-ATAINS ONEYnant, called BITHYS: and the rumor running straight abroad, that Aratus was deade, or D at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named Diogenes, Captaine of the hauen of Pr-REA, Wrote aletter vnto Corinthe, and commaunded the garrison of the Achaians that kept it, to deliuer the towne, for Aratus was deade. But he by chaunce was at the felfefame tyme in CORINTHE: fo that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companye meary. Furthermore, king Demetrius him felfe fent a gallye out of MACEDON, to bringe Arasus bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS them selves also to please the MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightnes of flatterye, ware garlands of their heads a whole day together, in token of common toy, when newes was brought them of Aratus death. Aratus was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armye presently against them, even to the very suburbes of the Academy. Notwithstanding, E. at their earnest requests, he did no hursthere. And afterwardes, the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valliantnes, when king Demetrius dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So Aratus, though that yeare another man was generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bedde, lying ficke of a longe disease: yet to further this, he was caried to A-THENS in alytter, and so perswaded Diogenes, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the fumme of a hundred and fifty talents (towards the which Aratus gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer the ATHENIANS the hauen of PIREA, the castell of MVNY-CHIA, the Ile of SALAMINA, and the castell of SVNIVM. After this, the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the moste parte of ARCADIA it selfe, did presently loyne with the A-CHAIANS: fo that the MACEDONIANS beeing occupied with warres at that tyme in ou B ther places agaynst their neighbours, the power of the Achaians marrielously increafed, having also the ÆTOLIANS their confederates. Then Aratus to performe his olde promise,

A promise, and being angrie to see the citie of ARGOS (being so neere neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he fent vnto Aristomachus, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie againe at libertie, and to joyne it to the tribe of the Achaians, as Lyliadas had done his towne of MEGALIPOLIS, and rather too like to be made a Generall with honor and praise of fo great and famous a state as the ACHAIANS: then tyran of one only citie, hated, and euerie hower of the night and day in daunger of his life. Aristomachus gaue eare to his perswasions, Aratus by and sent vnto Aratus, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to discharge the souldiers delivered

he had about him: The money was straight prepared. And Lysiadas that was at that time Ge- Area from

nerall of the ACHATANS, and that maruelouslie desired this matter might be brought to passe promise. by his meanes: he secretile sent vnto Aristomachus to accuse Aratus, and shewed howe he had B bene alway a mortall enemy vnto tyrans, and therefore counfelled him rather to put him felfe into his hands, as in deede he did. For, Lyfiadas brought Ariftomachus vnto the counfell of the A CHAIANS. There all the counfell plainlie shewed their good wills, and the confidence they The lane and had in Aratus: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive Aristomachus, they rea faith of the

lected him with great anger. But afterwards also when Aratus was wonne, and that he began and chains to moue the contrarie to the counfell: they straight agreed to receive the Angry Es, and the PHLIASTANS in league with them, and also the next year following, they chose Aristomachus Lieutenaunt generall of all their tribe. Aristomachus seeing him selle in credit nowe with the ACHAIANS, would needes inuade the contrie of LACONIA with a maine armie, and fent for Aratus being then at Athens. Aratus wrote vnto him, and wished him in any wife notro C meddle with that iorney, bicause he would not have the ACHAIANS to deale with Cleomenes, king of LACED EMON, that was a coragious and stowt young Prince, and maruelouslie growen in short time. Howbeit Aristomachus being selfe willed in that poynt, Aratus obeyed him. and was there in person all that iorney. So Cleomenes being come to them uppon the sodaine with his armie, neere vnto the citie of PALANTIVM: Aristomachus woulde needes fight with him. But Aratus disswaded him from it. Whereupon Lysiadas afterwards accused him to the ACHAIANS, and the next yere following he contended with him, fuing to be Generall howbeit he was rejected by most voyces, and Aratus chosen Generall the twelfth time. The felle same yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by Cleomenes, neere vnto the mountaine Lycauin, frame onere and being fled, wandered up and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene thrown in

D flaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the GRECIANS. Howbeit he faued himselfe, butel by king and having gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had scaped with hard by the life, but wilelie taking the oportunitie and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor miltru- mountaine fting his comming: he fodainlie went to affaile the MANTINIANS, which were confede rats of Cleomenes, and having taken the citie of MANTINEA, he left a great garrison in it, and the citie of MANTINEA, made the straungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus dratus was he alone, that being Manimea. ouercome wanne the A CHAIANS that, which they them selves could scarcelle have worned if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the LACED EMONTANS invading the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS with a great armie, Aratus foddinliewent thithes waide themsbur would hazard battell no more, nor geue Cleomenes vantage, who defired only to fight; and fill E constantlie relisted the MEGALOPOLITANES, that prouded him to come ato the field. Por

besides that in nature he was not meete for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venterous young man, that was all fire : where his corage and ambicion on the other fide was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore he confidered, that as king Cleomenes fought honor by valliant ventering, which he had not before: euen fo it was his parte wifelie to keepe that which he had long fince gotten, and to stande vppon his gardand fafetie. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being pur out into the fielde, and having chased the LACED EMONIANS even into their campe, & entring in with the hand over heads Aratus would never bring out his citizens, but stayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any further. Wherewithall Lyfallar being mad F with him felfe, and falling out with Aratus : he called for the horfemen, & fayd that he would

yet helpe them that followed the chase, and prayed them nor to lose the victorie to cowardly. of the which they were fo fure: nor to forfake him at a pinche, fighting for defence of their ZZZZ iiii

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contrie. So having gotten a great number of choyle horlemen together, he went with great A furie, and gaue charge of the right wing of his enemies battell, and having difperfed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduifedlie followed them with great corage, into cuill fauoured crooked wayes, among trees, and great broade ditches. Whereuppon Cleomenes came, and The death of fo luftely fet on him, that he flue him dead in the place, valliantly fighting and defending him felfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe into the battell of the sootemen, and so disordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed Aratus, bicause he had for saken Lysiadas: and being forced vnto it by the A-CHATAN'S that went without his leave, he followed them at length, and fled him felfe also vnto the city of Æ G IV M. There the ACHAIANS fitting in counfell, they decreed that they would furnish Aratus with no more money, neither would they pay his straungers any more: & bad B him pay them at his owne charge, if he would enterteine them for the warre. Aratus perceiuing they did him great wrong, stoode euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commission of Lieutenancy, and to discharge him selfe of his office : but after he had bethought him selfe better, he bare it pacientlie, and led the ACHAIANS directlie to the citie of ORCHOMENB. There he valliantlie fought with Megistonus, king Cleomenes father in lawe, and had the vpper hande of him: for he flue three hundred of his men, and tooke Megistonus selfe prisoner. Furthermore, where before euerie fecond yeare they did vie to choose him their Lieutenant generall:when his turne came about againe, they called him to gene him the office, but he refused it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alleaged for his refusall, was sayd to be, for that he milliked of the common people. But that foundeth like a lye: for the trueth of it, to C my feming was for that he faw the state of the Achaians to decline. For king Cleomenes proceeded no more faver and foftlie as he did at the first, when he was controlled and brideled by the Ephori: but having flaine them, and equallie devided the landes through all LACED E-MONIA, and made the straungers free citizens of Sparta, being then absolute Lorde of La-CED EMON the straight set upon the ACHAIAN'S with all the power he coulde, and sought to conquer them. And therefore Aratus deserveth inft reproofe, for that he forsooke his contrie in such extreame trouble & dauger, that being as the maister of a shippe he gaue an other the sterne to steare, when it had bene most honorable & meetest for him to have taken it in hand (though they would not have given it him) to have faued his contry. Or otherwise, if he had in dede viterly dispaired of the good successe of the Achaians, he should then have put it ra- D ther into Cleomenes handes, and not to have poyloned Peloponnesvs againe, with the manets of the barbarous people: (bringing in as he did, the garrison of the MACED ONIANS, filling the castell of the Acrocorinthe with GAVLES and ILLYRIAN fouldiers, and making them his his shippe, in Lordes and manters, whom he had so often ouercomen in warres, and deceived of their gonernment, and of whom he also spake so muche euill in his Commentaries) nor to have put them into townes, and calling them frends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and difguise his wicked practise. Admit Cleomenes had bene a tyran, and a cruell man (if I should fo teasure him) set came he of the blood of Hercules, and was borne in Sparta; from whence they should rather have chosen the meanest man Gouernor, then the greatest king of MACEman of Spar. DON, and tholo speciallie that preferre the honor and glorie of GRACE, before straungers. E Yet king Cleomenes required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name onely to be their for the gras. Lieutenaunt generall: and so they woulde graunt him that honor, he promised he would be 1eft Prince of verie good vnto the cities confederats to ACHAIA. Where Antigonus notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenaunt generall with absolute power and authoritie, both by fea and by lande, refused the charge, vnlesse they would let him haue the castell of the Acrocorinche for his hyer. The which was even like to Esopes hunter, that brideled his horse. For he would not get up you the Achains that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors, and decrees of counfell did referre all to him felfe: before he had first faddled and brideled them, by the garrifon he made them receive, and the pledges he caused them to geve him. and yet be spake as much as might be to cleere him selse of the accusacion against him, bea- F ring them in hande that he was forced to it. Howbeit Polybius wryteth, that long time before flaringrapher. he was compelled being affrayed of Cleomenes valliantnes, he had secretly practifed that with

Antigonus,

A Antigonus, which he was openlie seene in afterwards and that he had intifed the MEGALO-POLITANS (who were the first that moued it to the counsell of the ACHAIANS) to call king Antigonus to their aide, bicause they were neerest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with Cleomenes warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and spoyle them. Thus muche is affirmed by Phylarchus in his historie, who were hardlie to be credited notwithstan- Philarchus ding, had not Polybius confirmed it. For he loued Cleomenes fo well, that it feemed he was ra- the Hiftyiuished with some spirite as often as he spake of him: and frameth his historie, as a common graph to be counseller that should pleade a case in lawe before the Iudges, still accusing the one, and de-credited. fending the other. The Achaians loft the citie of Megalipolis againe, the which king chomenes Cleomenes tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Where minnets the

B withall they were fo amazed, that they fent Ambassadors presentile vnto him, & prayed him citie of Meto come to the citie of ARGOS, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But the Achaig. when Aratus heard he came in deede, and that he was not farre from the citie of Lerna with his armie: being affrayed, he sent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safelie come with three hundred men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, and yet if he mistrusted craft and enill dealing, that then they would geue him pledges for the safetie of his person. Clear menes aunswered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an injurie they offered him, Wherefore, he presentlie departed thence, and sent a letter before to the counsell of the Acharans. full of fowle words and reproaches he gaue vnto Aratus. Who likewife replied to him againe, The Buchal

bitterlie taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wives. After this lungula C letter, Cleomenes sent desyance by a Heraulde vnto the Achaians, and proclaimed open possed bewarre against them: insomuche as he had almost gotten the citie of Sicyons by practife of mener and traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpose, he returned sodainly, and went vnto the city of Para draun. LENA, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediate lie after he wanne the cities also of Phene A, and Pentelion. After that, the Argiver and PHLIASIANS willinglie yeelded vnto him, fo that of all that which the Acharans had conquered, and joyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing elfe of certainty without help Then Aratus was maruelouslie troubled in his mind, to see all PELOPONNES VS in turnilband vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practifed change and alreracion. For no man was contented with the state and government at that time, but divers of D the Sicyonians & Corinthians both were bewrayed which had fecretlie practifed with

Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the government of the Achaians, desiring them felues to be Lords and Gouernors of their cities. Aratus having full commission and wild original property for the state of the state o ue from the counsell of the Acharans, to make inquierie of them, and to pur them to death; with the rewithout further triall of law : he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie lighthe bells of skeys city of Sicyone, Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Coring He, he made inquiry of them, & put them to death: wherby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwise of themselves were weary of the government & subsection of the Achardas The CORINT HIANS therfore gathering together in the temple of Apollo, they fent for Attanto, in Election

ding to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion would went E thither, to shewe that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he helde his horse while hand following of him. Then many rose vp against him, and did both reproue & initations francis in intreate him. But Aratus with a stayed countenaunce and gentle words, prayed them to keepe damger. their places, and not to crie out in suche rage vpon their feete, and withall, caused their also to come in that were at the temple dore. But as he spake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the presse, as though he ment to have geven his horse to some bodie to hold. So being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any seare vnto the Conin Tailwishe Arona soulsmet, and bad them goe to the temple of Apollo. When he was come to the castell, he then for the when he dainly tooke his horse backe, and commaunded Cleopater, Captaine of the garrison of the Az fed out of CHAIANS there, to looke well to the fafe keping of the castell. Then he fet spurres to his horse,

F and gallopped towardes the citie of Sterone for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his fouldiers, all the rest having forsaken him, and dispersed them selves here and there. Shortly after, the Cominthians understanding that Aratio was gone, they followed after, but could

great dann ger for his

would fuffer any other to touche it, but fent for his frendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to geue Aratus a good accompt of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he privately

fent Tripylus vnto him, and his father in law Megistonus, and offered him great gifts, and speciallie an annual pencion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king Ptolomy gaue C him, who fent him yearely fix talents. Besides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS that they would make him their Lieutenat general, & also that the garrison in the castel of the Acrocorinthe,

might be deuided in common between them. Aratus made aunswere, that he had no absotute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. Cleomenes thinking this but a denife and excuse of Aratus, he presentlie invaded the contrie of the Sicyonian's, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. Aratus in the meane time

do fend for

honorable en-

forme that was a young ftripling growen) and went towards the fea, and imbarked in certaine Chippes that roade at ancker. Thence he failed vnto Ao IV M, where the diet or parlament was kept: and there it was refolued, that they should sende for Antigonus, and deliuer the castell of the Acrocorinthe into his hands. And so it was performed; for Aratus sent thither his owne forme among the other oftages. The CORINTHIANS were fo fore offended withall, that they E made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his house he had in Coninthe, vnto king Cleomenes. So king Antigonus being onwardes on his way to come into PELOPONNESUS with his armie, bringing with him twentie thowfand footemen, all MACED ON IANS, & foure hundred horsemen; Aratus, with the greatest states and officers of the Achaians, vinwitting to their enemies, went to meete him as farre as the citie of Phohs, having no great trust nor confidence in Antigonus, nor the MACED ONIANS. For he remembred verie well, that he came first to his greatnes, by the injuries he had offered them: and howe that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare vnto olde Antigonus, Howbeit, making vertue of necessitie, and weying the instant occasion of their present extremitie: (of Gouernors, to be driven to be subiects) he put him felfe in aduenture. So, when Antigonus was tolde that Aratus was comen in F person to him: having with good countenance after a common fort faluted those that came in his companie: to Aratus felfe at his first comming he gaue him an honorable welcome and so Arasus.

ARATVS.

neuer ouertake him: whereupon they straight sent for king Cleomenes, and deliuered the citie A

of CORINT HE into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not fo much as he was force for

the loffe of Aratus, whom they had let go. So king Cleomenes joyning vnto him all the people

dwelling alongest the sea coast, commonlie called the river of Corinthe, who yeelded yp

them selves, holdes and townes into his hands: he then intrenched in the castell of the Acro-

corinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when Aratus came to the citie of Sicyone, many of the Achaians gathered about him, and holding a counfell and affemblie, he was cho-

fen their Lieutenaunt generall, hauing absolute power and authoritie to doe what he would,

and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his person. So, he having managed the affaires of

the state and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, the space of three and thirtie yeares toge-

the shippewracke of his contrie beaten with storme, and in great daunger of him selfe. For

when he fent vnto the ÆTOLIANS for side, they flatly denied him, and would fend him none.

Furthermore, the ATHENIANS being verie defirous to fend aide for Aratus fake, were diffwa-

ded from it through the practife of Euclidas, & Micion. Aratus also had a house in Corinthe,

where all his money was: the which king Cleomenes at the first meddled not withall, neither

ftoode doutfull how to determine, whether he should receive king Antigonus or not: bicause Antigonus would not aide him, before he delivered him the castell of the Acrocorinthe into

his handes. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to consult vpon it, they sent

lay hard by the citie of Sicyone, besides also that the citizens kept Aratu, and helde him by

force, faying that they would not let him venter him felfe in fuch apparaunt daunger, their e-

nemies being so neere vnto them. Moreouer, the women and little children hong about him.

weeping, and compassing him about, as their common father and sauior. But Aratus com-

forting them, bad them not be affrayed, and so tooke his horse, with ten of his frends (and his

for Aratus thither. Howebeit it was daungerous comming thither, bicause Cleomenes campe D

ther, and having all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefest man of power and authoritie in GRECE: he then found him felfe in poore estate, for faken, and in great miserie, as in

use more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the Achai-

A enterteinment. Afterwardes also, finding him a good and discreete man: he fell into inward frendshippe and familiaritie with him. For Aratus was not onely skilfull to geue direction in matters of state touching good order and gouernment: but moreouer, his companie & conuersation was verie pleasaunt, to entertaine a Princes leasure with. Wherefore though Antigones was but young at that time, yet feeing throughly into Aratus nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a Prince: he vsed his counsell and ad-

ANS, but of the MACEDONIANS also. And so all things came to passe, which the goddes had promifed in their facrifices. For in a beaft that was facrificed, there were two galles wrapped Anoder Bos.

in one felfe cawle: the which the Soothfayers interpreted did prognofticate, that two which wed to Ava-B before were mortall enemies, should nowe become affured frendes. But Aratus made no account of their prediction, neither did also gene any credit to the sacrifices, but trusted more

to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes having good fuccesse, and Antigonus making a feast in the citie of CORINTHE, where he had bidden many ghests: he would nedes haue Aratus lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a colde. Aratus aunswered him, it freezed. Then Antigonus bad him come neerer him: & when the servaunts brought a couerlet for the king, they cast it ouer them both. Then Aratus remebring the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had feene in the facrifice, & what interpretation the Soothfavers made of it. This was long after. So, Antigonus and Aratus being at that time in Antigonus

C the citie of PEGES, they were sworne brethren together: and then went both with all speede and Aratus against the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmishes betwene them, hard by the citie of furne bre-

CORINTHE. For Cleomenes was verie well fortified, and the Corinthians valliantly defended them selues. In the meane time, Aristoteles of A a G os, (Aratus frend) secretile sent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came him felfe with any number of fouldiers. Aratus tolde it vnto king Antigonus, who gaue him fifteene hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and passed ouer with great speede from the Isthmus (or barre in the straight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit the ARGIVES taried not Aratus comming, but were all vp before he came, and did fet you king Cleomenes men, and had driven them into the castell. Cleamenes being aduertised of it, and fearing least his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS)

D should cut of his way from returning into his contrie againe with safetie if he were driven to a straight: he for sooke the castell of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrewe certeine of his enemies. But shortly after, Aratus, and king Antigonus both being comen thither with all their aide, Cleamenes was driven to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recovery againe of the The citie of citie of Argos, all the refidue of the cities of Peloponnesvs did againe returne to the A-registered from CHAIANS, and Antigonus tooke the castell of the Acrocorinthe. So Aratus being chosen Ge- Clemente. nerall by the ARGIVES, he counselled them to present Antigonus with all the tyrans goodes,

and those that had bene traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruellie tormented the tyran Aristomachus in the citie of CENCHREES, in the ende they cast him into the sea, drowned in E and drowned him. Aratus was maruelouslie reproued for his death, that he woulde suffer the the fea. pobre man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great mic for Aris pleasure: who through his persivation willinglie resigned up his tyrannie, and deliuered the somachus.

city of ARGOS vnto the ACHATANS. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things elfe. For that the Achaians through his meanes had put the citie of Corint he into Antigonus hands, as though it had bene some meane village: for that when they had sacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they suffered him to place a garrison of the MACED ONIANS there: for that they had enacted by parlament, that they should neither write, nor sende Ambassadors any whether, without Antigonus privitie and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to geue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made facrifices, feastes, and games

F vnto Antigonus, as if he had bene a god, following the example of Aratus citizens, who were the first that began, and had received Antigonus into the city by the perswasion of Aratus, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faults they burdened Aratus, and

confidered not that after they had put the revnes of the government into Antigonus hand. A- A ratus him felfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the fwing of the vnbridled Prince, having no other meanes to stay it, but onely the libertie of speache to admonish him; and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great daunger. For it is most true. that many things were done greatly against Aratus minde, as amongest others: that Antigonus caused the tyrans images of ARG os to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and alfo that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which Aratus had fet up for those that had taken the castell of Corinthe, and onely left Aratus owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty Aratus made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS delt not so frendly with the MANTINIANS, as became GRECIANS one to an other. For they having the citie in their handes by Antigonus B meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of MANTINEA to death, others they solde as flaues, and fent the rest into MACED ON with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women & children into bondage, and fold them for flaues: and of the money they got by fpoile. they deuided the third parte among them felues, and left the other two partes vnto the Ma-CEDONIANS. Nowe furely it can not be fayd, but this was done for fome cruell revenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe blood and language in this lamentable forte: yet, as Simonides faith, when men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes instanted with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuse Aratus. nor fay that he was either driven to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occa- C fion to doe it. For king Antigonus having geven the citie of MANTINEAVING the ARGIVES. they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose Aratus their Generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beacalled Antigo reth name vnto this day. Thus it feemeth that gentle MANTINEA (for fo the Poets called it) was vtterlie destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through Aratus meanes, preferring the name of him that destroied the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king Cleomenes being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of SELLASIA, he left the citie of Sparta, and fled into Æ GYPT. So Antigonus having yfed Aratus with all kind of honorable curtefie, he returned agains into MACEDON. There falling ficke, he fent Philip that should succeede him in the kingdom (being a young strippling growen) into, PELOPON- D NESVS, and straightly charged him speciallie to followe Aratus counsell, and to imploy him when he would speake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So Aratus having received him in that forte, made him so well affected and louing towardes him, that he sent him againe into MACEDON, being throughlie determined to make warres with GRECE. So after the death of Antigonus, the ATOLIANS beganne to despise the carelesnesse and cowardlinesse of the Acharans (bicause that they being acquainted to be desended by ftraungers, and having bene altogether governed by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued verie idlely & diffolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make them selues Lords of PELOPONNESUS. So they affembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some pray and spoyle vpon the lands of the PATREIANS, and the DYMEIANS: but in- E uading the territorie of MESSINA with all their armie, they destroyed the whole contrie before them. Aratus being angrie withall, and perceiuing that Timoxenus (who at that time was Generall of the ACHATANS) did still tract and delay time in vaine, bicause he was upon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fine dayes before, to goe and aide the MESSENIANS. Wherefore, leaning an armie of the Achaians, whose persons were nowe neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any defire Aratus ouer. to goe to the warres : he was ouerthrowen by the citie of CAPHYES. Nowe, bicause it was thought that he went somewhat too hottely and coragiouslie to the warres, he so extreamely battell, by the cooled againe, and left things in fuch case, that all hope being cast a side, he suffred the Ær ocitie of Ca-LIANS in maner to tread Peloponnesus under their feete, before his eyes, with all the info- F lencie and crueltie that might be possible, notwithstanding that they fundrie times gaue him great aduauntages of them. Thus were the Achaians once againe forced to pray aide out

A of MACEDON, and to fend for young king Philippe to make warres in GRECE: hoping for the The Achaids loue he bare vnto Aratus, and the great trust he had in him, that he woulde vie them gently, fent for king and doe as they woulde have him. But then first of all beganne Apelles, Megareus, and a few gonus forms. other Courties to accuse Aratus: vnto whome king Philippe geuing easie care, he procured that one Eparatus, of contrarie faction vnto Aratus, was chosen Generall by the Achar-ANS. Howebeit this newe Generall Eperatus beinge extreamelie hated by the ACHAIANS. and Aratus also leavinge to deale any more with matters of state: no actewas done to a ny purpose. Whereuppon king Philippe findinge his faulte, returned againe vnto Aratus. and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then lette him alone withall, as from whome came all his honour and B greatnesse. Thereuppon eueric man esteemed Aratus a wise Gouernour, not onely to rule a common wealth, but also a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did sette foorth and beautifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince Philippe vied to the LACE-DEMONIANS, that had offended him : the great curtefie he shewed to the CRETANS, whereby in fewe dayes he wanne all the Ile of CRETA: and the iorney he made against the ÆTO-LIANS, which was a wonderfull great exployt: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counsell, and Aratus accounted to be a wife Gouernour, and of deepe understan- Aratus, a wife good counteil, and Aram accounted to be a wife Southhold, and of deepe vindertainding. Nowe the kings flatterers enuying Aram more then before, and perceiuing that they complished.

Empl, the Campus, the Campus, the Campus, the Campus, the Campus, the Campus, the Campus th got no good by secret backebyting of him: they then beganne with open mouth verie info-panion of C lentlie to reuile him at the table, and with great derifion: infomuch as one night going home venue. to his tent after supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King Philippe when he knewe it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the summe of twentie talentes: and afterwardes also, bicause they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king Philippe in the ende being puffed vp with the good fortune and successed this warre, which prospered as he woulde have it: he then grewe to be couetous, and beganne to thewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his diffimulacion wherewith he difguifed him felfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainlie to appeare. For first of all, he abused young Aratus wife, which was kept secret a long time, bicause he lay in their house, and beganne dayly to growe more seuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the D worlde sawe plainlie, that he cared no more for Aratus. For the first suspicion and begin- The besinning of the mistrust he had of Aratus, came for that which was done at Messina. For the ning of dif-Messenians being fallen together by the eares, and in great civill warres one with an other: Aratus went thither to make peace betwene them. Howebeit king Philippe came this and Philip. ther the next day following, and in steade of pacifying the quarrell, he fet them further out together then they were before. First he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they The deepe had no lawes to bridle the infolencie and stomacke of the common people: and private- diffinulacion lie also talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not dealing of dealing of handes to defende them selues from tyrannes. So both the one and the other saction true king Philip. flinge to kinge Philippe, the Gouernours woulde have layed holde of the Orators of the ci-E tie: but they rifinge with the common people, flewe of their Nobilitie and Magistrates. well neere two hundred of them. Aratus that came soone after this fact, shewed that he was greatlie offended with king Philippe, and caused his sonne with open mouth shamefullie to reproue him. Nowe it feemed that this younge Aratus was in loue with king Philippe before: butthen he tolde him before all the people, that for this shamefull acte he drawathe had done, he thought him nowe no more fayer of face, but the fowlest creature that coulde fonnes wordes be. Philippe made no aunswere to it, although euerie man looked he woulde haue aunswered with Philip. him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge words his sonne had spoken against him, for that he was a civill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke Gratus the father by the hande, and

F caried him out of the Theater where the affemblie was kept, to the castell of Ithome, to doe

facrifice there to Impiter, and to fee the forte. This fortewas of no leffe strength then the ca-

stell of the Acrocorinthe: and when any garrison is in it, it keepeth all the contrie about

AAAAA

The wife an-

frere of A-

king Philip,

Aratus the

father for-fooke Phi-lippe.

Safetie of a

bodie from the citie of Æ GI VM, & brought it home as in maner of procession, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, finging hymnes and fonges of ioy, and daunfing, till they came to the citie of Sicyons. And there they chose out the chiefest place, and buried him as their founder, father, and fauior of their citie: and the place is called at this prefent time. A RATIVM. There they yearely make two folemne facrifices, the one the fift of Nouem- Arathu

C ber, at which time he deliuered the citie of Sicyone from tyrannie, & they call this facrifice Yearly factor Soteria, as much to fay, as the feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. Health bonon For the first facrifice, that was done by the Priest of Jupiter the fauior. The second facrifice al- Aranu mee fo was done by Aratus fonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the facrifice, they fong hymnes upon the harpein praise of him, and the maister of the Musitians made a procession round about being accompanied

part of the honors that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left of by processe of time. & chaunge of things that followed afterwards. Thus you fee what the life of Aratus the father D hath bene, as we find in histories. Now Philip being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, caused Themilerable his sonne Aratus also to be poysoned, not with a deadly poyson, but with such poyson as trous-death of arat his sonne Aratus also to be poysoned, not with a deadily poyson, out with furth poyson as a tou-bleth a mans wits so, that through their deuelish receit, he becometh a starke toole without a-Straing? ny wit at all, and maketh him to attempt straunge and abhominable things, and to have cer- kindes of pole

taine shamefull and detestable defires: infomuch as his death (though he dyad in the pryme forms. of his youth) could not be thought milerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his of his youth jeould not be thought inner about a his wicked life deferred. For, after he was on his wicked life deferred. For, after he was on his wicked life deferred. For, after he was on his wicked.

uercome in battell by the ROMANES, he was compelled to yeelde him selfe so their metey, by "", net

his other fonne Perfans fucceffor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull bet Perfans his other fonne, but taken for his fonne, and borne of a taylors wife called Gnatherisms, le is that Philippe Perfans whom Paulus, AEmylius ouercame and led in triumphe in Roman short him, the take for the same of the same of

of the kings discended from Antigonia, failed. Where the issue and offpring of Aratme consist myllin min

A worthie of his noble life. But the SICY ONIANS thinking them selues dishonored, if his body were buried any where else but in their owne citie: they so perswaded the counsell of the A-CHAIANS, that they suffered them to take Aratus bodie with them. Yet was there an auncient A las for the law that forbad buriall within the walls of the citie, of any maner of person whatsoeuer; and viall among besides that law, they had a certaine superstitious feare in them that made them they durst not. Whereuppon they fent to Apolloes temple at DELPHES, to aske counsell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this gunfwere.

VV here as thou askest counsell in that noble Captaines case.

For keeping of a yeareminde and for making fealtfull dayes

In honor of that vvorthie vvight, to last henceforth alvvaies.

Both fea and land and heaven it felfe will punish that fame wight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHATANS were maruelous glad of it, but the Sic to-

NIANS speciallie: who presentlie chaunging their mourning into publike joy, they carried the

with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with gar-

lands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to goe a procession. Howbeit the most

whome he was depriued from all the rest of his landes and dominions he had; and of all his E shippes, but fine only, and condemned besides to pay a thowsand talents for a fine, and to gine

his sonne in hostage: and they only left him for pities sake, the kingdom of MACEDON with

all the appertenaunces. And there he daily putting to death the chiefest of this nobilitie, and

neerest of blood vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him.

Furthermore, amongest such a heape of euills, having but one onely joy, to have a vertuous

sonne: he put him to death, for spyte and malice that he faw the Romans honor him selest

If any hinder your intent through fundnes or through fright.

Thou happie foile of Sicyon, Aratus native place.

tralls of the oxe which they had facrificed, he tooke it him felfe with both his hands and shewed them vnto Aratus, and to Demetrius Phalerian, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they judged of these signes of the sacrifice: whether he shoulde keepe the castell to him selfe, or else deliuer it to the MESSENIANS, Demetrius sinvling aunfwered him; if thou beeft of the Soothfayers minde, then thou shalt deliver it vp; but if thou hast a kinges minde in thee, thou shalt then holde the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, and moreover, that if he kept both these castells of I-

thome, and the Acrocorinthe, all Peloponnes vs were wholly at his commaundement.) Aratus still held his peace, and fayd not a word. In the end, Philip praying him to speake he said. R In CRETA, and in the contrie of the BOROTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many strong castells scituated on high hills from the vallies. Moreouer, there are also many places of great strength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as also vpon the sea

coast: of all the which thou hast not taken one of them by force, and yet they all doe willinglie obey thee notwithstanding. It is for theeues to hyde their heades in high rockes & mountaines: but a king can have no stronger castell, then the love, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the fea of CRETA. That is it that hath brought thee into PELOPONNEsys. Those are the meanes which have made thee being so young a man, some of them to choose thee their Captaine, and others also to make thee their absolute Lorde and Maister.

Aratus going on with his tale, Philippe gaue the intralls againe to the Soothfaver that brought C. them, and taking Aratus by the hand, (as if by force he had cast him out of the castell, and had also taken the citie of MESSINA from him) sayd vnto him: come on then, lette vs euen take that course. But after that time, Aratus came as litle to the Court as might be, and so by litle and little left Philippes companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of Epinys. he was earnestlie in hand with Aratus to goe that iorney with him. But Aratus prayed him to

hold him excused, and so remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with Philippes doings. For Philippe afterwards having shamefullie lost his armie by sea against the ROMANES, & befides, having had also verie euill successe in all other his affaires; he returned againe to Peloponnesvs, & thought once more to have deceived the Messen IANS. But when they founde his practife, then he beganne with open force to spoyle their contrie. D Aratus then flatlie fell out with Philip, and viterly refused his frendship, for that he perceived

then the injurie he had done his fonnes wife, the which grieued him to the harte, but yet he made not his fonne privile to it: bicause he coulde gette no other amendes, then to knowe what injurie had bene done to him, confidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuen-Philip of a ged. For, king Philip was maruelously changed, and from a curreous and chast young Prince. becomen a vitious and cruell tyran: the which to speake truely, was not a chaunge or alteracame a cruell cion in nature, but a manifest declaracion (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his

wicked and deuelish mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept secret. Now, to proue that Philips first love and good will he bare vnto Aratus, was also mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainly shew it. For he being defirous to put Aratus to death, not thinking him felfe free fo long as he lived, neither king, nor tyran: he durst not goe about to kill him him selfe, but procured one of his Captaines called Taurion, and commaunded him to make him away as fecretly as he could possible, & specially with poylon, in his absence. This Taurion fell in frendship with Aratus, and poyloned him Aratus boy-

with no violent poylon, but so tempered & qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the bo-

die, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a consumption. Aratus knewe he was mtanes. poysoned, but bicause he sawe it booted not to bewray it, he bare it pacientlie, and made no words of it, as if he had had some naturall disease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefest frends being in his chamber, with him, who wondred to fee him fpit blood as he did; he told him, fred Caphalon mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poison in the city is of EGIVM, being the feuenteenth time chosen Generall of the ACHAIANS; who would have had him buried in the felfe fame place, and have made fome honorable monument for him.

F nueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of Sic vone, and Pallenasing out of the same T photofinia AAAAA ji

Soned by king

Philippes

THE LIFE



should be couctous, a louer, and voluptuous : that to get wherewith

to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the vallianter, and readier to

put him felse into any daunger. But most men thinke, that souldiers ihould be as one enterestrong body, that sturreth not of it selse with-

2 out the mouing of the general. And to approve this opinion, it is faid that Paulus AEmylius ariuing in MACED ON, and finding the fouldiers

full of words and curiofitie (euerie man meddling with the affaires of

the General)he made open proclamacion, no man so hardy to medle

Iphicrates faying nhat maner of man a Merce . dier (bould

Demades faying of A. lexanders ar mie,after his death.

The Empire

with his office and affaires, but enery man only to keepe his fword sharpe, and to be quicke of hand against the enemy; and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order B for things of his charge and gouernment. Therefore Plato, that faith it litle prevaileth to have a good and wife Captaine, if the fouldiers also be not wife and obedient, thinking it as requifite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwise it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, considering it is that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all fury and choller: he hath divers other examples and fufficient proofes to proue his words true, and namely, the great miseries and calamines which came to the ROMANES after the death of Nero, do plainly shew, that nothing is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armieliuing licentiouslie and diforderly, For Demades after the death of Alexander the great, compared Alexanders armie, VINO Crelops Polyphemus after his eye was put out: confidering howeblindly and loofelie they C were gouerned. Howebeit the Empire of Rome being deuided into fundrie factions at one felfe time, and rifing against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like missortunes and calamities fained of the Poets by the TITANS: not so much through the ambiciousnes of the Emperours, as by meanes of the couetoufnes & infolency of the fouldiers, who draue the Emperours out of their Imperial feates one after an other, as one naile driueth out an other. And Disconflue also the tyrapne of Stellta, was wont to call Pheraus, who had bene onely tyran of THESSALY tenne monethes space: a tyran in a play, deriding his so sodaine chaunge of state. But the Imperial house of the Casars at Rome received source Emperours, in lesse then tenne monethes space, the souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had

A bene in a play on a scaffolde. So that, the ROMANES being thus grieuouslie oppressed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to seeke to be renenged of them that did oppresse them. For they sawe one of them murther an other, and him first and most justilie of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the chaunge of Emperours: and so depraying a worthie deede of it selfe, which was their forfaking of Nero: and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, Nymphidius being Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the Prætorian fouldiers, together

Sabine, and

With Traditions when he Guy Yamin differing of him (116.9), of him (116 with Tigellinus, when he faw Nero in dispaire of him selfe & of his estate, & that he was readid being in Misto flie into Eo ypt: he perswaded the gard they shoulde call Galba Emperour, as if Nero had ".

not bene at Rome, but fled and gone, and promised eueric one seuen thowsande fine hundred B Drachmas a peece. And to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed up and downe in garrison vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leavying of which fumme, they could not possiblie doe it, but they must needes committeene thowsand times more extorcion to euery bodie, then Nero had done. This large promise made them presently put Nero to death, and thortly after him, Galba him felfe also. For the fouldiers for fooke Ne- The house of

70, for the hope they had to receive this promised gift: and shortlie after they slewe the se- gift despress cond, which was Galba, bicause they received not their gifts in time to their contentment. Af terwards also, in seeking who should still feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine

their wished hope, one of them destroyed an other by treason and rebellion. But nowe to set downe all thinges particularlie which hapned at that time, it were to wryte one whole entere C historie: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe ouer wih silence the notablest deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the Cefars. It is manifestly knowen to all men, that Sulpitius Galba of a private man, was the richest and The sease

wealthieft that came to be in the number of the Cefars: who, though he came of a verie noble and walking him felle from the race and family of the Ceruitae he was honored the more of Came. house, deriving him selfe from the race and family of the Serui, yet he was honored the more, bicause he was a kinne vnto Quintus Catulus, who for vertue and estimacion, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly rezined his authoritie and power unto others. So Galba thereby was fomwhat a kinne unto Laura, the wife of Augustus Cafar, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take possession of his Confulthippe. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the armic in Gran-D MANIE, he did valliantlie behaue him selfe. And in the gouernment of LIBYA also, where be

was Viceconful, he did as honorablie behaue him selfe, as any man whatsoever. How beit his Galbare make meane and fimple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all exceffe, was imputed mifery & niggardlines in "". him, when he was proclaimed Emperour bicause the praise of sober & temperate dien which he would have brought in vie, was then fo raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & fraunge deuise. He was sent Gouernor also into Spayne by Nero, before he had learned to be affrayed of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a curedous & gentle nature; Gather the his age moreouer increased the opinion they had of him that he was timerous and searcfull,

For when the wretched officers of Nero did cruelly vexe & torment the provinces; and that it lay not in Galba any way to help them: yet was it fome comfort to them; which were underd & E fold as flaues by the officers, to fee that Galba did lament the miferies & calamines they endured, as if they had bene done vnto him felfe. So when any flaunderous rymes were made as gainst Nero, which were song up and downe in eueric place: he would neither forbid them. noryet was offended, as Neroes officers were. Therefore he was maruelouslichelouse in she contrie, with them that were acquainted with him : bicause he was then in the eighty eare of his gonernment as Proconful amongest them, at which time Junius Vindex being Property Junius Vin. of GAVLE, rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written vnto Galba, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But Galba, did neither beleue him, nor also accuse & beyeray him, m

to. Ner's which he him felfe had written vnto them, & fo did as much as in them lay to bindet F the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracy did consesse they were stationated them felnes; as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when Vindex afterwards had procisioned openingaris against Nero, he wrote againe vato Galba, & praied him to take the Imperial crowne vpon him AAAAA iii

as divers others which were governors of armies & provinces did who fent Einden letters with

cer, Gauerner of Africke. Verginius Rufus, Gonernor of Ganle.

nothing but a head and Gouernor, being a hundred thow and fighting men ready armed, and might also leavie a great number more of them. Then Galba consulted thereuppon with his frends, & among them, some were of opinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteracion would grow at Rome vpon this sturre. Howbeit Titus Iunius, Captaine of the Prætorian band, said vnto him: O Galba, what meaneth this so doutfull a deliberacion? Be not we wife men to call in question, whether we shall allowe of Vindex frendship, or accuse him? Yea, and with armes persecute him, that defired rather to have thee Emperour, then Nero tyranne ouer the estate of Rome? Afterwardes Galba by bills set vp euerie where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchise suche as woulde make sute for it. This rumor slying straight abroad he gathered a great number of fouldiers together, that were verie willing to rebell: and R Sulpiniu Gal. he was no fooner gotten up into the tribunall or chaire of state, but all the souldiers did salute ba, fabuted by him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the first, but the fouldiers, accusing Nero, and lamenting the deathes of the noblest men whome he had cruellie put to death: he promised that he would imploy his best wit and discression to the seruice and benefit of his contrie, neither naming him selfe Cefar, nor Emperour, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, and state of Rome. Now, that Vindex did wiselie to call Galba to be Emperour, Nero him felfe in his doings doth witneffe it. Who having alwayes made a countenance as though he passed not for Vindex, & that he wayed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that Galba was called Emperor, he being the at supper, for spight he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had judged Galba an enemie, yet Nero to be pleasaunt with his frends, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and faid, this newes made all for him, bicause he stoode in neede of money, & also that it was a happy occasion offred him to helpe him withall. For fayd he, we shall soone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the spoyle of a inst warre, after we have once againe ouercomen and conquered them: and moreouer, Galbaes goods also would quickly be in his hands, that he might fell them, confidering that he was become his open enemy. So he presently commaunded Galbaes goods should be openly fold to them that would give most, Galba vnderstanding that, did also by sound of trompet sell all Neroes goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did also finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to fell. Daily men rose against Nero in enery contry, who tooke Galbaes parte, Clodius Macer only excepted in Africk, and Verginius Rufus in GAV LE, both of them D having charge of legions appointed for the fafe keping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow seueral directions by them selues, varying in minde & intent. For Clodius Macer having robbed much, & put divers men also to death through his cruelty & couetousnes: he shewed plainly, that he swamme betwene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor ver kept it. Verginius also on the other side, being Generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had fundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithstanding did euer aunswere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire you him, nor yet to fuffer any other to do it, then fuch as the Senate should choose and call vnto the same. This at the first somwhat amazed Galba. But when both the armies of Vindex and Verginius, in fpight of their Captaines (who could not stay nor keepe them backe, E no more then cochmen can keepe backe the horse with their bridells) were joyned in a great battell together, where were flaine twenty thow and GAVLES in the field, and Vindex also flue him felfe shortly after it was genen out, that the conquerors after so great a victory obtained, would copell Verginius to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elfe that they would take Neroes part againe. Then Galba being not a little perplexed, wrote vnto Verginius, & perswaded him to ioyne with him, to hold up the Empire & liberty of the Romanes, & thereupon fled straight Colonia a citie into a city of Spayne called * Colonia, rather repeting him of that he had done, & wilhing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wher with he was brought vp: then otherwise occupying him selfe about any necessary or proffitable thing for the surtherance of his enterprise. Now it was about the beginning of fommer, and one day towards evening, there came to Galba one of F his slaues infranchised, a Sicilian borne, that was comen fro Rome in seuen daies: who was derstanding that Galba was alone, went presently to his chamber dore & opened it, & coming

A in against the wils of the groomes of the chamber that stood at the dore, he told him that Neva being yet aliue, but fene no more, first the people of Rome, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor: & that immediatly after newes came that Nero was dead, the which he hardly beleuing notwithstanding, went thither him selfe, saw his body layed out upon the ground. & then made towards him with all speede to bring him these newes. These newes maruelously reusued Galba, and a multitude of men thronged thraight about his dore, which began to be coragious, seing him lively againe, although the speede of the Messenger seemed incredible, Howbeit two dayes after, Titus also arrived, with certaine other of the campe, who told Galba perticulerly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this Titus was called to great ho-

nor, and the flaue enfranchifed had priviledge given him to weare ringes of gold, and he was B called Martianus Vicellus, who afterwards of all the infranchifed bond men, became the chiefest man about his Master Galba. In the meane tyme, Nymphidius Sabine began at Rous, not Sabine taketh couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the absolute gouernment of the Empire, per- vpon him to fwading him felf that Galba was fo old, that he could hardly be brought in a lytter vnto Rome, be Emperor.

TORIANS which were in Rome, did beare him good will of long tyme, and their acknowled-

ged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promife he had made them, for the which

he received the thankes, and Galba remained the debter. So he presently commaunded Tigel-

linus, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the PRETORIANS, to leave of his

fword: and disposing him selfe to bancketing and feasting, he sent for all those that had bene

being at the least three score and thirteene yeare olde: besides also, that the army of the P RM-

C Confuls, Prætors, or Proconfuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of Galba. So there were certaine fouldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they should doe well to fend Ambassadors vnto Galba, to praye him that Nymphidius might betheir onely Captaine still, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling Nymphidius their benefactor, and going dayly to visite him Honors done in his house, procuring him to be Author of all their decrees passed in Senate, and that he to Memphishould authorise them: this made him hie minded, and the bolder by much, insomuch that dist by the Sense, made shortly after, they that came to honor him in this fort, did not onely hate and mislike his do-bim group too ings, but moreouer he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Confuls had given bold and infoto commo purseuants any commissions under seale, or letters pattents signifying the decrees D of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperor, by vertue of which letters pattents, when the of-

ficers of the citie doe fee the feale, they straight provide the purseuants of coches and freshe horses to further their speede and hasty iorney: Nymphidius was very angree with them; bicause they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him and his souldiers, to sende likewise vnto the Emperor. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing them selves vnto him, and craving pardon, did and pease his anger. And to please the Commons also, he suffred them to pur any of Nerver friends Nove fried to death they could meete withall. Amonge other, they flue a Fenser called Spicillus, who me they put vnder Neroes statues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie, Another also call Nymphidia

led Aponius, one of Neroes accusers, they threw him to the ground, and draue carts ouer him comma E loden with stones. And divers others also, whom they slue in that manners of the which, some mene. had done no maner of offence. Hereuppon one Mauriscus, one of the noblest men of the critic

& fo esteemed, fayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we shall wish for Nero againg, before it be long. So Nymphideus being comen in manner to the fulnes of his hope: he was very glad to heare that some repyned at him, bicause he was the some of Caius Casar, that was the next This was the next Emperor after Tiberius . For this Caius Cafar, when he was a young man, had kept Nymphidias tage of new mother, which had bene a fayer young woman, and the Daughter of one Callifus, one of Ca. 1 fars infranchifed bond men, whome he had gotten of a Laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was borne before Caius Cafar coulde knowe his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenser called Martianus, with whome his mother

F Nymphidia fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome, and in deede Nymphidius was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he confessed that he was the sonne of this Nymphidia, howbeit he did ascrybe the glory of the death of Nero vinto him selfe, and

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with the goods he enjoyed, nether for that he lay with Sporus whome Nere loued so dearely, whome he fent for to Neroes funeralls whileft his bodye was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him Poppaus. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet fecretly he aspyred to be Emperor, partly practifing the matter in Rome it selfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were fecretly his friends: and partly also through one Gellianus, whome he sent into Spayne, to see how all thinges went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, fauing Verginius Rusus only, who stoode doubtfull yet, and made him forely mistrust him, for that he was affrayd (besides that he was generall ouer a great and pullant army, having also newly overthrowen Vindex, and fecretly ruling the best parte of the Empire of ROME, which was all GAVLE, and then in B tumult and vorore, ready to rebell) left he would harken vnto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to him selfe. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that tyme so famous, and of lo great estimation as Verginius, and that deservedly for that he had done great service to the Empire of Rome in tyme of extreamitie, having delivered Rome at one felfe tyme from a cruell tyranny, and also from the daunger of the warres of the GAVLES. This notwithstanding, Verginius perfitting still in his first determination, referred the election of the Emperor vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of Nero was openly knowen, the common fort of fouldiers were earneftly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the fouldiers (otherwife called a Colonel of a thowfand men) went into his tent with a fword drawen in his hand, and bad Verginius either determine to be Emperor, or els to looke to haue the sworde thrust C into him. Yet after that Fabius Valens, Captaine of a legion, was sworne vnto Galba, and that he had received letters from Rome, advertifing him of the ordinaunce and decree of the Senate: in thend, with much a doe, he perfivaded the fouldiers to proclayme Galba Emperor, who fent Flaceus Ordeonius to succeede him, vnto whome he willingly gaue place . So, when Verginius had deliuered up his army vnto him, he went to meete with Galba, on whome he wayted, comming on still towards Rome. And Galba all that time neither shewed him euill countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, Galba him selfe being cause of the one who seared him, and his friends of the other, but specially Titus Junius: who for the malice he bare vnto Verginius, thinking to hinder his rifing, did vnwittingly in deede further his good happe, and delinered him occasion to draw him out of the civill warres and mischieues, (the which lighted after- D wards upon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent from the Senate, and met with Galba at NARBONA, acitie of GAVLE: where after they had presented their humble duetie, they perswaded him to make all the hafte he could possible to shew him selfe to the people of Rome, who were maruelous destrous to see him. Galba received them very graciously and curteously, & made them great chere, howbeit very modeftly notwithstanding. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had lent him divers Officers, and store of Neroes moveables: yet he would never be served with any of them, at any feasts or bankets he made, with other then his owne stuffe, wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could master all vanitie. But Titus Iunius shortly after told Galba, that this noble mind and civill moderation, without pride or pompe, was to lowly E a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honestie that knewe not it selfe, and became not his greatnes and maiestie. So, he perswaded him to vie Neroes money & stuffe, and to be sumptuous and princely in his feasts, without niggardlines. To conclude, the olde man Galba began plainely to thew that he would be ruled by Titus Iunius: who aboue all other was extreame couctous, and besides too much given to women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the warres under Caluisius SABINB, he brought his Capgaines wife (which liked good felowshippe) disguised like a souldier into the campe, into his generalls tent (which the Romanes called Principia) and there was somewhat bold with her: Wherefore Caius Cafar committed him to prison but he escaped at his death. Another time, when he supped with Cloding Cafar, he stale a silver pot, Cloding hearing of it, bad him agains to F Supper the next night: but he commaunded his men they should give him drinke in an ear-

then cruse. Thus this their (through Colors pleasannines) seemed rather a matter of sport, then

A of anger: howbeit the faultes which he committed afterwards through extreame couetousnes of money, (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the swaye about him) gaug vnto some iust cause, and vnto others apparant culler of tragicall mischieues, and greeuous calamities, For Nymphidius, so soone as Gellianus was returned out of Spay Ne, whome he had sent thither Nymphidius to fee what Galba did: he enforming him that Cornelius Lacon was Captaine of the gard and

house of the Emperor, and that Titus Iunius did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffred to come neare Galba, nor to speake with him a part, bicause those which were about Galba did mistrust him, & euer had an eye to him to see what he did, he was maruelously per-

plexed withall. Thereuppon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and pety Captaines of the campe of the PRETORIAN army, and persuaded them that Galba touching his owner B person, was a good old and discreete man, howbeir that he did not follow his owne aduise & counfell, but was ruled altogether by Iunius and Lacon, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good before they came to be of greater power, and to have such great authoritie in maneging the affayres of the Empire, as Tigellinus had before, to fend Ambaffadors to the Em-

peror in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome vnto Rome, and to all men els besides. The Captaines vtterly misliked this deuise. For they thought it too straunge, and beyond all reason, to seeme to teache an old Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: & to appoynt him what fernaunts and friends he should keepe, and whome he should trust or

mistrust. Nymphidius perceiuing this, tooke another course, and wrote letters vnto Galba to ter-C rifie him one tyme fending him word that he was maruelous euill beloued of many in Rome. and that they were ready to rebell against him: an other tyme also, that the legions of GER-MANY were revolted, and that he vinderstoode the like from the legions in Ivry and Syria. And another tyme alfo, that Clodius Macer in Africk stayed all the shippes fraighted with

corne that were bound for Rome. But in the ende, finding that Galba made no accompt of him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings: he determined first of all to set vpon him. Howbeit Clodius Celsus, borne in the citie of Antioch, a wise man, and his faithfull friend, disswaded him maruelously not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rome that would call Nymphidius, Casar. Howbeit in contrary

manner, divers others mocked Galba and specially one Mithridates of the Realme of Pont, D that fayd he was a bald writhen man. For the Romanes (fayd he) hauehim in deede now in fome estimation, but when they have once seene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall shame and reproche to our tyme, that he was called Cafar . So they thought it good to bring Nymphidins about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclayme him Emperor. How-

beit the chiefe Tribune of the fouldiers called Antonius Honoratus, gathered his fouldiers to- The oration gether in the night, and before them all did first openly reproue him selfe, and then them, for of Antonius that they had so often turned and chaunged in so short time, without any wit or discretion, tribune of

having no judgement to chuse the best way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong shesouldiers, in that fort by some wicked spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. And vine his manyet (fayd he) our first chaunge had some countenaunce of reason, to wete, the horrible vices et. E and faultes of Nero: but now, wherein can we accuse Galba, to have any countenaunce to fal-

fific our faith vnto him? hath he flayne his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he fhame- " fully played the tumbler or common player vpon a scaffold in the Theater? And yet for all " thele vile parts, we neuer durst once beginneto forfake Nero, but gaue credit to Nymphidius" words, who told vs that Nero had first forfaken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What " fhallwe doe? Shallwe kill Galba after Nero? what, shall we kill him that is a kinne to Limia, to ...

make the sonne of Nymphidia Emperor: as we have already slayne the sonne of Agrippina? or ,, shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise, and thereby to reuenge the ... death of Nero, and to shewe our selues faithfull souldiers vinto Galba? All the souldiers yelded " straight to the Colonells words, and therewith went to their other companions to perferade

F them to keepe their faith & promise they anowed vnto the Emperor: forthat they made many of them reuolt againe from Nymphidius. Thereuppon the noyle and cries beeing great, 20 mphidius Nymphidius supposing (as some thought) that the souldiers did call for him or els hoping be- affire to be Engran.

with great store of torche light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which Ciconius Varro had made for him, and the which he had learned without booke to speake vnto the souldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw divers men armed vpon the walls, he began to be affrayd: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whose commaundement they had armed them selues as they did. Aunswer was made him by them all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but Galba: the which he feemed to like of, and also commaunded them that followed him to doe the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Whereuppon certaine of the fouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and fuffred him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit affoone as he was comen in, first there was a dart throwen at him, the which one Septimius that went before him received vp- R on his shield, & then others also came with their swords drawen in their hands to set on him. and followed him as he fled into a fouldiers cabbone, where they flue him. Then they layed

his body in an open place, and rayled it about, that every man that would, might the next day

fee it. So Nymphidius being flayne in this fort, Galba vnderstanding of his death, commaunded

that all Nymphidius friendes and confederators that had not bene flayne at that tyme, should

for his fake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongeft them they flue Ciconius that had

made the oration for Nymphidius, and Mithridates also of Pont. Howbeit, though in deede

they had deserved it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund these men to be put

to death in that fort, which were men of fuch qualitie and calling as they were, without due

new Emperor, to haue seene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet seene: how-

beit they were deceived of their hope at the first choppe. But yet they misliked this most of

great armies. But for Tertullianus that was an olde man, naked, and vnarmed: truely he should

haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue ministred instice, the which he promised to

keepe at his first comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reproued Galba. Now,

a multitude of Maryners and sea faring men, that kept the high way on every side, wandring

when he drew neare to Rome within fine and twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with D

forme and order of lawe. For every man stoode in good hope vpon the comming in of this C

Cornelius 74. all, when he commaunded them to kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had bene Conful, bicaufe him Turpilia

he was Neroes faithfull friend . But nowe for the death of Clodius Macer, whome Trebonianus flue in Africk by his commaundement, and for Fonteius that was also flayne in Germany by Valens: he had some reason to seare them, bicause they were in armes, and commaunded

Galba entred marder.

of Galba.

vp and downe in enery place. These were the men whome Nero had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them fouldiers. So they were come thither to be futers to him, that he would allow them still to be fouldiers, and they pressed so arrogantly upon him, that they would not fuffer those which came to the newe Emperor, to fee him, nor speake with him : but they fell to tumult and vprore, crying out to have enfignes for their legion, and to be appoynted a place to lye in in garrison, Galba referred them ouer to another tyme, and bad them they should then let him understand their demaund. They told him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereuppon fell to plaine mutinie, & followed him with great cryes: infomuch that some of them stuck not to draw out their swords. E Then Galba commaunded the horsemen he had about him, to set vpon them. So there was not a man of them that relifted, but fome of them were ouerthrowen, and troden under their horse seete: & others also slaine as they fled. This was a very euil signe and presage for him, to enter into Rome with fuch bloudshed, upon so many poore mens dead bodies as lay slayne on the ground. Howbeit, where fome before did despise and mock him for an old & feeble man, euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, bicause he would shew a great chaunge and alteracion from the vnreasonable vaine gifts and expenses of Nero; it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one Canus, an excellent player on the recorder. had played all supper tyme, bicause it was a maruelous sweete Musick to heare: he praysed & commended it marueloully, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, & put them into his hand, faying, that it was not money of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue straight commaundement that they

A should require and call backe againe the gifts Nero had geuen, and bestowed vpon common players, minstrells, wrestlers, and people of such kinde of facultie and profession, and to leave them only the tenth parte. But he got litle by this deuise. For the most parte of those that had giftes geuen them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that line without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they get in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to restore it againe. But this was an endles worke, for things had bene to conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to Galba him felfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Iunius: who only made the Emperour straight laced to all others, whilest he him selfe tooke vnreasonably of all men, ma-

B king portefale of eueriething that came to hand. For Hesiodus the Poet sayth:

As well when the veffell is full that it fill, As when it is emptie, thirft craueth drinke still.

But Iunius perceiuing Galba to be olde and feeble, woulde wifely take his fortune and time. while time ferued, supposing it almost to be at an end, so soone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much dishonor the poore old man, ouergreatlie abusing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefest and waightiest matters, in reprouing, or altogether himdering those, the which the Prince him selfe had a good defire to deale vprightly in, as to punish the officers of Nero. For he put some of them to death, among the which Elius was one, Galba killah

and certaine other, as Polyelitus, Petinus, and Patrobius: whereat the people maruelouslie re- Reves fer-C ioiced, and cried out as they went to execucion through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleffed proceffion, and required Tigellinus of the goddes and men, that had bene chiefe maister and guide of all Neroes tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vauntage, and had largely fed Iunius before: for afterwards he put poore Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being as he was, & had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played, when he was aliue. Wheras he that made Nero worthie of death, & that afterwards had also betrayed him : he was left alone, & nothing fayd vnto him. being a manifest proofe to all others, that they should not dout to hope to obteine any thing at Titus Iunius hands, fo they fed him with gifts. For the common people of Rome never defired thing fo much, as to fee Tigellinus to be caried to execucion: and they neuer left crying

n out to demaund him in all affemblies of the Theater or thew place, vntil fuch time as the Emperour Galba did forbid them by proclamacion, the which declared that Tigellinus would not liue long, bicause he was ficke of a consumption of the lungs, which by litte & litte did weare him to nothing: and Galba prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloodie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they feemed to laugh at it: and Tigellinus did facrifice to the goddes for his health & fafetie, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where Iunius rifing from supper, being set by the Emperour, went vnto Tigellinus to be merie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, vnto whom Tigellimus dranke, and offred her a gift of flue and twentie Myriades of filuer: and commaunded one of his chiefest concubines to take a carcanet from her necke she wore, and to gene it the o-

E ther, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done vprightly and with inflice, were reprotted and taken in etill part: as the thing that was graunted to the GAVLES, bicause they did rebell with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies & taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of Rome, so much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by Innius meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour Galba. Howbeit the fouldiers still lived in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as muche as was promifed them, they should yet enjoy as muche as Nero had genen them. But Galba vnderstanding that they com- The noble plained of him, he spake a word meete for so noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he v + signing of the

F sed to choose souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the souldiers, it bred a Galba. maruelous mortall hatred in them against him : bicause they thought it was not only to take Galbacifin. the gift away from them which they hoped prefently to have received, but that it was also a ded the foul-

president to teach the Emperours that should come after him, what they should doe. How- A

beit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian gard at Rome appeared not yet, but was fecretie

the end the fouldiers aunswered, if he be worthie. The legions in like maner under Tigellinus

charge, did oftentimes vie fuch infolent partes: whereof Galbaes officers did aduertife him by

letters. Wherefore Galba being affrayed, & mistrusting that they did not only despise him for

his age, but also bicause he had no children: he determined to adopt some young gentleman

for his sonne of the noblest house of the citie of Rome, and to proclaime him his successor in

the Empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but ever geven to sen-

times doth call Paris, the husbande of the fayer Helen, naming him by the name of his wife.

bicause he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen so Otho came to be knowen in

ROME, by marving Popped, whome Nero loued when the was Crifbinus wife, howebeit bea-

fualitie and pleafure from his cradell, as much as any ROMANE could be. And as Homer often- C.

kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maiestie and person of Galba, who kept them that were defirous to rebell, bicause they sawe as yet no beginning of any chaunge or alteracion. This did formwhat smother and keepe in the shew of their wicked intent, But they which had before serued under Verginius, and were at that time under Flaceus in GERMANIE, thinking them selves worthie of great reward for the battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing geuen them in recopence: they would not be pleafed with any thing their Captaine fayd vnto them, neither did they make any accompt of Flaceus, bicause he coulde not sturre him felfe, he was fo plagued with the gowte, and befides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sportes were made, at the bringing in of the which, the B Colonells and Captaines (according to the maner of the Romanes) made prayers vnto the Regions of the goddes for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour Galba: there were divers of them that made a novle at the first, and afterwardes when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in

Germany.

mongest she

Other ma-

Otho fens

ring some respect to his wife, and being affrayed also of his mother, he had intifed Otho to be his bawde vnto her. Nero loued Otho dearely, and muche delighted in his companie, bicause he was fo good a fellow and free of his fleshe: and was verie glad sometime to heare howe he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was novnting him felfe with pretions ovles and perfumes, he cast a litle youn Otho as he went by: who the next day made him a feast in his house, where sodainlie were thrust into the hall, divers vessells of gold and filuer full of this perfumed oyle, that rame out of them like conduit water, and did D wette all the hall. So Otho having first possessed, and abused her vnder hope of Neroes loue: he perswaded her to be dinorsed from her husband. The which she did and he received her home to his owne house, as his lawfull wife: not being so well pleased to have parte, as he was force and angrie also to let an other enjoy her. Now Poppea her selfe (as it is reported) did not mislike this his gealouzie, for sometimes the woulde shut her dore against Nero, though Otho were not within: either bicaufe the woulde keepe Nero in breath, and in loue liking still, or elfe as fome thought, bicause the would not have Cesar to her husbande, and likewise that the would not refuse him for her frend, bicause the was wantonly genen. But so it is, Otho was in daunger of his life by marying of Poppea: and fo was it also a straunge thing, that Nero hauing put his wife and lifter to death, only to mary Poppea, he did yet pardon Otho, and faued his E life. Howebeit it was for Senecaes fake that was his frende, through whose perswasion he was fent to the furthest parte of Spayne alongest the Ocean sea, to be Gouernour of Lysita-NIA. And there he gouerned to wifely that he was nothing chargeable nor trouble tome vnto the contry knowing that this honorable charge was genen him, only to mitigate and hide his banishent. Afterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the Gouernours of the prounces that joyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and filuer, vnto the mynt maister, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into current coyne. Moreouer he gaue of his officers vnto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to ferue a Prince: and otherwife, when he was tried, he shewed him selfe as faithfull and skilfull in matters of state, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Infomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coch with Galba him felfe, and did maruelouslie currie fauour with Titus Iunius, bestowing great gifts vpon him, and also enterteining him with pleaA fant species but specially, bicause he willingly gaue him the upper had wherby he was affured to bettle fecod person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Junius, for that Other credit hie gradited mens futes frackly & frely without one penny taking, & was belief eafly to be fook about Gabba.

with of every man that had any fute to him: but specially of the fouldiers, whom he did greatly help & further, & caufed divers also to be called to honorable office he himself partly mount the Braperor for the without any labor or fure made vnto him, & partly also obtaining the at Junius hads, & of the two infrachifed bondine of Galba, seellus & Afraticus. For thefethree men did beare all the fway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreouer alwates whe he in- other man uited the Emperor to his house, he bribed the Prætorian gard that waited upo him, & gauee . dife, sipring

uery fouldier a crown. Now this in fight, femed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with references B though in deede it was a fine deuise to ouerthrow him, to bribe the fouldiers in that fort as he did:So Galba cofulting whom he should make his successor: T. Junius presured Otho vnto hims the which he did not simply of himselfe, nor without reward, but only with promise that Othe should marry his daughter if Galba did adopt him his sonne, & proclaime him successor in the Empire Mowbeit Galba did alway specially regard the comon wealth before his printat liking.

& fought to adopt fuch a one, as should not so much please himself, as otherwise he should be proffitable & meete for the Empire. But furely in my opinion, Galba would not make Othe his heire of his goods, colidering what an vnreasonable speder he was, & how sumptuous in al his things, & besides, sargone in det: for he ought aboue fine thowsand Myriades. So when he had heard finan coulell about this adoptione getly without other answer, did put oner his deterc minario vatil another time, & made Otho only Coful at that time, & T. Junius Coful with himi whereby it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaime him his fucceffor in the Empire. Which was the thing the fouldiers molt defired of all other, But now delaying ftil his determination, the legions of the ROMANES in GERMANY, did rife & The legions rebel against him al at an instant. For he was generally hated of al his fouldiers, bicause he paid in Germanie the not the gift he had promifed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alguing Galba,

leaged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonorably rejected Verginins Rusus and that the GAV LES which had fought against the, were rewarded with great & rich priniledges, & they

that tooke not part with Vindex, had bene grieuously punished & putto death. Moreouer, that Galba did only honor Vindex death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwil vinto him. 1) offring publike oblatios & funeral facrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now fuch speches & rumors ran through the cape amogst the, whe the first day of the yere came, which the Romanes cal the calends of Ianuary, on which day whe Flaceus had called the fouldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperor according to the custome: they plucked down Galbaes images, & sware only in the name of the people, & the Senate of Rome, The soldier The captaines seing what course they tooke, were as much affraid of the dauger to be without decrebell aa head, as they stood doutful of the mischief of their rebellio. So there stept vp one amogst the sainst Gallan

& faid. My fellowes in armes, what do we meane? We neither choose any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this present: wherby we shew plainly, that we do not only refuse Galba, but also all other to be our head & Emperor that may commaund vs. Now for ... E Flaccus Ordeonius, that is but Galbaes shadow and image: I would wish we should let him alone ,, there as heis. And for Vitellius, gouernor of the lower Germanie, he is not farre from vs, but ,, one daies iorney only, whose father was Censor at Rome, and thrise also Consul, and that was " in a maner a Peere and companion of Clodius Cafar in the gouernment of the Empire: whose " pouerty if any man millike in him, is a manifest proofe of his goodnes and magnanimity. Him " therefore let vs choose, & let the world know that we can tell how to choose an Emperor, better then the Spanyands or Lysit anians. Some of the fouldiers that floode by, confirmed " these words, but others also misliked of the infomuch that among the rest there was an ensigne bearer that stale secretly out of the cape, to cary Vitellius newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, & had great store of good copany with him. These newes runing straight through F his cape, Fabius Vales, colonel of a legio, came the next morning with a great nuber of horseme, & was the first ma that named Vitellius Emperor, who before semed to refuse that name, as one that was affraid to take the charge of so great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full

BBBBB

their goodly popular oth which they had fworne in the name of the people & Senate they all

then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperous Vitellius to com-

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus,but not of Cafar. Vitellius named Emperor by the fouldiers.

Galba adəpteth Pifo his fucceffor.

Euill signes

Prolomies prolittion of Others Émpire.

Optio, and Tefferarius, why fo called by the Ro. maner. Otho bribed the Presorian fauldiers.

The prefage the Southtreason pra-

maund them. Thus Vitellius was chosen Emperor in GERMANY. So Gulba hearing of this new chauge, thought it not good to deferre time any leger for the adoption he had intended wherfore certainly understanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with Dolabella, & the most part of the with Osbo, he neither liking the one nor the other lodginly without any word spoke to any man, he sent for Pila (that was the youger sonne of Crassus & Piso, whom Nero had put to death) a youg man faier conditioned & thewed by his grave & modest countenance he had by nature, shathe was indued with many B noble vertues. Galba came downe presently fro his pallace, & went straight to the cape to ptoclaime Pifo Cafar, & his fuccessor in the Empire. Howbeit at his fetting out of his pallace, there appeared many great fignes in the firmamet which followed him. And moreover, whehe was also come into his cape, & that he began to say without booke part of his oratio. & partly also to read it:it lightned al the while he ipake, & there fel fuch a great shower of raine vpon it. & 2 maruelous thickmist in the cape, & ouer al the city, that me might easely se the gods did not like this adoptio, & that it would not prosper. The souldiers the selwed their discotentment by their heavy looks, & the rather, bicause at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the contenance & words of Pifo) that Pifo nothing reioiced at this great favor, although he C lacked not wit & understanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also they found eafely by Othors lookes, many fignes & proofes that he was marueloufly offended in his mind to fee that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the ma that was first spoke of, & thought most worthiest of all other, & being comen also so necessate it now to see himselse thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that Galba had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he still stood in seare of his life. For he being affraid of Pifo, hating also Galba, & being grieuously offended with T. Innius: he wet his way ful of divers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothfaiers, Astronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discoraged for this, & to cast all hope aside: but specially one Ptolomy, in whom he had great condence, bicause he had oftenmes before foretold and affured him, that Nero thould not put him to death, but contrarily, that Nero should die first, & he himself survive him, & should become Emperor of Rome. Wherby Ptolony having proved his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, & feare not that to come. But now befides him, those that secretly coplained vnto him, did prick him forward the more fighing to fee him fo euil delt with by Galba, & divers of the chiefly, which bare great authority & credit about Tigellinus & Nymphidius: who being the cast of, & discoutenaced came all vnto him, & stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, Veturius & Barbius chiefly, of the which the one had bene Optio, and the other Tefferarius: (for fo the Romane's call those that be their meffengers, (pials, & officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchifed bondman of his called Onomastus, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with ready mo- E ney, & other fome with faire words, being of them selues evil inclined, & expected but occafion to ytter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bene all of one mind, it had not bene an enterprise to have bene brought to passe in source dayes space (being no more between the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that forte. For they were flaine the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, on which day Galba did facrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his frends. But at that time the Soothfaier called Ombricius, when he had the intralls of the beafts facrificed in his hands, & had looked vpon them: he spake not doutfully, but plainly, that he faw fignes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present daunger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the goddes had put Galba into Othoes Affed against hands: for he stood at that time behind Galba, & both heard & saw all that the Soothsayer did. 1 So he feeming to be griened withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchifed bondeman Onomastus came and tolde him that the masons and chiefe

A chiefe carpinters were come to speake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vppon betwene them, at which tyme Otho shoulde then goe vnto the souldiers. Then Otho favd, that he went to looke to an olde house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shewe it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call Tiberius house, into the market place, where the golden piller standeth, where also the greatest high wayes of all ITALIE doe meete together. There certaine met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three with called

& twentie persons. Thereupon, though Otho was not vnconstant as it appeared, notwithstan- Emperson. ding he was so fine and effeminate a man, but rather resolute and stout in instant daunger: yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine have left his enterprise. Howbeit the B fouldiers would not fuffer him, but compaffing his litter rounde about with their armes, and

their swords drawne in their hands, they commanded the litter men to go forward. So Otho as he went hastening on his drivers, he often muttered to him selfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see fuch a small nuber of men about him, that they durst venter voon so hard an enterprise. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three & by foure in a company: all the which came and joyned with him, & cried Cafar, Cafar, having their fwords drawen in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to gard the field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their fodaine comming, he fuffred them to come in. So when Otho was come in, Othoreceined C he found no man that refifted him. For they that knew nothing of the practife, being compaf- of the Pratefed in with those that were made priny to it,& had knowen it of long time:being found strag-

ling here and there, by one & by two, they followed the rest for feare at the first, & afterwards for good wil. This was brought straight to Galba to the pallace, the Soothsayer being yet busie

of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Therupon Iunius & Lacon, & certaine other of Galbaes infranchifed bondmen, stoode to gard Galbaes person with their swordes drawen in their hads. Pife also went out to speake vnto the souldiers that garded the Emperours person. Moreouer, bicause the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipsanus: they D dispatched away Marius Celsus with all spede, a very honest man, to get that place. Galba in the meane time stood in dout whether he should come out of the pallace or not: for Iunius would not let him goe, but Celfus and Lacon perswaded him to go out. Insomuch as they fell at great words with Iunius, that went about to diffwade him from it. In this flurre, there ranne a rumor that Otho was flaine in the field. Immediatly after came Inbins Attions, one of the noblest foul-Afternoon diers of all the Emperours gard, & shewed his sword drawen, crying that he had slaine Cafars be of a foulenemie: and thrust through the prease, and got to Galba, and shewed him his sword bloodied. dur.

about his facrifice: infomuch that they which before gaue no credit to those divinations, be-

gan then to maruell much at this heavenly figne. Then there ran immediatly a great number

Galba looking him in the face, asked him who commaunded him to doe it. The fouldier aunfivered him: the faith & othe he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that stoode by cried out it was nobly done of him, & clapped their handes for ioy. Then Galba taking his lit-E ter, went out of his pallace to do facrifice to Iupiter, and also to shew him selfe openly. Howbeit he was no foner come into the market place, but he heard contrarie newes, that Othowas Lord and Maister of the whole campe, and armie. Then, as it happeneth in fo great a prease of people, some cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would have him to gee for Tamuli far. ward: others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him felfe. So Galba. his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as tost vpon the sea, sometime borne backe, otherwhile caried forward: first of all they faw certaine horsemen, and then footemen also armed, comming from Paules pallace, all of them together crying out with lowd voice, hence, hence, prinar man. Then all the people fer upon a running not flying difperfedly, but in heapes upon

porches and stalls in the market place, as it had bene to have seene some fight or sport. Then F one called Attilius * Sarcello, ouerthrew one of the images of Galba; which was as it were a be- * Tachus ginning of open warres. Others rounde about threwe dartes on cuerie fide of him against dont call him hier irre. But when they fawe they coulde not bill him, then they have been a they been they found to be they been the been they been they been they been they been they been they be the been they been the been they been the been they been they been they been they been the been they been they b his litter. But when they sawe they coulde not kill him, then they came neerer to his litter

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* Cornelius Tacitus doth call bins Den The velliantnes and fide-Litie of Semdischarge of his othe to the Emperosa Galba. The death of

Galba: & his wordes at his

chilochus fayth:

The Senate frare by the

name of 0-

Cisizens beades fold

with their fwords drawen in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to de- A fende him, fauing one man onely, whom the Sunne fawe that day, amongest so many thowfands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * Sempronius. He having receiued privately no manner of pleasure at Galbaes handes, but only to discharge his othe and ductie: stepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunche he had in his hand (with the which the ROMANE Captaines doe vie to beate their fouldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did fet vpon him, and prayed them to holde their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the ende when he faw they would not leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest: he then drew his sword, and bare of the blowes as well as he could, vntil they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then Galbaes litter being overthrowen right in the place called Curtius lake: Galba lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous fouldiers flew R vppon him, and gaue him many a wounde: and Galba holding out his necke vnto them, bad them strike hardily, if it were to do their contrie good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howebeit the fouldier that flue him, was called Camurius. of the fifteenth legion. Others doe reporte that it was one Terentius, other also say Arcadius: And some other doe call him Fabius Fabulus: who having striken of his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, bicause he coulde not otherwise take holde of it, for that he was all balde. Howebeit his fellowes and confortes woulde not fuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done thould be seene. Therefore he set it vpon the point of his launce, and so shaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishoppe, and Confull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women possessed with the spirite C and furie of Bacchus at the feastes of Bacchus) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare blood. When his head was brought to Otho, it is fayd he cried out alowd: tush, my fellowes. this is nothing: vnleffe you bring me also Pifees head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * Marcus, who flue him hard by the temple of Veffa. So did they also kill Titus Iunius: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracie against Galba, and cried out to them that slue him, that Othe did not know they did kill him. This notwithstanding, the souldiers strake of his head, and Lacons also, and brought them both to Otho to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet Ar-

Of seuen peraduenture staine dead on the ground, A thovu fand will fay, that they all gaue the wound. So there were divers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had

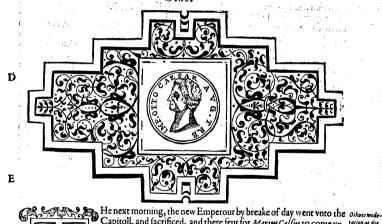
bloodied all their handes and swordes, and so shewed them bloodied to have rewarde also:

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but Vitellius notwithstanding made inquirie of them afterwardes, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the fielde also, one Marius Celsus, whome divers men accused to haue persivaded the souldiers to aide Galba, and the common people cried out, and bad he shoulde be put to death. Howebeit Otho woulde not suffer them to kill him: and vet being affrayed to contrarie the fouldiers mindes, he tolde them they should not kill him fo rashly, bicause he was first to learne some thinges more of him. So he commaunded them to binde him, and deliuered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards, the Senate were pre- E fentlie affembled: who, as if men had bene fodainlie chaunged from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all sware by the name of Otho, (the which othe he him selfe had before sworne vnto Galba, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, Augustus, and Ca-(4r, the bodies of them that were flainelying yet headles on the ground in the market place, all in their Confulls robes. And as for their heades, the fouldiers after they coulde tell no more what to doe with them, they folde the heade of Titus Iunius vnto his daughter, for the fumme of two thowsande fine hundred Drachmas. And for Pifoes head, his wife through intreatie, begged it of one called Veranius. On the other fide, for Galbaes head, they gaue it vnto Patrobius and Vitellius fernauntes: who, after they had vied it as vilelie as they coulde deuise, they threwe it at length in a place, where their bodies are cast, whome the Casars put to B death, the which they call Sestertium. Nowe for his bodie, Heluidius Priseus, through Othoes fufferance, caried it away, and Argins, one of his infranchifed bondemen, buried it by night.

A Thus have you heard the historie of Galba, a man that in nobilitie and wealth was inferiour to few ROMANES, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, and had alway lived in honorable fame and estimacion, in the raigne of fine Emperours. So that he ouercame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that strong to make them selues Emperours at that time some sound no man that thought them worthie of it: others did put foorth them felues, as thinking them felues worthie of it. Howbeit Galba was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vfing his name against Vindex boldnesse: whereby he procured, that his rising (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civill warre, after that his faction, came to haue a man to be their head thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not B fo muche defire to be Emperour for him felfe, as to doe good to his contrie and common

wealth. But yet he erred, in feeking to commaunde the fouldiers whom Tigellinus and Nimphidius had spoyled by their flatteries : earen as in olde time Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did commaund the fouldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now a verteolde man, shewed him selfe a good Emperour and after the old forte, in his behauior towardes the fouldiers only: but in all other things elfe, being caried away with the couetoufnes of T. Inmius and Laco, and of other his infranchifed bondmen, he left none defirous to be governed by him, but many that were forie for his death



Capitoll, and factificed, and there fent for Marsus Celfus to come vn- ration at the to him, whom he curt coussie saluted, and prayed hun rather to forget by raight the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliverie. Marius Celsus made him a wise and noble aunswere againe, and sayd that the matter for the which they would have accused him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, shewing him selfe faithfull vitto Galba, who neuer did him any pleafure. Thele words of them both did marnelouflie

please the people: & so did they like the souldiers also woderfully well. Moreouer, after he had verie fauorablie and graciouslie taken order for matters in the Senate.

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also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by Nero, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honored the oldest Senators and of greatest estimacion with certaine Priesthoodes. Besides all this, he restored vuto all those Senators that were banished by Nero, and called home againe, all their goodes yet vnfold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrats and noble men of the citie that quaked before for seare, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour : they all became glad men, for the good hope of this finiling and gracious raighe they were so lately entred into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the Romanes together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men formuche, as that he did vnto Tigellinus. For it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment enerie man threatned him B withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his hodic was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his ynreasonable infolency and luft of the flesh, (following naughtie packes, and common strumpets, burning still in filthie concupifcence) an extreame punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better then a dead man in maner, still following pleasure and sensualitie as long as he coulde: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they shoulde see suche a wicked creature as he live, that had put so many noble men to death. So Otho sent for him, who lived verie pleasauntlie at his houses in the contrie, by the citie of Sinvessa, and had shippes euer readie vppon the sea coast, to sie if necessitie draue him to it. Thereuppon he first sought to bribe him with money, which was fent with commission to apprehend him, and perswaded G him to let him scape: but when he saw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to geue him gifts, and prayed him to geue him leaue to shaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then Tigellinus tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throte. So, Otho having pleased the people thus well, he fought not otherwise to be revenged of his private injuries. Moreouer, to currie fauour with the common people, he refuled not to be called Nero, in any open affemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine private men had set vp Neroes images in open fight, Otho was not offended withall : but moreouer Clodius Rufus writeth, that letters pattents & comissions were fent into Spayne by posts, subscribing the goodly name of Nero, with the beginning of name of Otho. How beit when it came to his eares that the noble men of Rome misliked of it: he left it of, and would wryte it no more in his letters. So Otho having begonne in this forte D him the name to stablish his Empire, the fouldiers maruelouslie troubled him. For they continually perswaded him to take heede to him felfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neere vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayed some trecherie or treason would be secretlie practised against him: or else it was some fained deuise to set all together by the eares, and to bring it to civill warre. For when Otho him felfe had fent Cribinus with his feuenteenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that Crispinus was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, having loden carts with armor and weapon for his fouldiers: the desperatest and boldest men among them, began to crie out, and fayd that Crispinus ment no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make some chaunge and sturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for Casar, E but against him. These wordes moued many mens consciences, and made them to rebell: so that some layed hold upon the cares to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hande,

The death of and Crispinus him selfe also that woulde have stayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoraging an other, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, understanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne straight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all Cafars enemies at a clappe. Hercupon all Rome was straight in armes, looking immediatly after to be facked and spoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, Otho him felfe also being in great feare and distresse. For men might easelie see he was affrayed, bicause of his ghestes he had bidden, not for him n felfe, feeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not speaking a word vnto him, but staring on him still, and speciallie those that came and brought their wines with them to supper.

A So Otho fodainly fent the Captaines vnto the fouldiers & commaunded them to speake with them, & to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conveyed his ghestes out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saved them felues, passing through the fouldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of Cafars enemies. So the Emperour rifing from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he fent them all away. The next morning he liberallie bestowed ypon energy Othors liber fouldier, a thousande two hundred and fiftie Drachmas: and then he went into the market fouldiers, places & there gaue great commendation to the common people for their readie good wills they had shewed vinto him howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vinder colour

B and pretext of honestie, did commit many lewde partes, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be euill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him alowde he should doe it. So Othe thereuppon caused two of them only to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatlie offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, marueled much to fee this chaunge. Other were of opinion, that it stoode him you to doe so, to winne the fouldiers harts, bicause of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all partes, that Vitellius had taken upon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one Vitelliurre. in an others necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to lubmit them felues vn-bellion. C to Vitellius. Others tolde him also, how the legions remayning in PANONIA, DALMATIA, and

Mysia, had chosen Otho. Immediatly after, frendly letters were brought him also from Mytianus and Velhalianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Ivdea, with great and mightie armies. Whereuppon Otho geuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto Vitellius, and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterprise, then became a private souldier: and that he would geue him golde and filuer enough, and a great citie, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleasure. Vitellius gently aunswered him at the first, and sported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with an other, spiteful letters were sent betweet either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falfely but fondly, and foolishly detecting eche others vices. For in deede it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously genen, most small diffe-D effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indetted before. Nowe at that time they talked of other and the wonderful fignes that had bene fene: how beit they were but flying tales, & there was no man rellium ma to iustifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of Victorie set vppon a triumphing winders

chariot: the which euery bodie faw did let flacke the reynes of the bridles of the horses which feene as the had in her handes, as though the could not flay them any more. The flatue of Caius Cafar Reme.

also within the Iland, which standeth in the middest of the river of Tiber at Rome, without any earthquake or storme of winde, turned of it selfe from the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that Velpasian began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many also tooke the ouerflowing of the river of Tiber for an euil figne. For in deede it was at The wonderthat time of the yeare when rivers do swell most, yet was it never so great before, neither had full overflow-E it euer done so much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerstowen her bankes, and drow- ur of Tiber. ned the most parte of the citie, and specially the corne market: insomuche that they suffered famine many dayes after in ROME. In all this sturre, newes came that Cecinna and Valens, (two of Vitellius Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in Rome, Dolabella a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised some treason. Now Otho, either bicause he was affrayed of him, or of some other: he sent him to the citie of AQVINVM, promifing him he shoulde have no other hurte. Then choosing the choyces gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, and did not depriue him of any jot of his honor and dignitie. Moreover, he was verie carefull to fee his wife and mother safe, that they shoulde not be affrayed of them sclues. Be-F sides all this, he appointed Flauius Sabinus, Vespasians brother, Gouernour of Rome in his ab-

fence: and did it for Neroes fake, who had affore geuen him the fame honor and authoritie the which Galba had taken from him: or els to make Vespasian see, that he loued & trusted him.

BBBBB iiii

mongest the Preserian fouldiers.

Tigellinus killesh him

Otho at the

of Nero.

noble and great personages, how beit they could not have their wills to rule the armie as they woulde, bicause of the infolencie and stubbornes of the souldiers, who would have no other The from and. Captaines but the Emperour only, faying that he, and none other, should commaund them. In deede, the enemies fouldiers also were not muche wifer, nor more obedient to their Cantaines, but were braue and lustic youn the selfe fame occasion; howbeit they had this aduantage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres. and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer thronke from it. Whereas the Prætorian fouldiers that came from Rome, were fine mealed mouthed men, bicause they had bene long from the warres, & had lived at case in Rome, and taken their pleasure in banketing & playes: R and therefore in a brauery and jolity, they would needes have men thinke that they discained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when Spuring would have compelled them, he was in daunger of death, and icaped verie narowly that they flue him not. For they stucke not to reuile him, and geue him as fowle words as they could: calling him traitor. and curfing him, faving that he marred all Cafars affaires. Yea and there were some of them that having their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leave to depart, faving that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flowte they had Placetian the genen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did stand Some rina and his affaires to great purpole. For Vitellius fouldiers comming hard to the walls of the C citie did mocke Othoes men that were at the cranewes of the fame, and called them fine daynfers, and goodly stage players, that had seene nothing but playes and feasts; and that for feats of armes, and battells, they knewe not what it ment: and that the greatest act they ever did, was for that they strake of the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by Galba: and that to come to fight a battell in the fielde before men, their hartes were in their heeles. These vile words galled them to the hart, and made them fo mad withall, that they came of them felues to pray Spuring to commaund them what he thought good promifing that from thence forth they would never refuse any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was a hotte affault geuen to the city of PLACENTIA, with greatstore of fundry engines. Howbeit Spuringes men had the better, and having with great slaughter repulsed the assailants, they sa- D ued one of the goodlieft, the greatest, and most florishing cities of all ITALIE. So Othoes Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and civill to deale with cities and private men. The praise of then Vitellius souldiers were. For, of Vitellius Captaines, Cecinna, was neither for personnor maners accompanyable for the people, but straunge, monstruous, & troublesome to see him only, a mightie made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with fleeues, after the facion of Fuelin Cap. the GAVLES, and spake in this attire vnto the ensigne bearers, and Captaines of the Ro-MANES. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horsebacke, gallantlie apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choycest men of armes of all the companies. The other, Fabius Valens, he was fo couctous, that no spovle of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their frends and confederats, could quenche or fatisfie his R vn[atiable couetousnes: whereby it seemeth that was the let, that comming on so slowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame Cecinna for it, that made too much hast, for the defire he had to have the only honor of the victory to him felfe: & this was the cause. that besides his other light faultes, he also made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and feafon, and when it came to the povist in deede, yet he fought it not out valliantly, fo that he

So he taried behinde at BRESSELLE, a citie standing upon the river of Po: and sent his armie A

before under the conduct of Marins Cellus of Syvetonius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Souring all

taines, and

Fabius Va-

had almost cast all away. For when he had the repulse from Placentia, he went vnto Cre-MONA an other great citie. And Annius Gallus going to aide Spurina, who was belieged in the citie of PLACENTIA: when he heard by the way that the PLACENTINES had the better, and that the CREMONENSES were in great daunger and diffresse: he marched thither with his arfeafting and banketing, neuer feeling the discommodities and bitter paines of warre, and did a Rome, fee my, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Captaines of either p fide came to aide their men. Howbeit Cecinna having layed a great number of his best souldiers well armed in ambushe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his

1124 A horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retyre litle and litle, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawen them within his ambush, So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambush vnto Marius Celsus, who came against them with his choyce men of armes, and did not followe them ouerrafhly, but compaffed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speede to his footemen to make hast thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had comen in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vpon the bellies of all Cecinnaes armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being comen too late to aide them, for that he came fo flowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenaunce heca-

B ried. Furthermore, the common fouldiers accused him of treason vnto Otho. and stirred vp Pesilina, 0. their Emperour against him, and spake verie bigge words of them selues, saying, that they had their cap. ouercomen for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put for a count them by the victory. So Otho did not trust him fo much, that he would not make him belove but that he mistrusted somwhat. Therefore he sent his brother Titianus to the campe, and Proelus with him, Captaine of the Prætorian garde, who in deede commaunded all, but in fight Titianus had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenaunt, Marius Celfue, and Paulinus followed after, bearing name of counfellers and frends only: howbeit otherwise they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie geuen them. On the other fide. the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially, whom Valens led. For when C newes was brought of the conflict that was between them in this ambushe, they were angrie

with him, bicause they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were flaine: infomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were so readie to haue flowen vpon him. So Valens at length remoued his campe. & went & joyned with Cecinna. Howbeit Otho being comen to his campe at the towne of BEBRIACVM, which Bebriacema is a litle towne hard by CREMONA: he confulted with his Captaines whether he should gene towne by Crebattell or not. So Proclus and Titianus gaue him counsell to fight, considering that the souldiers were verie willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him others connotto deferreit: for thereby he shoulde but discorage his armie, which was now willing to sulling t fight, and also geue their enemies leasure to tarie for their Chiefetaine Vitellius, who came int.

D him selfe out of GAVLE. But Paulinus in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing : whereas Otho looked for an other atmic out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an armie as his enemies had alreadie, to that he could tary his time, & not ferue his enemies turne : and alfo, that if the fouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they should then be much more incoraged, when they should haue greater companie, and should also fight with better safetie. Furthermore he perswaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, confidering that they had plentie and store of all maner of prouision: where the enemies on thother side being also in their enemies contrie. their vittells would quickely faile them. Marius Celfus liked verie well of these perswasions,

E And fo did Annius Gallus, who was not present at this counsell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horse) but he was wrytten to by Otho to haue his opinion alfo. So Annius Gallus returned aunswere, that he thought it not best to make hast, but to stay for the armie that came out of Mysta, considering they were onwardes on their way. Howbeit Otho woulde not hearken to this counfell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged divers occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the fouldiers which are called the Prætorian gard (being the dayly gard about the Preference Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a souldier, and to line souldiers to like a fouldier: they lamented their continuing in Rous, where they lived at case & pleasure; present life

F therefore fo earnestly crie out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at ting the their first crie and setting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreouer, it seemed alfo that Otho him felfe could no more away with the feare and dour of the vncertaine fucceffe fouldin.

Vitellius: 4 dronkard and glution. Otho:a wantions liner. . The towne of Breffelles is hard by the riner of Po.

to come, neither could any lenger abide the grieuous thoughts of the daunger of his estate, A he was so effeminate, and vnacquainted with sorowe, and paines. This was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put Secundus the all at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by Secundus the Orator, and Othoes secretarie. Orater, serre. Others also doe report, that both armies had divers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne the the Empe- all together in one campe, and joyntly to choose among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, & there to fuffer the Senators to choose such a one Emperour, as they liked best of. And sure it is verie likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had; and therefore that these counsells and consideracions might easely fall into the Romane souldiers header (who were R wife men and expert fouldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them justly to mislike, to bring them selves into the like miserable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one an other to suffer, first for Sylla and Marius sakes, and afterwards for Casar and Pompey, and now to bestow the Empire of Rome either vpon Vitellius, to make him the abler to follow his dronkennes and gluttony: or elfe ypon Otho, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moved Celsus to delay time, hoping to end the warres withton and licen- out trouble and daunger: and that caused Otho also to make the more hast, being affrayed of the same. Howebeit Otho returning backe agains to BRESSELLES, he committed an other fault, not only bicause he tooke his mens good wils from the to fight, the which his presence. and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but bicause also he caried away with C. him for the gard of his person the valliantest souldiers & most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chaunced a skirmish to fall out by the river of Po, bicause Cecinna built a bridge ouer it, & Othoes men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they faw they prenailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wodde, all rubbed ouer with brimstone and pitche, and setting them a fire, they sent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the middest of the streame, there sodainlie rose a winde out of the river, which blewe uppon this worddestake they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did fo trouble the men in the barges, that they were driven to leape into the river to fave them felues: and to they loft their barges, and became them felues also prisoners to their enemies. D to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMAINES under Vitellius, fighting with Others fenfers, which of them should winne a little Hand in the middest of the river : they had the upper hand, and flue many of the fenfers. Thereuppon Othars fouldiers which were in BERRIAC VM, being in a rage withall, and would nedes fight: Proclas brought them into the fielde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, to fondly, and to fo litle purpole, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the contrie thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the fame day, and were driven to march above a hundred furlong. Now, Paulinus perswaded them to go sayer and softly, and not to make more hast then neded. and would not fo foone as they should come; (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) fet H vpon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leasure & time enough to set their men in battell ray, whileft they were coming to long a torney with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of divers opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from Otho, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which Otho commaunded them to make all the haft they could, and to loofe no time, but to marche with all speede towards the enemie. So when these letters were reduce Captaines presently marched forward with their armie. Cecimia understanding of their comming, was astonied at the first, and sodainlie forfooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he founde the most parte of his fouldiers alreadie armed, and Valens had genen them their fignall & word of battell. And in the meane time, whileft the legions were taking their places to fet them felues in p battell ray: they sent out before the choycest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cause) that Fitellius Captaines would turne on

A Othors fide in battoll. Infomuch that when these men of armes cameneare to meete with the soward of Othors armie: Othors men did speake very gently to them, and called them company mons Fivellius men on the other fide tooke this falutacionin suill parte, and aunswered them againe in tage as men that were willing to fight. Infomuch that those that had spoke to them, were duite differriged; and the relidue also beganne to suspect their companions which had spoken to the in and millrusked them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their cutorder, being quity to insine battell. Furthermore, on the enemies fide alfo, all was out of ordes sforthe beafts of cariage ranne in amongest them that fought, and so did put them marneloully out of of der: Befides that also, the disaduauntage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, bicause of fundry ditches and trenches that were B betweine them, whereby they were compelled to fight in divers companies together. So there Band bewere bur two legions onely, the one of Witellius, called the denowrer: and the other of Otho, mist the Os called the seepercwhich getting out of these holes and ditches a part by them selves, in a good Vitellian. plaine even ground, fought it out fo a long time together in good order of battel. Others foul- Legions caldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valliant of their handes, howbeit they had led by pros neuer served in the warres, nor had ever foughten battell but that . And Vitellius men on the norregites catier fide, were olde beaten fouldiers, and had ferued all their youth, and knew what warres & pro battells'ment. So when they came to joyne, Othors men gaue fuch a lufty charge vpon the first onset, that they ouerthrew, & flue all the first rancke, and also wanne the enseigne of the eagle, Vitellius men were to ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart against (C) vitto them, and ranne in fo desperately upon their enemies, that at the first they slue the colonell of all their legion, and wanne divers enfignes. And furthermore, against Others fensers, (which were accompted the valliantest men, and readicst of hande) Varus Alphenus brought
The valliants his men of armes called the BATTAVIN which are GERMAINES in the lower parte of GERMA- need the Bat NY, dwelling in an Iland compaffed about with the river of Rhein. There were few of his Fenfers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the river, where they founde Note the minu certeine enlignes of their enemies fet in battell ray, who put them all to the sworde, and not a Fenser, and man of them scaped with life, But about all other, none proued more beafts & cowards, then what fouldithe Praetorian gard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to give them charge, but The Othonia cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen; ant ouerto-1) and so did both disorder them, and also make them affrayd. This notwithstanding, there were men in based a great number of Othoes men who having overthrowen the voward of them that made head by the Vielagainst them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerors, and so valliantly returned back into their campe, But of their Captaines, nether Proclus, nor Paulinus, durft lines of the returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furye of the fouldiers, that following they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit Annius Gallus received them into the citie of BEBRIAC VM, that came together after this overthrow, & told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But Marius Celsus gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to consultacion what they should do in so great a calamitie, & E extreamessaughter of the Romane Citizens. For if Otho him selfe were an honest man, he Marine Colhould no more attempt fortune: confidering that Cato and Scipio were both greatly blamed, Other foulfor that they were the cause of casting away many men in Africk to no purpose, (though diery person they fought for the libertie of the Romanes) and onely of selfe will, for that they would not ding them to yeld to Iulius Cafar after he had wonne the battell of Pharsalia. For though fortune in all o- goe to Vuellither things have power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, the can not preuent them to determine the best for their safetie. These perswasions straight caried away the Capteines, who went presently to seele the mindes of the private souldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So Titianus perswaded them to fend Ambassadors unto the e- Other Cap. nemies to treate of peace: and Celsus and Gallus tooke vpon them the charge to goe thither, taines doe F to breake the matter vnto Cecinna, and Vaiens. But by the way they met with certen Centuri-yeld them to breake the matter vino Ceenma, and Valens. Dut by the way they met with certen Centuri-films who sold them how all the army of the enemies were comming onwards on their way, to Vitalius.

come directly to the citie of BEBRIACYM, and that their chieftaines had fent before to offer

Celliu was in great daunger of his life; bicaufethemen of armes which he barkoulerthrowen

Methatfight a battell. know not all things that are done at the bastell.

cerren dayes before in an ambushe comming before, when they spyeddim athers sew your him with great (howtes, Howbeitthe Centurions that were in his companyon the per before him, and closed him in: and to did the other Capteines that cryed water them should do him no hurt. Cecima vnderstanding what the matter was, roadenbither and pacified the tues mult of these men of armes: and then saluting Cellin very currequity, he want with him towardes Brenzacym. But nowe Titianus in the meane time be reprotinge him felic that he had fent Ambassadors vnto the enemies, he placed the desperatest souldiers be had abon the walls of the citie, and incoraged the rest also to doe the like, and to stand to the defense. But H Cecinna came to the wal, & being a horsebacke, held up his hand wito them. Then they made no more relistance, but those that were your the walles, saluted the souldiers cand they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thrust in amongest Vitellius menombones evaed them, and did no man any hurt, but curteoully imbraced them, and faluted eche other. Then they all fware and tooke their othes to be true to Fitelline, and fovelded themilelus vnto him. So doe the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof graunting notwithstanding that they knew not enery thing that was done, bicause of the great disorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was striken, with Metrius Florus that had beene Conful: he shewed me an olde man that when the field was fought in that place, was younge, and against his will was at the same battell on Othoes parte. G Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to furney the number of those that were dead; and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. And fayd moreouer, that he made inquierie of the matter, but he nether could imagine it him felfe, nor be fatisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in cinil warres betwene contry men of one felf citie, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen. that there should be greater slaughter among them, then against the other enemies, bicause they take no prisoners of either side: for those they should take, would serve them to no good purpose. But after they were flaine, one to be layed on heapes so by another, that is a hard thing to judge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrowe came first but obscurely vnto Otho, a common thing in a matter of so great importance: but afterwardes, when some D that were hurt came and brought him certen newes of it, it was no maruell then to see Othoes friendes and familliers to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheere, and not to be discoraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the privat souldiers shewed vnto him at that time, did passe and exceede all speech and education. For they for looke him not, nether went they to fubmit them felues to their enemies the conquerors, fuctions, onnether tooke they any regard of them felues, to fee their Emperour in that dispayre: but all of them joyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperour, Then he came our, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumphe lying on the ground, & killed his hands, with the teares ronning downe their cheekes, and befought him not to forfake and leave them to their enemies, but to commaund their persons whilest they had one H drope of blud left in their bodies to doe him feruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongest others, there was a poore souldier drawing out his sword, sayd vnto The wonderhim: know, O Cefar, that all my companions are determined to dye in this fort for thee, and full corage of a fanddier of fo flue him felfe. But all thefe lamentable things did neuer melt Othoes hart: who looking with University and talking his eyes every where, spake vnto them in this maner. I thinke this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperour: to see you loue me so well, and doe me such honor, with so great thew of loyaltie. But yet I befeech you not to deny me of a greater fauor, which is: to dye valliantly, and honorably, for the safetie of so many honest men as you be, and so good Citizens of Rome. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I p " must now needes shewe my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life, for your and my contries fafetie. I am certen that the victorie is not altogether myne enemies. For newes are

A come vnto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pannonia are in their way comming to vs. " and that they are not farre of from the Adriatick fea. Asia, Syria, and ÆGYPT, and the legions that make warre in Ivry, are all ours. The Senate taketh our parte, and our enemies " wiues and children be in our handes. But this warre is not against Annibal, nor Pyrrhus, nor a-". gainste the CIMBRES, to fight who should be owners of ITALY: but it is againste the Ro- ". MANES them selves. For in this civill warre, both the Conqueror and vanquished doe offend, their contrye: for where the Conquerors have benefit, the contry and common wealth alwayes receyueth losse. Assure your selues I had rather dye, then raigne Emperour: consi-" dering also that my life with victorie can not so much benefit the Romanes, as the facrifice " of the same may doe my contry good, for the peace and quietnes of my contry men, keeping B ITALY thereby from seeing such another battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made " this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would have diffwaded him the contrary: he commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that were present, to anovde. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vie them very curteoufly, and to fee them fafely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe Cocceius The Emperor to him, who was yet but a younge boye, and he did comfort him, and bad him nor to be af- Othors words frayd of Vitellius, for he had fafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as care- Cocceius. full of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his fonne. though he was desirous to doe it, vntill such tyme as he sawe the ende of this warre: to thend that if he ouercame, he should equietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouer-C come, that for adopting of him, he woulde not be cause of his death. But this one thinge onely, I commaunde and charge thee, my fonne, euen as the last commaundement that I can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, nether ouer much remember, that thyne Vncle hath bene Emperour . When he had colde him this tale, he heard a novie at his dore: they were the fouldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and woulde kill them, if they did not remayne with him, but would for sake their Emperour . Vpon this occasion he came out once againe among them, being affrayd least the fouldiers would doe the Senators some hurt, and made the souldiers give backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking curteously to them, but looking grymly on them, and in greatrage: insomuch that they all shroncke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirst, and dranke Da litle water: and having two fwordes, he was proving a great while which had the best edge. In the ende, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his fernaunts, and liberally to gine out his money amonge them, to some more, to some leffe, not prodigally throwing it away without difcretion, as being another mans money: but difcreetely gaue to enery man according to his defert. Then after he had dispatched them away, he laid odo in his him down to sleepe al the rest of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort, death, seemed he flept fo fowndly. In the morning he called one of his infranchifed bondmen, whom he had to follow case commaunded to helpe to faue the Senators, and fent him to feeif they were all fafe, & gone. So when he understoode that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: come on, faid he then vnto him, looke to thy felfe I reade thee, and take heede the fouldiers fee thee not, E if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my felfe. So affoone as his infranchifed bondman was gone out of his chamber, he toke his fword othe flue him with both his hands, and fetting the poynt of it to his breft, he fell downe vpon it, feeming to felfe. feele no other payne, fauing that he fetched a fighe: whereby they that were without, knewe that he had done him selfe hurt. Thereuppon his friendes made straight an outcry, and all the campeand citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentacion. The fouldiers fodainly ran with a great noyle to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling out with them selues that they were such Villaines so slenderly to have garded their Emperour, that they kept him not from killing him felfe for their fakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand; but having honorably bury-

F ed him, and prepared a great stacke of wodde, they conveyed him armed to the fire of his of Other the funeralls, every man thinking him felfe happy, that coulde first fet his shoulders to the cof- Emperous. fyn to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kiffed his

CCCCC

The Emperor Othoes tombe in the citie of Breffelles. Othoes age and raigne.

wound. Others tooke and kiffed his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honored A him, and did reuerence him a farre of, and some there were also that after the stacke of woode was fet a fire, flue them felues hard by the fire: who had neuer received benefit by him that was dead, (at the least to any mans knowledge) nether had they any occasion to be affraid of him, that was Conqueror. And truely me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was fo ambitiously given to raigne, as they vehemently defired to be commaunded by Otho, and to obeye him: confidering that their defire left them not even after his death, but was fo lively rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadely hate vnto Vitellius. But of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried Othoes ashes, they did fet vp a tombe for him, nether for magnificence of building, nor forglorious epitaphe, subject vnto enuy, For I have seene his tombe in the citie of BRESSELLES, a meane thing, and the epitaph B vpon it translated out of Latine, sayeth no more but this: This is the tombe of Marcus Otho. He dyed being but feuen and thirty yere olde, and was Emperor but three moneths: & there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he lived not much more honester then Nero, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when Pollio one of the Captaines would have compelled his fouldiers prefently to have taken their othes to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remayning some Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled Verginius Rufus. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, & commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambassador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already ouer- C. come, confidering he refused it when they had ouercome: and also he was affraid to goe

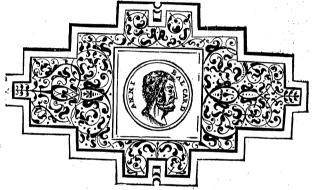
Ambassador to the Germaines, bicause he had compelled them to doe thinges against their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and saued him felfe. So when the fouldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be sworne vnto Vitellius, and so ioyned them selues with Cecinnaes fouldiers, fo they might be pardoned for all that was past.

THE



LIVES OF ANNIBA AND SCIPIO AFRICAN.

Translated into French by Charles de la Stuce, and englished by Thomas North.



Fwe doe call to mind the first Punick warre the Carthaginians had with the Romanes: we shall find many Captaines, who by the el glorye of their noble deedes, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their posteritie. Howbeit amongest all the Captaines of the CAR-THAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commen-2 ded of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then Hamilear, Annibals fa- The partiage Tther, otherwise surnamed Barcha, a valliant man doubtles, and in his of Annibal. time a skilfull fouldier as any was. The fame Hamilear first of all made

warre with the Romanes, alonger tyme in Sicilia then was looked for, who had done greate hurte to his contrye and common wealthe. After that also in B the warres of Africk (at what tyme the mercenarye fouldiers through their rebellion did put the contrye of CARTHAGE in greate daunger) he did so valliantly appeale the insurrection: that to enery mans judgement, he was reputed the onely preserver of his contrye. Then he was sent Gouernor and Captaine into Spayne, and caryed with him at that tyme, (as it is reported) his sonne Annibal, beeing but a younge boye, where he did noble sernice. In fine, in the nynth yeare of his aboade there in that prouince, he dyed fighting vallyantly agaynste the VETHEONS. After his deathe, Hafdrubal his Sonne in lawe, CCCCC ii

but 26.yeare

of Annibals mortall hase to the Ra.

Iberus fl.

Haldrubal fent for Annibal into SPAYNE, after his father Hamilcars death, against the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to thendthat as he had bene trayned from his youth in the discipline of warres, in his father Hamilears life: euen so in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembraunce of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the fouldiers: Yet he him felfe afterwards, through his diligence and industrie to handled the matter, that the oldesouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely defired to choose him (and none other) for their gouernor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He R had a present and ready wit to give counsell what was to be done, in most greatest attempts: & besides, he lacked nether manhood nor industry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible mind, euen in greatest daungers and aduersities of bodye: the which are wontto staye others from performing their indeuors and duety. He would watche and warde as any private fouldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of service, either like a valiant souldier, or a good Captaine. In this fort Annibal continued in feruice in the warres, the space of three yeares, under the conduct of Hasdrubal. In that time he so wanne the hartes of all the army, that immediatly after Haldrubals death, he was chosen to be Lieuetenant generall, with the common consent of all the fouldiers: & this honor was layed vpon him without contradiction of any of the Carthaginians, through the friendship and good will of the Barci- C NIAN faction. Annibal was now fix and twenty yeare olde, when the fouldiers made him their asterne denbaf Haf- Lieuetenant generall. For at what time his father Hamilear brought him into Spayne, he was drubal bring then but nyne yeare olde: & from that time vnto Hafdrubals death (according to Polybius declaration) it was senenteene yeares more. So he was no sooner made Lieuetenant generall of all the campe, and his contry: but he bent him felfe to make warre with the ROMANES, hauing Diners confer long before determined it. For first of all be chiefly mainteyned almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the ROMANES, bicause of the losse of Sicilia and SARDINIA. Besides also, he bare them a secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father Hamilear: who, of all the Captaines the Carthaginians euer had, was the mortallest enemye vnto the Romanes. And it is written also, that at what time Hamilear made his preparation to D goe into Spayne, he compelled Annibal being but a boy, to sweare in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the Romanes, affoone as euer he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and still prouoked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of Rome. Besides also, the BARCINIAN factioneuer left to prick him forward vnto it, bicause bywars he might raise him self to greatnes, & so increase his estate. These causes, aswell common as perticuler, inticed Annibal to attempt warre against the ROMANES. and gaue the flowt young man occasion by these meanes to practise innouation. There was a people at that time called the SAGVNTINES, who confyned indifferently betwixt the Ro-MANES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These SA- E GUNTINES euer after tooke part with the ROMANES: and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMANES alwayes found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of Rome. Annibal therfore thought with him felf, he could not deuise to make a better match to anger the ROMANES with all, and to kindle the fire of his malice also against them: then to make warre with the SAGVNTINES, their confederats. Howbeit, before he would be openly seene to set vpon them, he first determined to leade his armye against the O LCADES, and other people on the other side of the river of Iberus: and after he had ouercomen them, then to finde occasion to molest the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begonne by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the O LCADES, he did fet vpon the VACCEIANS, spoyled their contry, besieged many cities, and R tooke HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, greate and riche cities. Nowe he had in manner ouercome all the whole contrye, when diners fugitiues from the citie of Herman-

ANNIBAL.

made generall of all their armye) remayned gouernor there the space of eight yeares. This

A oreastainniagingoneknocher, confoundagantehianteginedmen, and intifed the O te Nogs The confo that were floit, an tale electopart. Then thien mer bedendere Date & Tant a we their neigh sometia boths, than they would all agree for anithe in the wpomassante, at his actions. They being a people that defined mothing arous when to figher for confiding we fill that they had received in unities by Amidal, did caffly harken vntolebat sounfell: and the trapponteallying agree an imber of an advance memen the number of a fundred show and whey we through all alles we have a tris returne from the V and same, buthe count of Tabus Whichbill Raid sand in the school out of their same, they flaied volon it, 80 were mariteloufly affraid. And doutles, they had had a stream buen brown if they had sought with chose of ferrespeople, being afficied of their fedure comitment & late loden as they were with forgreat spoyles the which dimibal deepels confidering, like a wife

B Capraine as he was the would not night, but lodged his campe in choptade whereather were. Then she next day following, he passed his army ouer the siner with as his moise as he could, leaving the pallage where the enemies might eafilieft course over wingarded : bicaufe vnder ragein pretence of diffembled feare, he might intife the barbarous people to paffe over the river to take the oportunitie & occasion officed them. Now in deede as he was the fubrillest captaints & had the finelt stratageames of any other captaine of his sime so his policy was not in vaine. and his purpole to good effect, in abuling of the enemy. For the wild barbarous people repo fing too great trust in the multitude of sheir men, supposing the Charn Acous twee had been affraidimith great fury entred the reserve paffeit ouer. Sorthey being greatly troubled, & out

of order by this meanes, & specially before shey could passe all oner the river, they were set you C on by the CARTHAGINIAN'S: first by gerten horseinen, & afterwards with the whole army, fo that there was a great number of them flaine, and the refidue were put to flight. After this vic. The therien ctory, all the people inhabiting about the siner of Iberus, yelded them felues vinto him, fluing felues vinto the Sacuntines: who, though their Rwi Annibal at hand comming towards them, vet tru-Annibal fling to the friendlhip of the Roman Brithey prepared to defend them falues against himmand therewithall fent Amballadors presently to Rome, to show the Senate in what great daunger they were, & also to pray aide against theinso great enemye, that made warres so hottely with them. The Ambassadors that were sent to Rome, were scant gone out of Swayne, when And nibal made open warre on them, with abhis army, & pitched his campe before the citie of Sa-GUNTUS. When this matter was reported at Rome; & confulted of for the wrongs that had Annibally D bene done to their confederats: the Senators delebutflackly in it, & by decree onely fent P. the thir if

Valerius Flaccus, & Quintus Bebius Pampbilus vnto Annibal, to will him to raise his seege from Sagunus SAGVNTVS: & if they found he would not harken to them, that then they should thence repaire to CART HAGE, & to pray them to deliuer their generall Annibal vnto them, bicause he had broken the peace. Palybius writeth, that Annibal did heare these Ambassadors, howbeir that he made them a flender aunswer. Livius writeth in contrary manner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. How beitthey both agreethus far, that they came into SPAYNE, & afterwards went into A FRAKE, & from thence camego Gira That B! where after they had delivered their mellage vnto the coulet, the BARCINEAN faction were formuch against them, that they dishonorably returned to Rome, & obtained not their defire. Now, fin Tro contrary E the Senate of CARTHAG Bythere were two contrary parts & factions: of the which, the first bit Senate tooke his beginning from the government of Hamilear, furnamed Barcha; & fo discended as it combaguithe were by succession to his sonne Annibal, & squew afterwards vnto such greatnes, that that facti- Bertinian, on (aswel abroad, as at home) ruled all pratters judiciall. The second faction came of Hamilea

graue man, & of great authoritie in the fame common wealth: howbeit a man more ginen to Bothe. embrace peace & quietnes, then otherwise disposed to warre & trouble. It is he onely (as it is: Hamnord reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the Romanes came to Can Thate as feller and goto complaine of the injuries done to their confederats: that did then in manner against the some in will of all the whole Senate; counsell them to keepe peace with the Romanns, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peraduenture veterly destroy their contry. Doubt A hoppy F. les, if the CARTHAGINIAN'S Woulde have followed the grave counfell of Hanno; rather things fall

then to have given place to their defires gand had followed the Author of peace, and not fell to have bene ruled by them that gave counfell to make warres: they hadde nor taked of

CCCCC iii

and T.Semprenius Con-

VV arres bro claymed by thaginians.

bitious mind of a young man, they heaped archymolthicides on their heads as afret wards fell outypon them. Therefore it is very measufon wife Magistrates Segoules boys of comoning cales fell for gomer- alwaies rather to have an eye to the beginning of anymatters, there to the bode: So becerto denor to prethe beginning GV NITAN BS feing them lelues beforged by Annibab Schnavagainit al reason & control to made warras upon them: they not with handing valiantly defended the forget many monethes rogether Yet in fine though Annibal had many more me then they harring a handred & fifer thowfand meninhis campe) sorhar the most part of their rampars were buttered & overthrowen: they liked rather to abide the fack of their citye, then to yeld them folues to the mercy of their morrall enemie. So formedoe report, that Sagviore's was taken the gight monoth after feege R was layed vnto it; But Linie feemeth nor to agree to that nether to fer downe any certen time of the continuance of the feege. Nowe, the taking of this fo wealthie a citie, was a great furtherance divers wayes to Annibals encorprises. For many cities taking example of the facke of Sagyn tys, who before milliking so he fubicate othe Canting any ans, were ready to rebell; they kept them selves quiet, and the souldiers also waxed linely and coragious, seeing the rich spoyles that were deuided in the campe. So Annibal sent great presents of the spoiles of the SAGYNTINES VIITO CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefest men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres? whomehe determined to leade with him against the ROMANES, not in SPAYNE, as many supposed, but into by he vit felfe, Whilest these matters were in hande, the Ambaffadors returned from Caren a ge to Rome, and declared in open C Senate, the stender aunswer they had received in manner at the selfesame time when they had intelligence of the facke of SAGYNTVS : Hereuppon the Romanes greatly repented them felues, (though fomewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederats in fo great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very fory for it, and therewith also maruelously offended they deuided the provinces vato the Confuls, to wete: SPAY HB VARO Publing Cornelius, and AFRICE and STOTETA also vato Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certen of the noblest men of the citie were sent ambassadors voto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breache of the peace, and also to denownce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of them selnes. This was as brauely re- D ceiued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luftely offred vnto them : buttherein they were not fo wel aduised, as the successe of that warrein the ende sufficiently proued it to them. Now Annibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him selfe that it was time to goe into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning : he made all the politible speede he could to prepare his shippes and things ready, and so required ayde of the cities that were his best friends and confederats, and commaunded that all the bands hould meete him at newe CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, heappoynted good garrifons in places most convenient, in A FRICK and SPAY NE, which he thought about althings, els to be most necessary: bicause that when he should goe into ITALY, the ROMANES should not winne it from him. Therefore he sent into A FRICK, twelve hundred horsemen, E. & thirteene thow fand footemen, all Spanyages; and befides, he brought out of divers parts of A.F. M. Car foure thow fand fouldiers, and placed them in garrifon in CARTHAGE, obteying both hoftages and fouldiers by this meanes. So heleft the government of Spay NE to his brother. Haldrubal, and gaue him an army of fiftye shippes of warre, two shows and horsemen, and twelue; thow and footemen. These were the garrisons he left in both those prouinces. Nowe he shought them not sufficient to withstande the power of the ROMANES, if they bent their warresingo Spayne, or Africk: but bicause he thought them stronge inough to stay the enemy from ouerrunning of the contry; untill that having brought his armye by land, he had fet foote in I TALT Moreover, he knewe that the CARTHAGINIANS were stronge inough to leastly a new army if they lysted , and if neede so required , to fend him-ayde also into I TALY. F For, after that they had driven away this fo daungerous a warre, procured agaynst them through the spight of the mercenary souldiers, having ever after obtained victoria: first vader

A dieconduct of Hamilear: fecondly, under Hafderstall: and laftlie, under Antibali they were growen to fuch greatnes & strength, that ar what time Annibal cante into I + 221 s, their Empira & dominions were marueloully enlarged. Porthey had all the coult of Ar Ricks, which The grammi syeth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aniters of the Phi lenians; which be not give an angle fatre from thogotat Syste, witto Hercules pillers and contemeth in length wwo thowsaide fricket paces. So, after they had paffed the straight which deuideth A Pare & from Borrors, they Townson poffeffed almost all Spayne, to the mountaines Pyrenei; which doe deside Spayne from GAVIE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICES, and SPAYNE: Amilal returned againe to new. CARTHAGE, where his armic was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no lenger, he called his men together, and incoraging them with great and B large promifes, he greatly commended the commodities of Iralia: & made great accompt Annibalds large promites, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE : commod great accompt vinto them of the frendshippe of the Gaves, and in the end he bad them be of good corage, immute late, insula late, and fet huftely forward. Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his armie all alongest the coast; wnto the river of Iberus. It is reported, that the next night following, Annibal dreamed he saw a young man, of a maruelous terrible looke & Annibale next night to lowing. Annual account of the law a young man, or a manucious terrine rooke of a worder through the state of a w ful greatnes, making a maruelous noyle: & being desirous to viderstand what the same might theme. fignifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be marueled at, though the great care & thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALIE, made his mind to run of fuch fanfies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destructio, or such other C calamities of warre. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator faith: that our thoughts & words do beget fuch things in our dreame, as Ennius the Poet wryteth of Homers to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after Annibal had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had also won the Gavies harts with bountifull gifts: in few dayes he came to the river of Rhone. The head of the river of Rhone, is not The head of farre from the heades of the rivers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred fur- comfe of the longs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at Geneva. Then it runneth from thence towardes the Rhome. West, and detrideth the Gavlesa pretie way: and then being increased by the river of Arar Aras f. (called in French, Saone) and with other tiuers in the ende it falleth into the fea with divers heades, betweet the Volces, and the CAVARIANS. The Volces, arthur time inhabited The Volces. heades, between the volces, and the CAVARIANS. The volces, actual the inhabited properties.

D both the fides of the river of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richeft of all the other properties. GAVLES. They having understanding of Annibals comming, passed over the river, and armed bow the river them selues, & prepared on the other side to stoppe the Carthag INIANS, that they should of Rhome.

not paffe over. Now, though Annibal had wonne all the other GAVLES, yet those he coulde neuer winne neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to proue the frendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore Annibal perceiving he was to handle fuch enemies rather by policy, he commaunded Hanno the sonne of Bomilear, secretly to passe oner the river of Rhone, with parte of the armie, and so to set woon the GAVYES on the soddine. Thereupon Hanno as he was commaunded, made a long iorney, and hatting paffed ouer the river at passable fords: he shewed him selse hard by the enemies campe before they saw him, E or that they knew e what it was. The GAVLE's hearing their showtes and cries behinde them, and having their handes full of Annibal before them, who had many botes ready to paffe ouer his men: they having no leafure to confult of the matter, neither to arme them selves to stande to defense, left their campe, and fled for life. So they being driven from the other fide of the river, the rest of the armie of the GARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with fafetie. In the meane time, P. Cornelius Scipio; that but a litle before was comen vnto Mass ILIA; ftill heard P. Comelius newes of Annibals armie. Wherefore, to be more affured of the matter, he fent a bande of Scipio Confade choyce horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they denistrated were commaunded, met by chaunce with fine hudred horsemen of the NV MIDIAN S, Whom winds at Annibal had also fent to bring him word of the Romanes armie. So, they first sodainly game Magilla F charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valliant conflict between both the parties, in the end the ROMANES ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great foffe

of their men's howebeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell vpon the enemies. So Annibal by

CCCCC iii

renols from the Romanes.

си Мипа-

made waies shrough the sockes of the by force of fire and vine

Annibals so Isalie by Piedmont, not farre from

this meanes founde where the Romanes lay and stoode in a great dour with him felfer whis A ther he shoulde keepe on his way into I was not clie lead insarmic against the Conful that then was and fo to proughts happe & successe. At length, debating many wayes in his mind, and vincertaine which way he would determine the Ambaffadors of the Botans perswaded him to leave all other deniles, and to goe on into I TALIE. Fon before that stanibal had paffed ouer the mountaines Pirenei the BOIANS having by craft taken the ROMANES Ambaffadors, and done great mischiefe vnto Manlim the Prestor, and intifed the Ingvintions also : they were renolted from the ROMANES, and tooke parte with Annibal, and onely bigging the Ro-& take parte MANES hadreplenished the cities of PLACENT LAYAND CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to Rome. So Annibal being ruled by their counfell, railed his campe, and keping the rivers fide, ftill going against the river in few dayes he came to the place which the # GAVLES doe call the Iland, the which the river of Arar and Rhodanus comming from divers mountaines doe make there. So at this present, there is the famous citie of Lion in Gaven, which they fay was built long time after, by Planeus Munating: From thence he came to the contrie of the ALLOBROGES, and having pacified the variance between two brethren for the realme, he came through the contrie of the CASTINIANS and VOIC ONTIANS, to the river of Durance. The head of this river commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, falleth into the river of Rhone: & as it oftentimes channeth her course, fo hath it in manner no passable forde. Yet Annibal having passit over, he led his armie vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine contries, as farre as he coulde: howebeings he passed through them, he had great loffes, as it is reported. Infomuche that fome which were living & at that time, did affirme, that they heard Annibal him felfe fay, that he had loft aboue thirtie thowsand men, and the most parte of his horsemen. For he was forced nor only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: fo that in certaine places of the highest rockes, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the citie of TVRINE, Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one side of it The valley of hath the river of Druentia, and on the other fide it goeth downe to the city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to fay truly, what number of men he had when he was comen into I TALIE: bicause of mens disterlities of opinions. For fome wryte, that he had a hundred thowfand footemen, D and twentie thowfand horsemen: others also write, that he had twentie thowsand sootemen, and fixe thowfand horsemen, all A FRIKANS and SPANYARDES, But others, reckoning the GAVLES and LIGVRIAS, doe count foure score thowsande sootemen, and tenne thowsande horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his armie was so great, as the first men report, and specially having passed through so many contries, and also received such losse as he had; neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters doe make it, if a man will consider the famous exploytes and great enterprises he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions Anniballs are best, which keepe the meane betwene them both : considering that he brought into IT ALTE, the better parte of fourescore thowsand footemen, and tenne thowsand horsement the which he had leavied in Spayne: as it is manifestly known also, that a great number of the Liev- E RIANS and GAVLES came to joyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the Ro-MANES, that gaue no place nor grounde vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, So Annibal being comen from TVRINE, into the contrie of the INSYBRIANS: he was met withall by Publius Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderfull speede from MASSILIA, and having passed the rivers of Po and Telin, he camped not farre from the enemie. So shortly after, both the Generalls being comen into the field to view eche others campe; the horsemen of either fide grew to skirmith, which continued long, and was not to be difcerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the ROMANES feeing the Conful hurt, and also that the horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compasse them in: they were driven to geue and vitterie, ground, and so prettly retyred, defending the Conful the best they could to fauchim, and so g at length recourred their campe. It is reported that Publim Cornelius Scipio, was faued at that time through his sonnes helpe, who afterwardes mas called A PRICAN, and at that time was

A but a young stripling: whose praise though it was wonderfull in so greene a youth, yesit is from bit enter likelie to be true, bicause of the famous and valliant actes he did afterwardes. Nowe Sei- mies bi pio having proved how much his enemie was stronger then him selse in horsemen; he deter- some, who mined to place his campe so, as his sootemen might be in best salety, & also sight with greatest words called aduantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the river of Po, and made as litle noyse as he coulde, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like shortlie after did T. Sempranius Longus, who had bene restored from banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of Sicilia. bicause both the Consuls should gouerne the common wealth by one selfe authoritie. Anni- P. Cornelland bal also followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the river of Scipio, and Trebia: hoping that bicause both campes lay so neere together, some occasion would be of-B fred to fight, the which he chieflie desired, both bicause he couldenot long maintaine warre consults a. for lacke of vittells, as also that he mistrusted the fickelnes of the G AVLES. Who, like as they gainst Annie foone fell in league and frendship with him, drawen vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with Tribias, the fame also of his victorie obtained: so he mistrusted that youn any light occasion (as if the warre should continue any long time in their contrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the Romanes, against him, as the only author of this warre. For these respectes therefore, he deuised all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, Sempronius the other Conful, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with spoyle, stragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like successe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the C armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruelous desirous to doe some noble enterprise before Scipio were recoursed of his hurt, and that the new Conful should be chosen: he determined to joyne battell against the will of his other colleague and fellowe Consul Scipio, who thought nothing could be to lesse purpose, then to put all the state and common wealth in icopardie, speciallie having all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field against him. Now, Annibal had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spialls he had sent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politike and futtle as he was, found out a place straight betwene Ambuft laire both campes, couered ouer with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother Mago to by Annibal lye in ambush, with a companie of chosen men. Then he commaunded the horsemen of the Sempronius, NVMIDIANS, to scurrie to the trenches of the Romanes, to intile him to come to battell; and D thereupon made the refidue of his armie to eate, and fo put them in verie good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occasion offered. Now the Conful Sempronius, at the first tumult of the N VM IDIANS, fodainly fent his horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out six thowsande footemen, and in the ende, came him selfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middest of winter, and extreame cold, and speciallie in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Nowe the Numidians as they were commaunded, intifed the ROMANES by litle and litle on this fide the river of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might discerne their ensignes: and then they sodainlie turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, often- Annibal times to flie of fet purpole, and then to flay vpon the fodaine when they fee time, to charge Semprenius E their enemie more hottely and fiercely then before. Whereuppon Sempronius incontinently the conful, at gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to gene the riber of charge vpon his enemie, that flayed for him in order of battell. For Annibal had cast his men The Name into iquiadrons, readie vpon any occasion. The skirmith beganne first by the light horsemen, dian crediting & afterwards increased hotter by supplie of the men of armes: howbeit the Romans Knights symp. being vnable to beare the shocke of the enemies, they were quickelie broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with fuch furie & noble corage, that they had bene able to have refifted, fo they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one fide, the horsemen and

Elephants made them affraied, and on the other fide the footemen followed them your lufte-

ly, and fought with great furie against famished and frozen men. My herefore the Roses NES

corage and magnanimitie, such as was about their force and strength other sough still whill

that Mage comming out of his ambush, came and sodainly affailed them with great show tes

F notwithstanding, suffring all the miseries that vexed them or enerie side, with an unspeakable

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and cries, and that the middle foundron of the CARTHAGINIANS also (through Annibals A comaundement) flew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMANES feeing their confederats flie, their harts were done, and vtterly discoraged. It is fayd that there were tenne thowsande footemen of the Romanes gotto Placentia, and came through the enemies. The rest of the armie that fledde, were most parte of them slaine by the CARTHAG INIANS. The Conful Annibale vi- Sempronius also scaped verie narowhe from the enemies. The victorie cost Annibal the setting on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most parte of all his Elephantes were flaine. After this battell, Annibal ouercame all the contrie, and did put all to fire and sworde, and tooke also certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the contrie men flie, that were disorderlie gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the foring, he brought his army into the field fooner then time required; & meaning to goe into R Thus can he was driven backe by a great tempelt at the verie toppe of the height of the Appenine, and so compelled to bring his armie about PLACENTEA: how beit shortly after he put himselfe againe into the fields for divers vigent & necessary causes. For had he not saved him felse by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the GAVLES: who being angry with him that the warre continued fo long in their contry, they fought to be reuenged of him, as the only author & occasion of the warre. Therefore perceiuing it was time for him to anoyde this daunger, he made all the half he could to leade his armie into some other prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimacion much amog straugers. & also greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS to feeine fo great, & alfo their Captaine to be of fo noble a corage, as to dare to make warre fo C. neere to the citie of Rome. All things therefore fet a part, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and so comming through the contry of the Ligy Rians, he came into THYS CAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion contry, & to the mariffes about the river of Arnus. The river of Arnus at that time was very high, and had overflowen all the fields thereabouts. Annibal therefore marching with 10 great an army as he had, could not avoyde it, but that he must needes lose a number of his men & horse, before he could get out of those euill fauored marisses. Insomuch that he him selfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great paines he had taken day & night without fleepe or rest, and also through the euill aver: though he was carried upon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, C. Flaminius Conful, to whom the charge of Sepronius D army was genen; he was come vnto Aretiv magainst the Senates minde, who were margeloufly offended with him, bicause he left his copanion Cn. Seruilius at Rome, & went vnto his Lines, Confuls. province by stellth as it were, without the furniture of a Conful & his officers. This was a very hasty man of nature, & one whom the people had brought to that dignity & office: so that he was become fo prowde & infolent that men might fee he would hazard all things without wir or judgement. Annibal having intelligence hereof, thought it the best way to anger the Conful. & to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Conful should come to joyne with him. Therfore, he marching forward with his campe through the contry of FESVLA, & ARETIVM, he burnt & spoiled all the contry thereabout, & filled them all with feare, neuer leauing to destroy all before him, vntil he came to the mountaines Cortonenses, E & fo to the lake called Thrafimene. When he had viewed the place, he went about to furprise Lacus Thra his enemy by some ambush: wherupon he conucied certen horsemen vnder the hills, hard by the straight that goeth vnto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also, he placed his light horseme. The he him selfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field supposing that the Conful would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heades are easely intrapped, The indge. & fall into the enemies ambush, & oftentimes do put all in hazard, bicause they will follow no counfell nor good aduife, C. Flamining therefore, feeing their contry vtterly spoiled, the corne destroyed and cur downe, and the houses burnt: he made great hast to lead his armie against the enemie, contrarie to all mens minds, who would have had him taried for his companion Cn. Servilius the other Conful. So even at funne set, when he was come to the straightes of p the lake of Thrasimene, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wear rie with the long iomey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day,

A making no view of the contrie, he went ouer the mountaines. Then Annibal who long before was prepared for this, did but flay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he faw the Ro- Band hee MANES come into the plaine, he gaue a fignall vnto all his men to geue charge vpon the enemie. Thereuppon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euerie side, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to affaile the enemie, being thut in between the lake and the moun- the Conful, taines. Now in contrarie maner, the Romanes beginning to fight out of order, they fought by the lake inclosed together, that they could not see one an other, as if it had bene darke: so that it is to ne. be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out fo long, confidering they were compassed in on euerie side. For they fought it out about three howres space, with such fury The Romanes

and corage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither were so condid they offer to die or firme a footeward they heard that the Consular Eleminius coins from missing from missing from B did they offer to flie or flirre a foote: until they heard that the Conful C. Flaminius going from that they rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was flaine by a man of armes called Ducarius. Then beard not the rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was hane by a man of armes cance Discarnes, a new when they had lost their Generall, and being voyde of all hope: they fled, some towardes the master of an enthquake. mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which divers of them flying, were overtaken c. Flamining & flaine. So there were flaine * fifteene thow fand in the field, & there fcaped about ten thow- the Conful fand. Furthermore the report went, that there were fix thow lande footemen which forciblie Plante in (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there stayed on a hill till the battell the life of Fawas ended, and at length came downe vpon Annibals promise: but they were betrayed, and bim Maxi. flaine, euery mothers sonne of them. After this great victorie, Annibal did let divers I TALIAN to avenue prisoners goe free without raunsome paying, after he had vied them maruelous curteouslie: Prisoners.

C bicause that the same of his elemencie & curtesie should be knowen ynto all nations, whereas artimetes in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was hastie and cruell of nature, dissemble and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exercised in murther, treason, & ambushes with layed for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor civill government. So by this meanes difficultion of he became one of the cruellest Captaines, the most suttell, and craftiest to deceiue and intrap his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: fo those whom he could not ouercome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by flight and policie. The which appeareth true by this present battell, and also by the other he fought against the Conful Sempronius, by the river of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leave this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conful Fla-

D minius was reported at Rome, having lost the most parte of his armie: there was great mone and lamentation made through all the citie of Rome. Some bewailing the common miserie of the common wealth, others lamenting their private particular loffe, & some also forowing for both together. But in deede it was a woefull fight, to fee a world of men & women to run to the gates of the citic, euerie one prinarly asking for their kinne and frends. Some do write, Extreme that there were two women, who being very force and penfife, dispairing of the safetie of their joy causes the fonnes, dyed fodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectacion & hope they fawe their fonnes aliue and fafe. At the selfe same time, Cn. Seruilius, the other Conful with C. Flaminius, did fend him foure thowfand horfemen, not vnderstanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thrasymene . But when they heard of the ouerthrowe of

E their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into V MBRIA: they were compaffed in by the horsemen of the enemies, and so brought vnto Annibal. Nowe the Empire of Rome being brought into fo great extreamitie and daunger, bicause of so many small losses one in the necke of an other: it was ordeined, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator : an office specially vsed to be referred for The office of the last hope and remedie, in most extreame daunger and perill, of the state and common Difficus, wealth. But bicause the Conful Servilius could not returne at that time to Rome, all the waies "bas effect, being kept by the enemie: the people contrarie to their custome, created Q. Fabius Dictator, Q. Fabius (who afterwards attained the furname of Maximus, to fay, verie great) who likewife did name Maximus,

M. Minutius Generall of the horfemen. Now this Fabius was a graue and wife confeller, and Grated Dis-F of great authoritie and estimacion in the common wealth: informethe as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perswading them selves, that the honor of Roma might be better preserved vnder the gouernment and conduct of such a Generall, rather then

Haftines of

vnder the gouernment of any other man whatfoeuer. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he A had carefullie and diligentlie geuen order for all thinges necessarie: he departed from Romes and when he had received the armie of the late Conful Cn. Servilius, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemie. Nowe Annibal was gone from the lake of Thrasymene, and went directly towardes the citie of Spoletym, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes men stoode vpon the rampers of the walls, and valliantlie defended them felues: he then left the towne, and destroyed the contrie as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apvlia, through the marches of An-CONA, and the contries of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to thend to drawe out the warre at length. For the rashnesse and soolehardines of the former B Captaines affore time, had brought the state of Rome into such miserie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had so often ouercome them. Whereby all thinges were turned straight with the chaunge and alteracion of the Captaine. For, though Annibal had fet his men in battell ray, and afterwardes perceiuing his enemie sturred not, went and destroyed the contrie, hoping thereby to intife the Dictator to fight, when he should see the contrie of his confederates so spoyled, as it was before his face; the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moved withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Annibal was in a maruelous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his campe, to the ende that going divers wayes, fome occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or elie to geue battell. So C when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto Samnivm. But bicause shortlie after, some of CAMPANIA, who having bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasymene, had bene fet at libertie without raunsome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of C APVA, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the contrie, to bring him vnto Casinv M. Nowe the guide ouerhearing Casinv M, vnderstoode it Casi-LINVM, & fo mistaking the found of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto CALENTINVM, and CALENVM, and from thence about Stella. So when they came into a contry environned about with mountaines and rivers, Annibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. Fabius the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this pacientlie, and was contented to geue Annibal libertie to take his pleasure D which way he woulde: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Cafilinum, where he placed his garrifon, being places of great aduantage and commodity. So the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner compassed in enery way, and they must needes have dyed for famine in that place, or else have fled, to their great shame and dishonor; had not Annibal by this stratageame preuented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie stoode in, and having spied a fit time for it: he commaunded his fouldiers to bring forth two thowfand oxen which they had gotten in spoyle in the fields, having great store of them, and raines of Gal. then tying torches or fire linckes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had ticamon, and to light them, and to drive the oxen up the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe Cafilinum, a- of the first watche. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the E oxen running up to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faver and foftly. Now the Romanes that had long before placed a ftrong garrison vpon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this straunge fight, and mistrusting some ambulhe, they foorthwith for fooke their peeces and holdes. Fabius him felfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageame of the enemie, kept his men within the campe, and coulde not well tell what to fay to it. In the meane time, Annibal got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Sweffa, which the contrie men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie safe into ALBA: and shortlie after, he marched directlie as though he woulde goe to Rome, howbeit he fodainlie turned out of the way, and went presentlie into Apvlia. There he tooke the citie of GLERENVM, a verie riche and wealthie towne, where he deter- F mined to winter. The Dictator followed him harde, and came and camped by LAVRINVM, not farre from the CARTHAGINIANS campe. So he being fent for to Rome about waightie

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Sweffa, called she tower of the bather. Glerenum: a

A affaires of the flate, there was no remedy but he mult needes departe thence with all the Bada he coulde : howebeit before he went he left Marcul inthat its Generall of the heriforment hale Lieutenation of all the armie, and dominaunded flim tallies ablence ribeoned to fluride nos meddle with the enemie. For he was fullie bentro follow his first determination, which was notto wexe the enemy, nor to fight with him though he were promoted with How beit with eun Minunius little regarding the Dictators commainsteinenes his backerbas no foger januaris buthe ler vpon a companie of the enemies differfied in the fielde affortaging; and file a draw number of them : and fought with the reflection into their campe! The rule of this salt of the flew straight to Roma, and there was such great accompanied of it that it was oftended for a victorie and the common people were to joyfull of itrathat they firstghe made the picker sig

B the Lieutenant, equal with the Dictator Fablus: the which was never heard of befored Fablus Two Differ paciently bearing this extreame inlurie with a noble churage, having norway defended in the tors together returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictardre apone of leftine (a shind sier of before, uer feene nor heard of before) who after they had deutided the army between them still be uf them commaunded his army a parte, asithe Confuts were wornto doe before un more six and tim thereupon grew to fuch a pride and hawtie mind, that one day he wentied to genelbarrelly and made not his companion Fabiusa counfell with all other which should durating to often but uercome, durst scantly have enterprised. So he led his army into such a place, where thereing

mie had compassed them in : insomuche that Annibab flue shein at his pleasure, withour and hope left them to escape, if Fabius had not comen in time (as heldid) to aide them, rather bea C specting the honor of his contrie, then remembring the private insure he had received For he comming fresh with his armie to the battell, made Annibal affravetl that the Romand les gions had libertie to retire with fafetie. Whereby Eabins wanne great fame for his willedomes and valliantnesse, both of his owne fouldiers, as also of the enemies them folius. For it was reported that Annibal (hould fay, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had outled comen M. Minutius, but withall, that he was also ouercomen by Fabrac, And Minutius felde also confessing Fabius wisedom, & considering that (according to Hesiodeic faving) it was good reason to obey a better man then him selfe: he came with all his armie vnto Fabius campe & renouncing his authority, came and humbly faluted Fabius as his father, and all that day there was great joy, and rejoycing among the fouldiers. So both the armies being placed in garris D fon for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two newe Cond

fuls created: L. Paulus AEmylius, and C. Terentius Varra, one that of a meane man (through L. Paulus the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Gonful. So they had libertie and some Memplant mission to leavie a greater armie then the Generalls before them had done. Whereby the and di Tres legions were newly supplied, and also others added vnto them, more then were before Name rance of the supplied when the Consuls were come into the armie, as they were of seuerall dispositions, so did they also observe divers manners in their government. Lucius Paulus, who was a wife grand many the apprecia and one that purposed to followe Fabins counsell and facions: he did defire to drawe our bearing the warre in length, and to flay the enemie without fighting. Varro on the other fide ward Panlin, and hastie man, and venturous, and desired nothinge butto fight. So it chaunced, that nov

E longe after it was knowen, to the great cost and daunger of the citie of Rome, whandifw ference there was betwext the modestie of AEmilius, and the foolehardinesse of Marrob For Annibal beinge affrayed of some sturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of vittells is he departed from GLERENVM, and goinge into the warmest places of Apvilaporamen and camped with all his armie, by a village called CANNES. So he was followed with both the Confulls, who came and camped feuerallie harde by him, but fo neere one so an other, that there was but the river of Ausside that parted them. This river as it is rear appearance, and taketh his heade on that fide of the mountayne that lyeth to the fea fide, from whence it runneth to the fea Aid driaticum. Nowe, Lucius Paulus findinge that it was impossible for Annibal beinge in a many bline F straunge countrey to mayntayne so greate an armie of suche sundrie nations together; her

was fullie bent to tracte time, and to anoyde battell, perswadinge him felse that it was the right and onelie way to ouercome him, being as muche to the enemies disaduatintages

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were fifsie thow fand flaine, and foorescene zhow∫ande taken priso-Paulus AEful, flaine at

the battellaf

as also maruelous profitzable and beneficiali forthe dommon wealth. And fure if C. Toren- A side Varro, had carried that minde, whad benevur of all donbt, that Annibals armie had bene ouerthrowen by the Romanias, withour fit oke finishing. Howebeir he had fuche a light head of his owne, and was to fickly minded of han he heither regarded wife counfell. In the Pauline APpartial authoritie butting contrarie infannet woulde fall out with him and also complaytied before the fouldiers aforthat he benchis men pentap, and idle whileft the enemie did pursoonth his men to the field in battell thy . So when his turne came , that he was absolutelieito commaunde the whole armie; (: fonthey both hachab folute power by turnes) he paffed our she river of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the fignall of battell without the privitis of his companied demylan, who rather followed him against his will, then willinglie, bi-T saufe be coulde doening otherwife a So he canted a skarler coate of armes to be put out B wetici tarlicin'the morning, for fignall of battell in Annibal on the other fide as glad of it as raight the possible lishands had necallon offered him to fight, (confidering that the conti-Buall delaying of basself did alterally his purpose the passed his armie over the river, and had threighroughthem in verie good order. For he had taken great spoyles of his enemies to furnishe him selfe verie branches; Nowe the armic of the Romanie s stoode Southward. infomuche that the Southwinde (which the men of the contrie call Vulturnus) blewe full incheirfaces; whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vauntage of the winde and Sunne youn their backers, and their battell stoode in this manner. The AFRIKANS were placed in both the winges; and the Garnes and Spannandes fet in squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first beganne the skirmishe, and after them followed the men of armes : C. and bigaufe the frace between the riner and the footenen was verie narrow, fo as they could noe welltake in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. Sou the horsemen of the ROMANIES being querthrowen, the sootemen came with suche a luftic dorage to receive the charge, that they thought they fhoulde not have day enough to fight. Howbeit the oner earnest desire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrowe more miferable, then their joy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAMLES and SPANYARDES, (who as we have fay diefore kept the battell) not being able any lenger to withstand the force of the Romanes, they retired towardes the A FRIKANES in the wines. The Romane's perceiuing that, ran vpon the enemy with all the fury they could, and had them in chale and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middeft of them. Then D the CARTHAGINTANS that were in both wings, came & compassed them in before they were Afrage arrare! Moreover, there were five hundred of the NVMIDIAN horsemen, that cullerably fled " vnto the Confuls, who received them very curteoufly, & placed them in the rereward of the army. They feeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, & did sodainly geue them charge. Then the army of the Romanes was veterly ouerthrowen, & Annibal obtained victory. Linie *Plumbe in writeth that there were flaine in this battell * forty thousand footmen, and aboue two thowshe life of Far fand feuen hundred horsemen. Polybins faith, that there were many more flaine. Well letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the Romanes had never greater losse, neither in the first warrewith Africks, nor in the seconde by the Carthaginians, as this overthrowe that was geuen at CANNES. For there was flaine, the Conful Paulus AEmylius him felfe, a man vn- E doubtedlie deserving great praise, and that served his contrie and common wealth even to the hower of death : Cn. Seruilius, Conful the yeare before, he was also slaine there, and mamy other that had bene Confuls, Prators, and others of fuch like dignitie, Captaines, Chieftraines and many other Senators and Ironest citizens, and that suche a number of them, that the verie crueltie it selfe of the enemie was satisfied. The Consult Terentius Varro, who was the onelie author of all this warre and flaughter, feeinge the enemie victor enerie waye, he faried him felfe by flyinge. And Tuditanus a Chiefetaine of a bande, comminge through his enemies with a good companie of his men, the came vnto CANVSIVM. Thither came sell of canner, all a about tenne thow lande men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous storine: by whose conferr, the charge of the whole armie was genen vnto Appius Pul- F chery and also vinto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwardes did ende this warre. Thus was the ende of the battell fought by Cannes !! Newes flewe straight to Rome of this ouerthrowe,

A the which though they justly filled all the citie with forowe and calamitie, yet the Senate and The confine people of Roma kept atwaies their countenanco and greatnes, euen in this extreame miserie, 9 of the Ro-Infomuch that they had no conly good hope to kepe their city fafe, but furthermore they leas means in e uied a new army & made young men to bear carmor & ver left not Sicilia and Sparns vnprovided in the meane time to that they made the world to wonder at them, to confider these things how they could in fo great calaminy & trouble have fo noble harts, & fuch wife counfel. But to les paffe the former overthrowes; & great loffes they fuffeined at Treinva.at T RE- The Romanie BIA, and authe lake of Thrafimene: what nation or people could have borne this last plague, what hards whereby the whole force Sopower of the ROMANES was in maner viterly destroiced and ouer to Annibal. throwen and yet the people of Rome fo held it out, & sharwith forgreat wifedom & sounfell: " Ticimun,

B that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Besides, to help them the more idmibal Trebia, and being coqueror, trifling time in taking his leiflire, & refreshing his army the gaue the Roman s. leafure that were ouercomen to take breath againe, & to restore them selues. For doutlesses is Annibal being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained blought his armie directly to Rome: furely the Romanes had bene veterly vidone, or at the least had bend copelled to have put all in venter. So, it is reported, that Annibal oftensimes afterwardes repented himselse he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their rounfell which withed him to lethis fouldiers rest, then Maharbals aduise, general of his horsemen, Mahaball who would have had him gone straight to Rome, and so to have ended all this warre. But he gennall of feing Annibals delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now comon in enery man's mouth bufune. C Annibal, thou knowest how to ouercome, but thou knowest not how to viewictory. But we hat? Maharbale all things are not (25 Neftor faith in Homer) genen to men all together. For some had no skill to faying to ouercome others knew not how to follow their victory, & fome also could not kepe that they had won. Pyrthus king of the Epirotes that made warre with the Romanus was one of the Pyrthusond famouselt Captaines that ever was:yet, as men write of him, though he was maruelous fortus nos kepe the

nate to coquer realmes, he could neuer kepe the Euen fo in like maner forme Captaines haute conquired.

foughtby CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, & after the alfor the BRYTIANS & LYCANIANS, & divers other nations & people of IT KLY, caried away with the fame of this great victory: they al came & yelded vnto Annibal. And the city of Caparallo (the which Annibal was delivous to have won long before) for taking their old frends &confe derats, made new league & frendship with Annibal, the which wan him great estimacion with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was very populous & of great power, & the chiefest city of estimacion of all ITALY, next vnto Rome. Now to tel you in few words what is The citie of reported of Capva, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the Thys cansistie which was first country to colled called, VVLTVRNVM, & after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouernor called Capita; or of therwife, (as it is most likely) bicause of the fieldes round about it. For on every side of it, there are goodly pleasaunt fieldes, full of all kindes of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke, Kepi. Furthermore, all the contry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the

bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet not with standing have bene insufficiet in martisles.

faires, deseruing praise in a Captaine as we may read in divers histories. Now after this batted

E feathere dwell the Svessanians, the Cymanians, and the Neapolitans. On firme land also towards the North, are the CALENTINIANS, and the CALENIANS. On the East and South fide, the DAVNIANS and NOLANIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a strong scituacion, and on the one fide is compaffed in with the fea, and on the other fide with great high mountaines. Now the CAMPANIAN'S florished maruelously at that time: and therefore, seeing the ROMANES in maner vitterly vindone by the battel they had loft at CANNES, they quickly tooke parte with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore, besides that they made league with Annibal, they received him into their city with great triumphe, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chiefest & wealthiest of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceived in their expectacion. Now, when Annibal came into the city of F CAPVA, there was a worlde of people that went to fee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So

being come into the citie, they brought him vnto Pacuaine house, his verie famillar frende,

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who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he A made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, faming onely Inbellius Tanrea, a flowt man, and the sonne of Passwiss his hoaft; who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to Annibal, for that Annibal hated him as he did, bicause he followed Decim Magin, who alwayes tooke the Romans parte. But now, let vs confider a litle I pray you, how great men fomtime vnwares are fubicct to great daungers and misfortunes. For this young man diffembling his reconciliacion with Annibal, watching time & occasion notwith flanding to do him force displeasure, in the time of this seast, while they were making merie: he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will againe of the Romans, the which they had loft through their great wickednesse. Then he tolde him howe he was de- B termined to kill Annibal, the enemy of his contrie, and all ITALIR besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was marueloufly amazed withall to heare what his some faid:wherfore imbracing him with the reares running downe his cheekes, he praied him to leave of his fword, and to let his gheft be fafe in his house. The which his fonne in the end yeelded to with great a doe. Thus Annibel having before withfloode all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and having brought with him also a great army from the fea, and the furdest parte of SPAYNE, through fo many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing verie narrowlie by the hande of a young man, whileft he was at the table making merie. The next morning Annibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and solde them many thinges, which the Campanians caselie beleued, and G therefore flattered them selves, that they should be Lords of all I TALTE: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit them selues to Annibal: shat it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their citie, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainlie by one example I will thew you amongest many. Annibal willed them to deliuer him Decius Magius, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worft of all, fuffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who, bicause he woulde not for sake the auncient league and frendshippe with the ROMANES, had shewed him selfe a more faithfull citizen to his contrie and common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilest D these thinges passed thus in Capva, Mago (Annibals brother) went to Carthage, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his contrie men, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploytes of armes done by Annibal, and to proue the words true he spake, he poored out at the comming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMANE Knightes: of the which there were (as fome doe report)aboue a bushell full, and as other some doe wryte, aboue three bushells and a halfe. After that, he praied a new supply for Annibals army: the which was graunted him by the Senate with greater toy, the afterwards it was fent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswading them selues by the things present, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer: they thereuppon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide Annibals attempts, by E leauying of fouldiers. Now no ma withftood this new supply to be sent to Annibal, but Hanno, a perpetuall enemie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counfell and adulfe then, though it tended to peace, and was good counfel for them, as oftentimes before he had vsed the like. So when Annibal had made league with the C AMPANIANS, he led his campe before the citie of NoLA, hoping they would yeeld of them selues without compulsion. And certainlie so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine comming thither of Marcellus the Prator bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the fedition, & repulfed the enemy that was comming into the citie, by a faily he made vpon him at three feuerall gates, chasing & killing them even to their campe, with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valliant fouldier Marcellus, who with a noble corage made the world knowe that Annibal was p not inuincible. Annibal perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let Nola alone till an other time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on

A further with greater power vnto Castainym, a fit place to offend the Capvans, he went about to win them that lay there in garrison : but when he saw that neither his faver promises. nor otherwise his threates coulde preuaile, he left parte of his armie to besiege the citie, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter season. Howbeit he chose for his chiefest feate and strength the citie of CAPVAS which stoods verie pleasauntlie, and had plentie of all thinges. There it was that Annibals fouldiers being yied to lye hard, and eafely to away with Annibals colde, hunger, and thirft, became then of valliant men, rancke cowardes: of ftrong men, fouldier weaklings: and of feruiceable and ready men, timerous and effeminate persons, through the tast capual daily pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweete intiting pleasures, do corrupt the strength and corage of the mind, and mans disposition also vnto vettue: moreouer they spoile his wit, and B take all good counsell from him, all which thinges are daungerous formen. And therefore Pleasure, the Plato rightlie calleth pleasure, the bayte of all euils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures baile of all eof CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more, then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMANES did. For one onelie winter passed ouer in suche pleasure and One winter wantonnes, was of fuch great force to extinguish the vehement corage in the fouldiers: that effective the field as the herican for the foundary and foundary and when they were brought into the fielde at the beginning of the spring, sure you would right made thin a lie haue fayd that they had forgotten all martiall discipline. Thus the winter being passed o- conard. uer, Annibal returned againe to Castlinum, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeelde vnto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howebeit they were bent to abide all extreamity, before they would yeeld to their fo cruell an enemy, although they lacked vit-C tells. Wherefore liuing first by spelt, or beere barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had The bod received of the ROMANES by the river of Vulturnus: they held it out folong, that Annibal in Philes the the end being angry with the continuance of the fiege, he was content to take the citie vpon fine during and including during the continuance of the fiege, he was content to take the citie vpon fine during the continuance of the fiege, he was content to take the citie vpon fine during the continuance of the field the continuance of t composition, the which he had refused before. Now this warre, in the which the CARTHA-Annibals G IN IANS had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and received any loffe worthy of firest memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great chaunge and alteracion. For the good former league that was made with Philip king of MACEDON, and the newe aide and supplie that was began to faile fent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of PETILIA, CONSENTIA, & of other cities of the contrie of the BRYTIANS, kept the CARTHAG INIANS in good hope. On the other fide, the great Victories which the Romanes had won vpon the enemies in Spayne, & Sardinia, did great-D ly encorage them, and gaue them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and ly encorage them, and gaue them and good hope that the maximus, Sempronius Gracebus, better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracebus, Three famous and Marcus Marcellus, a man most worthic of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely gouerned the affaires of the state, that Annibal found he should make warre with an enemie, no the Romane leffe politike and wife, then hardy and valliant. For first of all, he was driven from the citie of Fablus Ma-CVMES, with great flaughter of his men, by Sempronius Gracehus, and forced to raife his fiege: Sempronius and shortlie after he was ouercomen by Marcellus, in a battell he fought at NoLA. For there Grachus, were flaine about a thowfand Romanes, & fix thowfand Carthaginians, flaine, & taken Macuilla. flying. Now it is eafily feene what great importance that battel was of bicause Annibal imme-The villorius diatly vpon it, raifed his siege from Nola, & went into Appliato winter his army there. By of the Ro-E this meanes came the Romanes to recouer againe, as out of a great ficknes, and fent a great manus again. power against the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durft also * Distance in inuade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the city of CAPVA, for the iniurie they the life of had but lately received of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battel was fought at frequents CANNES, they for fooke the ROMANES, eue in their greatest extreamity & milery, & tooke part four showfand with Annibal that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had received in old flaint, and time by the Romanes. On the other fide the Campanians, knowing they had made a fault, only of fine & being affraid of this new preparatio of the Romanes: they fent to Annibal into Apuliato bunded Ro-

pray him to come & aide their city (being of the number of his confederats) in their greatest maner. necessity. Annibal departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great iorneys into F CAMPANIA, & caped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA, wherby he rather deferred til another time, the preueted the plague haging ouer the CAMPANIANS heades. So spoiling the cottry roud about

Naples, he began to take coceit of a new hope, that he might take the city of No Labytreason. DDDDD iii

Marcellus vittorie of Annibal at she citte of

ANNIBAL Two fathers For in No LA, the people and Senate were at variance the one against the other as they were A likewife in divers other cities of I TALIE. The common people defitous of chaunge, favored Annibal: and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of Rome. So when Annibal went to take the citie of NoLA, Martellas met him with his army in battell ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even arthe first meeting. There the ROMANES ouercame, and draue the enemie with fuch manhood and readines: that if the horsemen which had taken an other way had cometrin in time; as Marcellus commaunded them:no question the CART HAGINIANS had bene veterly ouerthrowen. Annibal after he had retired his army into his campe with great flaughter, he shortly after departed thence, & went into the contry of the SALENTINIANS. For certaineyoung TARENTINEs that had bene taken prisoners in former battells, where the Romanus had bene ouerthrowen, and that were after- B wards delivered free without raunsome: they to shew them selves thankeful, had put Annibal in hope to deliuer him the city of TARBATY M, so he would but bring his army before the city. Annibal intifed by their promifes, did what he could to obteine it, bicaufe he might haue some city vpon the sea in his power, the which he had defired of long time. And in deede of all the cities vpon the sea coast, there was none so meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GRECE thither, & also to furnish the cape with many things that were to be occupied daily. So, thogh this thing was drawen out in length, by the garrison of the ROMANES that valliantlie refifted: vet Annibal neuer gaue ouer his enterprise, vntill that Nico and Philomenes the authors of the treason, had deliuered him the citie into his handes. The ROMANBS kept only the castell, the which is in manner enuironned with the sea on three sides : and on the fourth side, that lay v- C. delinered unpon the firme lande, it was verie strong with rampers and bulwarkes. Annibal perceiving that so Annibal by he coulde doe no good on that fide, bicause of their great strength: he determined to shut yp the mouth of the hauen of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMANES yeld, when their vittells should be cut from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard, bicause the enemies had all the straights of the hauen in their power, and the shippes also that should besiege the issue of the hauen, were shut up in a little narrow place, and were to be drawen out of the hauen, at the foote of the castell, to bring them into the next sea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuise how to bring this enterprise to passe: Annibal him selfe perceiued that these shippes might be drawen out of the hauen with certaine engines, & then to cart them through the city to the fea. So having fet cunning workemen in hande with the D matter, the shippes within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the sea. and then came and shewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the citie of TARENTVM being won againe, after the ROMANES had kept it the space of a hundred yeares: Annibal leaving the castell besieged both by sea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Consuls of the ROMANES had spoyled and stripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and having brought their army before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by fiege. Wherefore Annibal being very fory for the fiege of CAPVA, he came with all his army against the enemy: & seeing shortly after that the Romanes did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward. And doutlesse to fight it would have proued a bloody battell, had not Sempronius army feuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA vnder the conduct of Cn. Cornelius, after E they had lost Sempronius Gracehus in the cotry of L v KE. For, they feeing this army farre of before they could know who they were, the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS both were affraied, & so retired into their campe. Afterwards the Consuls went into seuerall cotries, the one into

LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make Annibal remove from CAPVA: who went into L vc ANIA, & foud occasio to fight with M. Centenius, who very fondly & desperatly did hazard

his army left him in charge, against a suttell and daungerous enemy. The battell being begon,

M. Centenius was flaine valiantly fighting, & few other escaped. After this also, there hapned

an other loffe. For Annibal returning (hortly after into Apvisa, he met with an other army of

the Romanes, the which Fabius the Prætor led, who also intrapped that army by ambushes, & flue the most of the fo that of twenty thousand me, two thousand scant scaped the edge of the E

fword. In the meane time the Confuls perceiuing that Annihal was gone, they came with all

their army vnto CAPVA, & did befiege it roud. This being come to Annibals eare, he came with

. Tarentum Annibali

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vpon the campe of the ROMANES, having first willed the CAMPANTAN sat the selfe same in-Istant to make a falve out on the. The ROMANE Confuls at the first tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betwene them, and went against them. The CAMPANT AN swere easily driven againe into the citie: howbeit against Annibal, the battell was very bloudy. For if euer he proried him selfe a valiant Capraine or noble souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to furprise the ROMANES by some stratageame. For as his men were about to breake into the Annibale stratage ROMANES campe, he fent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed tageame. out, as by commaundement of the Confuls, that the Romans should faue them selues in the next Mountaines, confidering they had almost lost all their campe and strength. This crye B made on the fodaine, had easily moued them that heard it, if the ROMANES being throughly acquainted with Annibals futtelties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore, one of them incoraging an other, they made the enemy retyre, and compelled him in despite of his beard to flie into his campe. When Annibal had done what he could by all deuile and practife possible to rayle their feege from CAPVA, and perceining all would not ferue, being fory for the daunger of his confederats: he then determined to call a counfell, the which he had paffed ouer a long time, having referued it for the last refuge. For he trussed up his cartage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could he passed ouer the river of Vulturnus, and coa- Vulturnus fl fling through the contries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, and CASSINIANS, he came to Rome with enfignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them rayle their seege, be-C ing so earnestly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying straight to ROME by currers, they were so affrayd there, as Romewas neuer in the like feare it stoode in then. For they saw their mortall enemy come to them with enfignes displayed, whome they had so often proued, almost to the vtter destruction of their Empire: and now they saw him present, whome they could not refift being absent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of Rome into subjection. So all Rome being in feare and tumult, it was orderned that Fuluim Flacem (one of the Confuls lying before CAPVA) should be sent for home. And that the new Confuls, Sulpicius Galba, and Sulpicius Cornelius Centimalus, shoulde lye in campe out of the citie: and that C. Calphurnius Prætor, nelius Centishould put a stronge garrison into the capitoll, and also that the Citizens that had borne any malus conoffice or dignitie, hould be appointed by their countenaunce and authoritie, to pacific the falls. D fodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So Annibal marched forward without staying, till he came to theriuer of Anienes, and there camped within 24. furlong of Rome: and thort- Anienes A. ly after that, he came with two thow and horse so neare vnto Rome, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto Hercules temple, he had leyfure to view at his pleasure, the situacion and walles of fo great a citie. Fuluius Flaceus feeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent outcerten methy inmen of armes of the Romanes against him: who comming with great furie to give charge "seds Rome. vpon him as they were commaunded, they eafily fent him packing. The next morning, Annibal brought his army out of the campe, and did fet them in battell raye, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The Romanes on the other fide did the like, So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and corage, that to see them, E they appeared men that feared no daunger, fo they might obteine the victorie that day. For on the one fide, the CARTHAGINIAN'S were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended upon this battell, as beeing the last they should fight. The ROMANES in contrary manner, they were to fight for their contry, libertie, and their goods, to fee whether they could keepe them, or that they should come to their enemies handes. How- A wonder. beit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For, as they were ready fet in battell raye, tarying but for the fignall of battell to give charge: there fell fuch a wonderfull great shower and storme vpon them, that both of them were driven in spight of their teethes, to bringe backe their army into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it seemed the battel had bene deferred: when they had againe both of the fet their men in battel F raye, therefell the like storme vpon them, the which did as much hurt the Romanes & Car-THAGINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to sauethem selues, and not to thinke otherwise to fight, Annibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that

DDDDD iii

taken from him. So there was a thinge that greatly troubled Annibal, and that was this. That

though he came fo neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and sootemen; yet he heard

that the ROMANE'S had fent ayde into SPAYNE, and that they had redeemed the contry where

he had bene at a farre greater prife then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall,

he caused all the goldsmithes and banckers shoppes of the Romane citizens to be sold by the Crver. But afterwards, casting with him selfe what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of Rome, or els being affrayde to lacke vittells: (for he had stored him selse onely but for tenne dayes) he rayled his campe, and remouing thence, came to the holy woode of the goddeffe Feronia, and rifled the richetemple there, and afterwardes went thence into the contry of the BRYTIANS and LYCANIANS. The CAPVANS having intelligence thereof, being left out of all B hope: they yelded up their citie unto the Romanes. The citie of Carva beeing thus yelded vp, and brought againe to the subjection of the Romanes, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALY, and withall brought a great defire of chaunge. Annibal him felfe also following euill counsell, did spoyle and destroy many cities he could not keepe; whereby he did flurre vp the harts of divers nations against him. For where before when he was Conqueror, he had often let prisoners goe without ransom paying, through which liberalitie he had won the harts of many men: euen fo at that present time, his barbarous crueltie made divers cities (misliking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the ROMANES. Amongest them was SALAPIA, the which was yelded up vnto the Conful Marcellus, by Blacius meanes, chiefe of all the Romans faction; and a band also of choyce @ horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slaine every man of them. This is the citie where Annibal fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reproue where Anni. balfell in his immoderat lust and lasciuiousnes. How beit there are others, that greatly commending the continencie of this Captaine, fay that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer drancke aboue a pint of wine, nether when he came to make warre in ITALY, nor after that he returned into A-FRICK, Some there be also that fav, Annibal was cruell, and vnconstant, and subject to divers fuch other vices: how beit they make no manner of mention of his chaffitie or incontinencie. But they report that his wife was a Spanyard, borne in Casty Lo, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS graunted her many things and trusted her very much, bicause of the great faith and constancie of that nation. Now Annibal after he had lost (as we have told you) D the citie of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to cry quittance, and to make the ROMANES lofe more then he had loft. For at the felfe fame time, Fuluius Viceconful, lay befeeging of HER-DONE A hoping to winne the citie without refistance. And bicause he stoode in no seare of any enemy round about him, (for Annibal was gone into the contry of the BRYTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affayres, contrary to the nature of the Ro-MANE Captaines. Annibal being advertised thereof by spialls, would not lose such a goodly oportunitie: and therefore comming into APVLIA with his armye ready, he came so hastely VINTO HERDONEA, that he had almost stollen yoon Fuluius, ynprouided in his campe. Howbeit the Romanes valiantly received the first charge with such corage, that they sought it out lenger then it was looked for. Notwithstanding, in the ende, as the ROMANES two years be- E fore that had bene ouercome not farre from thence, with their Conful Fuluiss: even so like-

was at that time in the citie of SAMNIVM, who being aduertised of this great ouerthrow, de-

fired to be even with him: and though it feemed he came too late to helpe things past remedie, yet he brought his army into the contry of the Ly CANIANS, whether he vnderstood An-

nibal was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer against his enemye, and

foone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refused not, but gaue such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knew who had

field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were affrayd of them: For Annibal kept

his men within the campe, and the next night following stale away without any noyse, and

the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the Romanes shewing againe in E

The death of wife vnder the conduct of this Fuluius Viceconful, the ROMANE legions were vtterly ouer-F. Maine Vice- throwen, and their Captaine flaine, with the most part of his armye. The Consul Marcellus

enemy that could nether be quiet Conquerer, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudvand cruell then any that was before: bicause the Romanes did their best to be revenged C of their loffe , and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other fide were mad in their mindes, to fee that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanquishers vnto battell. In the ende, the Romanes being sharpely reproued, and also perswaded by Marcellus to sticke to it valliantly like men. that the newes of their victorie might come to Rome, before the newes of their ouerthrows: they flue in among the preffe of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thrife broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the felfe same time Fabius Maximus tooke the citie of TARENTVM againe, almost after the selfe fame fort it was lost. This being reported vnto Annibal, he fayd: the Romanes have also their Annibal. The next yeare following, Marcellus and Crispinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put them selues in readines for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. Annibal dispayring that he was not Constant able to refift them in battel, he fought all the wits he had to deuise some way to intrappe them by futtelrie, whome he could not ouercome by battel. So Annibals head being occupied thus, there was offred him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for Be- Anniballar twene both campes, there was a prety groue, in the which Annibal layed certen bands of the the state of the for the state. NYMIDIANS in ambushe, to intrappe the enemies passing to and fro . On the other side, the Confuls by confent of them all, thought it best to send to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required : least in leaving it behind them, the enemies should come, & so be vpon their tacks afterwards. Now before they removed their armye, both the Confuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situacion of this place; and to going on very undiscreetely, and worse appoynted then became men of their authoritie & F. place, they vnfortunatly fell into Annibals amouth. So, when they faw them felues in a momet compassed about on enery side with enemies, that they could not goe forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended them felues the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So Marcellus was flaine fighting valiantly: and The death of Crispinus the other Consul also very fore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hands. Annibal Marcellus, being aduertised that Marcellus was slaine, who was the chiefest man of all the Romann captaines, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, and had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found Marcellus body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may fee how The power of magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are efteemed of all men: confidering that the cruell and magnanimu

A went into Apvilia, Marcellus also followed him foote by foote, and sought to put all to hasard by some notable battell: for he bare him selte thus in hand, that of all the ROMANS Captaines there was none machable with Annibal but him telfe, either in counfell, wit, or policiel; or els in martiall discipline, or warlike stratageames. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any fet battell with the enemie: for after he had made aftene light skimmis thes, bicaufe he would not trouble his fouldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed themin garrifon for the winter time. At the beginning of the next fixinge, procured partly by Fabius letters (who was one of the new Confuls for that yeare,) and partly also through his owne difposition : he brought out his garrisons sooner then they were looked for wand came with his army against Annibal, who lay ar that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chaunced, that through the District

army against Annion, who may at that since a CAN VSIV MANOOR It changes that thought in few day is the fifth of the Remeat with Remeat Remeat with Remeat R fought three feuerall times. The first battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner Annihal. with like hope of both fides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better they both of purpose retyred into their campe againe. The second day Annibal was conqueret, after he had flayne almost two thows and seven hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the Roman as to recover the shame and dishonor they had loft the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so Martellus led them out to battell, Amibal wondring at their valiantnes, sayd unto his people: that he delt with an Annibal

F most mortall enemye, gaue honorable buriall to so noble and excellent a Captaine. The Ro-MANES in the meane time feeing one of their Confuls dead, and the other Conful very fore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Cri-

companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ringe he fealed his letters withall i

wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in Marcellus name, Crispinus Mel-

fenger came but newly vnto SALARIA, when letters were brought also from Apribal in the behalfe of Marcellus, to tell them that he woulde be there the next night . The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they fent his Messenger away, & carefully looked for Annibals comming. About the fourth watche of the night, Annibal came to the citie of SALAPIA, who of purpole had out all the Romans that had fled in the vauntgard, bicause that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleue that Marcellas was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred fix hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the armye, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the R citie. Thus Annibal beeing in a maruelous rage he had missed of his purpose: he remoued thence, and went into the contry of the BRYTIANS, to ayde the LOCRIANS that were before ged by the ROMANES, both by sea and by land. After all these thinges, at the carnest request of the Senate and people, two new Confuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant fouldiers, Marcus Linius, & Claudius Nero: who having devided the army betwixt them, went with, and t. Ners: Confuls votto their feuerall charge and proninces. Claudius Nero went into the contry of the SALENTI-NIANS, and M. Linius into GAVIE, against Hasdrubal BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made hafte to joyne with his brother Annibal, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Nowe it chaunced at the same time, that Annibal had receyued great loffe by Claudius the Conful. For first of all he ouercame him in the contry of the Lyca- Q NIANS, vling the like policies and fetches that Annibal did. Afterwardes againe, meeting with Annibal in Apy LIA, by the citie of VENVSIA: he fought fuch a luftye battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the fielde. By reason of these great losses, Annibal sodainely went to Met apont, to renew his army againe. So having remayined there a few dayes, he receiued the army from Hanno, the which he joyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. C. Nero lay not farre from V EN V SIA with his campe: who having intercepted letters of his enemies, he vinderstoode by them that Hasarubal was at hand with his armye. Thereuppon, he bethought him felfe night and day, what policie he might vie to preuent the joyning of two fo great armies together as these. So after he had taken aduise of him self, he followed in sight, a daungerous determination: but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For leaving D the campe vnto the charge of his Lieuetenant, he tooke part of the armye with him, and making great iorneyes, came to Piceny M (being the marches of Ancona) fo that on the fixt Sena,a citie day he came to SENA. There both the Confuls iouned their forces together, and fetting vpon Hastrubal by the river of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For as it is re-M.Luin, ported, there were fix and fifty thow fand of the enemies flayne on that daye: fo that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the Romanes had received before at the battell of Can-Haldrubal, & NES. Now Claudius Nero, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily vnto V BNVSIA as he went thence, he fet yp Hasdrubals head, where the enemies kept their watche: and did let certen prisoners goe, to carrye newes to Annibal of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowen, that Annibal knew nothing yet of Claudius fecret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and greatflaughter he had made. VV hereat fure I can but wonder, that so futtill a Captaine as Annibal, could be deceived by Claudius, confidering both their campes lay so neare together: fo that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his armye, be-

fore he ynderstoode any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now Annibal having not onely received a generall, but also a perticular great losse by

the death of his brother: he layd then he plainely faw the chaunge & alteracion of the CAR-

THAGINIANS good fortune, and shortly after removed his campe, and went thence into the

contry of the BRYTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow given by the river of Metau-

C.Nero Con-

The change rum, was a maruelous incoragement to the Romanes, and would also be a great logge in his and atterail- way, for the successe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his powon of the Car- er he had left in I TALY, after so many great battells and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and gold fortune. mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most straungest thinge in Annibal

uelous great cotage: infomuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (trulling in their former victo-

MANES great service to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, Lalius and Masinissaer re-

turne from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed into the battell of the enemie with great

.ANNIBAL. A was this that through his authoritie on wifedom he kept all his army in peace and amino to gotten being a medleyof SPANNIANDS, AFRICANDS, GAVLES, and of divers other national and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or turnult amonge them. Howbeit the Roy The praile of Mambes them selves a after they had in onne Sicilita, Sandinia, and Sharne againe, they great vietom could have vesterly our come him mor drive him out of lane, before they had jest before many neline Stripio into Androke who making warre with the Cartia granams he brougher been memaline to furtherest extremities that they were driven to fund for Annibal home due of I micro donie P. C. Sciple balan that time, (as Libane layd before) was in the contry of the Barra Lata at making waste by mound car. intodes and fodaing inuations, rather then by any fought battell: fauing this one of the sware battell fought in hafte betwitt him and the Conful Sempronius, and immediatly after be paint B and fler vpon the fame sempronius with all his armyo. Acthe first battell tembel had the vitto. The left bat rie: but at the fecond, Sempronius ouercapie him. Since that time, I ban findoin no Grakenot rell Minibal Larun Author, that Annibal did any famous acte in Iralia worthylmemorie. For betting feet was and for into Arricke by the Carthaginians, he left I main, fixteend year chafter this A Price Sempronius, warre was begonne, greatly complaying of the Scharchar Charles than of him Jelfe allo, he were much Of the Senate, bicaufe that all the time he had benein his enemies control long, shey had Amibal. allowed him fo litle money : and to fcanted him befides with all other thinges negeriary for Annibal fent allowed film to intermorey; and an active min believes with an occupie the Monarias, be for to reining the warres; And of him felle; bleaufethat after hehad to often ouercome the Romanias, be into Africk, had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had given the ending libertie to gather force after he had againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he tervo a triumphing arche wared 16. C or piller, by the temple of Iuno Lacinia, in the which were briefly granen his poblevictories, tab. both in the Punick and Græke tongue. So when he was departed out of Ir ALE, the wind fer- Annibals ued him well, that in few dayes he arrived at LEPT 13, and landing all his army, he first came to arche of nie A DRVMENTYM, and afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiving advertisement how the affayres Annihal deof the CARTHAG INTANS prospered : he thought it best to deuise some way to end this warre; parteth out of For this cause he sent vnto Scipio, to pray him to appoynthim some concenient place where they might both meete, and talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainely knowen, whether Annibal did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. Scipio refuled notto come to parley. Wherefore at the day appropried theremet two Annibal and famous generalls of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them having his In-D terpreter, to talke together of divers matters touching peace and warre. For Applicativas also together bent to peace: bicause he saw the affayres of the C ARTHING INTANS WAXEWOFSE & worfe enery day: that they had loft Sicilia, SARDINIA, and Sparing: bicaufe the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICK: bicaufe Syphax (a mightyking) was taken prifoned of the ROMANES: and also bicause that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into A FRICK: which was the onely remayne and reliefe of folong a warre as he had made in ITALY: and also bicause that the CARTHAGINIANS had so small a powdriest (both of straungers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarse men enough to desende the citie of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade Scipio, with a long oration he made, rather to as gree to peace, then to refolue of warre. How beit Scipio that lived in hope to bringe this warre E to a good ende, he would not seeme to give eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either fide, in the enderthey brake of, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell striken by the citic of ZAMA, in the which the ROMAN BEODERY'S Scipice vined victorie. For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne upon their Carthaginiownearmy, to that they did put all Annibals horsemen out of order. And Lalius and Masinissa am a the who made both the winges, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leysures gather banell of Zathem selues in order againe. Howbeit the sootemen sought it out a long time, & with a mare ries) thought that all the fafeticand preservation of A PRICK, was all in their handes and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMANBS on the other fide had as great harts E as they, and besides, they stoode in the better hope. Howbeit one thing in deede did the Rosi

harts were done, and they faw no other remedie for them, but to hope to feare by flying Stoie is reported that there were flayne that day, aboue twenty showland CARYHAGIN ANNIAN the field, and as many more prisoners, stimebal their generally after he had ravved to see the ende The firms of of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great flaughter. Afterwardes when he was fent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to faur his contry: he perswaded the Senare not to hope an ny more in warres, burdid counfell them, that fetting all deniles a part, they should fend wate Score the Romana Captaine, to make peace with him upon any condiction. When the remain Ambaffadors had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto Cananas of the articles of peaces it is reported that there was one Gifgo, who milliking to heare talke of peaces he made an oration, and perfwaded all he could to renew warre against the Romanus, Where H fore Annibal perceiping that divers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to fee fuch beafts, and men of no understanding, to dare to speake of such matters in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his oration. So when he sawe that the Citizens, and all the whole affembly, thought this too prefumptuous a part of him, & vnmeete altogether for a free citie: he him felfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and fayd. Let no man be offended if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE. & brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINTANS being immediatly moved by the authoritie of fo great a person: they all agreed to accept the condicions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offred them. The articles out of dout werevery extreame, and fuch as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extreamitie by the conquerors. But belides all other things, the CARTHAGINTANS were boud to pay the ROMANES an annuell tribute. vntill a certen time were ronne out. So when the daye came that the first pencion was to be payd to the Romanes, and that every man grudged when the subsedy was spoken of fome save that Annibal being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGE NIANS, he fell a laughing. And when Haldrubal Hadge reproued him bicause he laughed in fuch a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunswered: that it was no laughture nor rejoycing from the hart, but a fcorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was leffe cause (and onely bicause it touched every private mans purse) then before, when the ROMANES tooke from the CARTHAGINIAN'S their shippes, armor, and weapons, and their spoyles of D the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinaunces vnto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write that Annibal immediately after he had loft the battell, fled into A s 1 A, for that he was affrayde they woulde deliuer him into Scipioes hands, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done fodainely, or former time after the battel was loft at Z A M A, it makes no great matter: confidering that all the world knoweth, that when he fawe things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into As IA vnto king Antiochus. So is it most true, that king Antiochus receiued him with great curtesie. and vied him very honorably: infomuch as he made him of counfell with him all in all, both in private and publike causes. For the name of Annibal caried great reputation with all men: belides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the Romanes, which was a pricking spurre E. ftill to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hower into that contry, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the ROMANES. So he tolde him, that the onely way to make warre. with the ROMANES, was to goe into ITALY to leavy ITALYAN fouldiers, by whome onely, that victorious contry of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred (hippes, fixteene thow fand footemen, and a thow fand horfemen onely, With this smallarmy he promifed to inuade I TALYANS. whome he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very found of his name onely: bicause of the late warres he had made there, so freshe yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of A FRICK, if the king would licence him to fende. g. men vnto CARTHAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whome he knew hated the Rom ANBS to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called Ariston TYRIAN

fled unto king Antio-chus inso A.

ANNIBAL. A Tyrian vinto him, a fine futtell fellowe, and meete for fuch a purpose: to whome he made large promises, and perswaded him to goe to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus Annibal being a banished man, and fled out of his contry, rayled warre in all partes against the Romanes. And surely his counsell had taken good effect, had king Antiochus rather followed his aduise, as he did at the first, then the vaine perswasions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred Annibal great ene- Empythe camies. For they beeing affrayd that by his counfells he should growe in great fauor with the manplague king, (for he was a wife and politike Captaine) and that thereby he should beare great sway Princes and authoritie: to preuent it, they lacked no deuiseto bringe him in disgrace with the king, Comite, And it so chaunced at that time, that P. Villius, who came Ambassador vnto Ephesys, he

B had often conference with Annibal. Hereuppon his prinie enemies tooke occasion to accuse him, and withall, the king him selfe became so ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to counsell . At the selfe same time also, as some doe report, P. Corne- Scipio Affilius Scipio African (who was one of the Ambassadors sent vnto king Antiochus) talking sa-con met with millierly with Annibal, prayed him amongest other thinges to tell him truely, whome he Epholia, thought the worthiest Captaine of all others . Annibal aunswered him . First he thought Annibals Alexander, king of Mace Don the chiefest: next vnto him, Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes: independing for and thirdly, him felfe. Then Scipio A FRICAN fmyling, asked him: what wouldeft thou fave, mous Cap-Annibal.if thou haddest ouercome me? Truely sayd he, then I would be chiefest my selfe. This winter aunswer pleased Scipio maruelous well, bicause he saw he was nether dispised, nor yet brought

C to be compared with the other, but lest alone as peereles, by some secret flattery of Annibal. After these things, Annibal found occasion to talke with king Antiochus, and beganne to lay oven his life vnto him from his youth, and to bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the ROMANES: whereby he so satisfied the king, that he was againe received into his grace and fauor, which he had almost veterly lost. Thereuppon the king was determined to have made him Admirall of his armye by fea, the which he had put in readines for I TALY, and alfo to make proofe of his great corage and feruice, whome he knewe to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the ROMANES. But one Thous, Prince of the ETOLIANS, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or els for that his fancye was fuch: he altered the kinges minde, and cleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of greate importance for the warre he n pretended to make. For he gaue counsell vnto Antiochus, that he should goe him selfe into GRECE, and direct his owne affayres: and that he should not suffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king Antiochus fhortly after went into GRACE to makewarre with the Romanes. Within fewe dayes after, when he confulted whether he shoulde make league with the THESSALIANS, Annibals opinio was specially asked: who spake so wisely tou-

ching the state of the THESSALIANS, & the chiefest matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gaue their consents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not neede much to care for the THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king Philip of MACEDON to take their part: or els to perswade him to be a Newter, and to take nether parte. Furthermore, he gaue counfell to make warre with the Romanes in their Annibal coll. E owne contry, & offred him felfe to ayde him the best he could. Euery man gaue good eare to fullath king his words, but his opinion was rather comended, then followed, Wherefore euery man mar-make ware uelled, that such a Captaine as he, that had so many yeares made warre with the ROMANES with the Ho-(who had in manner coquered all the world)(hould then be fo light fet by of the king, when it manes frecially stood him vpon, to have such a mans help & cousel. For, what captaine living could a man haue foud more skilful or politike, or meter to make war with the Romanes, then him? Howbeitthe king made no reckoning of him, at the first beginning of this warre: but shortly after, distaining al their consell, he cofessed that Annibal only saw what was to be done. For af King Antiter the Romanes had obtained victory in the war he made in GR & CB: Antiochus fled out of chui indge-

EVROPE into EPHESVS, where making mery, & there following pleafure, he hoped to live in mind F peace, litle thinking the Roman Es would come with any army into Asia: Now, the feffattering courtiers still fed his humor: a perpetual plague to kings & Princes, that suffer them selucs to be flattered, & are coteted to be deceived, bicause they give good eare to that that pleaseth

generall of army by fea, Apollonius.

them. But Annibal, who knewe the power and ambition of the Romanes, perswaded the king A to hope for any thing rather then peace, and bad him trust to it, that the Romanes would neuer stay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in Africk, and Evrope. Antiochus perswaded by the authority of fuch a man, straight commaunded Polyxenidas, a very serviceable man, and skilfull in fea feruice, that he should goe meete with the army of the Romanes that was comming thither. Then he fent Annibal into Syria, to leavy a great number of thippes together, and afterwards made him, and Apollonius, (one of his fauored Courtiers) generalls of this arrive by fea: who notwithstanding that Polyxenidas was put to the worst by the Ro-MANES, they went and fet vpon the RHODIANS, that were confederats with them. Annibal in this harrell affavling Eudamus the Captaine of the R HODIANS, that led the left wing: he had R already compassed in the Admirall galley, and doubtles had obtayned the victorie, but that the other wing came in to rescue, after they had followed Apollonius in chase, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by fea, which had no great good fucceffe: we doe not find that Annibal did any thing worthy memorie. For king Antiochus being ouercome, besides other condicions, the Romanes offred him: they desired that Annibal (the mortall enemy of their contry) should be deliuered vnto them. Annibal foreseeing this long before, he fodginely stale from Antiochus, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after Annibal had wandred vo and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto Prusias, king of BITHYNIA, for succor. Nowe he did not so much trust to his friendshippe, but bicause he sought for the meetest place he coulde C come by as also for the safest, the which he most defired: considering that the ROMANES had the most part of the sea and land in their subjection. Some say, that after king Antiochus was Ouercome, Annibal went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumor ranne immediatly, he had brought a great maffe of gold and filuer with him. Wherefore being affrayd least the CRETAN'S should offer him some violence, he deuised this shifte to scape the daunger, he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and fent them into the temple of Diana, fayning that he was maruelous carefull for them, as though all his treasure had bene there. On the other fide he had hid all his gold in images of braffe, the which he had left carefly lying on the ground in the house. In the meane time, whilest they watched the temple carefully, that these earthen pots should not be caried away without their privitie: Annibal hoysed sayle, and fled into B1- D THYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the feafide, which the contry men call LIBY ssa, of the which by fome mens faying, there ranne an olde oracle and prophecy in this fort. The land of Liby (a shall couer under movulde

The valliant corps of Annibal, when he is dead and colde.

There Annibal lay, not spending his time idely, but passing it away in exercising of the maryners, riding of horses, and trayning of his souldiers. Some Authors also do write, that at that Apribal, king time Prulias made warre with Eumenes, king of Pergany M, who was a confederate and friend of the ROMANES: and that he made Annibal his Lieuetenant generall of his army by fea: who affayling Eumenes with a new found and ynknowen deuife, wanne the victory of the battell by fea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that Annibal had gotten an infinite number F of snakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begonne, and they busily tending their fight: he threw those pots with makes into the enemies shippes, and that by this fearefull and ffraunge deuise he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the olde chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely AEmylius and Trogus. And therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diffention betwixt these two kings, (Prusias, and Eumenes) being brought to Rome: the Senate fent T.Q. Flaminius Ambassador into As ra, whose name was famous for the noble victories he had obtayned in GRECE, to the ende (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt these two kings. Flaminius being come vnto king Prusias, he was maruelously offended, and fory in his mind to fee Annibal yet aliue, (that was the mortallest enemy of the Romanes) after the coquests of so many nations, & the facking of so many people: in therfore, he was very earnestly in hand with king Prusias, to deliuer him Annibal Annibal from the first beginning mistrusted king Prusias inconstancye very much, and therefore had digged

A divers vaults in his house, and made seven severall vents to flie out at, if he were sodainely taken. The report of Flaminius coming did encrease his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in Rome: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the Ro-MANE s, as also perticularly for the remembraunce of his father Flaminius, that was flayne in the battell fought by the lake of Thrafymene. So Annibal being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he found deuises to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings gard which were fent to take him, had copassed his house about Annibal thought to flie at their first comming, and to faue him selfe by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid him felfe out of the Romanes handes, by destroying him selfe. So, some doe report, that he was B strangled by one of his men, whome he had commanded to helpe to dispatche him. Others write againe, that he had droncke bulles bloud, and when he had droncke it, dyed, as Clitarchin, and Stratocles doe fallely report of Themistocles . Howbeit Tieus Linius, that famous Hifloriographer writeth, that Annibal called for the poyfon he had ready for fuch a mischiefe. and that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he fayd: Come on, let vs rid the Romanes of this payne and care, fith their spight and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient Romanas aduertifed Pyrrhu king of the Epirotes, who came with enseignes displayed to the very walls of the citie of Rome, that he should looke to him selfe, and beware of poyloning : and these Romanes nowe doe make a friende forgetting his kingly state and faithfull promise, vilely to betraye his C poore ghest. After he had sayd, bitterly curfing king Profias, he poysoned him selfe, being three Annibal pops force & tenne yeare olde, as fome writers doe telfine. His body was buried in a tombe of frone force by LEYS SA, on the which was ingrauen no more but this: Here lyeth Annibal. The ROMANES 707 care old. h beeing adderrised of his death, every man sayde his opinion, as his sancye served him. Some timbe by the greatly blamed T.Q. Flaminius crueltic, who to make him felfe famous by some notable acte, with (as he thought) made a poote olde man put him felfe to death, that was in manner half dead by age, and befides, was past doing the state of Rome any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner of all the world. But some againe on the other fide, commended Flaminius for it, & favd it was a good deede of him, to rid the Ro MANE sof their mortall enemye : who though he had but a weake body, yet he lacked no wit; wife counfell, and great experience in warres, D to intife king Prusias to make warre, and to molest all Assabesides with new ewarres. For at that time the power of the king of BITHENIA was forgreat, that it was not to be lightly regarded For after that, Mithridates king of the fame BITHENTA, did marnelously molest the Ro-MANES both by sea and by land, & moreouer fought battells with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous Captaines of the ROMANES: And fo the ROMANES might alfobe affrayd of king Pruflas, and specially having Annibal his Captaine. So some judge, that Q. Plaminius was specially feur Amballador vnto king Prulias, feeretly to practife Annibals death. Howbeit it is to be fupposed, that Q. Flaminius was not so desirous to haue Annibal so sodainely put to death, as he would have bene glad otherwise to have brought him againe to Rome, that had done such mischiefe to his contry and this had bene a great benefit for Rome, and much honor also yn-E to him felfe. Such was the death of Annibal the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtles, &

highly to be commended for martiall prayle, letting his other vertues a fide. So we may easi- The prayle of My judge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wiledom and corage, and his perfieskill of martiall discipline was in all thinges . For in all the warre the Care.

- pakoth i washad fo vehemently, and with fuch great preparation en-, see and set and terprifed; they never thought them felices overcome, tillod ve ha, surrey : Annibal was ouerthrowen archaegicar battel the solicities and can a strength and skill of warres be-

here rewrol 2 have and were a gan, & also ended, with F - 1 Sugaran Sungal will stay and Annihal their to by commonly and a said that are a post Captaine, and

will applied the state of the second second second second

rall by fea, a. gainst Eume. nes,king of denife of fnakes put in into the ene . mies shippes. Titus Quintius Flaminisu fent Ass-bassador inso

THE LIFE OF Scipio African.



White Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the familye of the Cornely, who was the A first Romane Captaine against whome Annibal fought in I rat y:was the father of Cornelius Scipia afterwards fornamed AFRICAN the first lo called, bicanfe he had conquered that fiation . The fame Scipio, af-Iter he had obtained many great victories in Spayne, and done notable feates of armes; was in the ende flayne with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and incoraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger and fury of the battell. Shorely after did his brother Chi Scipio also ende his life,

much after one selfe manner, and was flavne valliantly fighting. So these two Captaines, befides the fame they achieved by their noble deedes left behind them great prayle of their B faithfulnes, modeltie, and corage: the which made them not onely withed for of their fouldiers that were then living, but also of all the SPANYARD's besides. Cn. Scipio had a forme called P. Cornelius Nafica, one that had bene Conful and had also triumphed; who beging but a younge man, was thought the meetest man of all the citie of Rome to recevue ware the mother of the goddes. This Publius had two formes, the fortamous Scipioes tof the whigh the one was called Asian, bicanie he conquered Asia: and the other Aerican, bicanie he subdued A FRICK at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he overthrewe Annibal and the Colors AGG H NIANS, as we fayd before. Whose life we purpose nowe to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (lofamous by all the Græke & Laryn Authors) the greater by our history; as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds & moral vertues so thend C that all Princes & noble Captaines in reading it should behold the lively image of perfit vertue, which may move an earnest desire in the to follow the example of P. Cornelius Scipioes life, who from his childhod gaue greathone & shew of a noble nature, & excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, under the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the fecond watte with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but seuenteene yeare old; & in a very short time grew so toward, & forward in al P. Con Scipio, things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paynes like a foldier, that he wan great comendacion of his own father, & befides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, & noble corage: that it made him beloued, & also seared of

A his enemies. For this Scipio was present at the battell of the horsemen, where P. Cornelitu Scipio the Conful fought with Annibal, by the river of Thefin: & some writers doe affirme that Cor. P. Septent nelius the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemye, had not his fonne Stipio faued the from bee him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was to young. After that alfo, at the bate ing taken of tel that was fought by CANNES, to the great loffe, & in maner vtter destruction of the Empire! the encuien of Rome, when the ten thowfand men that fled to CANVS IVM, had all together with one cofent referred the gouernment of the army vnto Appius Pulcher, that had bene Ædilis, and vnto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very young: the fame Scipio shewed then by his deedes, what noble mind and corage was in him. For when he faw certen young men conful together betwene them selues to forsake ITAL whe thrust in among them, & drawing out his sword, made B them all sweare they would not for sake their contry. These, and such like deedes done by him with a liuely corage & noble mind, being then but a young man: wanne him fuch fauor with the ROMANES, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their auncient custo, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge & gouernment vpon him. Insomuch that when he fued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwith franding that the Tribunes of the peo- ing but a ple were against his sute, bicause he was so younge a man: yet the people suffered him to be young man. brought from tribe to tribe, & fo was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father & Vncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene flaine one after the other in SPAYNE, & that the Romanes were in confultacion to appoint some worthy captaine in the roome: they could finde no man that durft vndertake this fo daungerous warre, confidering C the losse of two fo great captaines before. Wherfore the whole assebly being called to choose a Viceconful, all the other Princes & peeres of the Realme being filent at fo worthy a motion Scipio onely of all the rest, being but source & twenty yeare old, stoode vp in the middest of the, & faid, with a good hope & confidence he would willingly take the charge vpon him. He had seipio Pleeno sooner offred this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsul of Spay NE, with the Wo- conful at 24. derful good wil & fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwards confidering better of the matter, against what captaines & natios he should make warre: they thought it vnpossible so younge a man coulde performe so waightye a charge, Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully chaunged againe on the sodeine, as if the mibes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. Seipio perceining it; called an affem. D bly presently, & made such an oration of his age, and discipline of warres, that every manufact goodly perform heard him wondred at him, & the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of negehim for the warres. For he had not only anoble corage in him, beeing indued with many finguler vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, & very comly of person, and had besides a pleasaunt countenaunce: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the love and good will of euery man. Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behauior, there was a certaine princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being joyned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his civil vertues made him more acceptable vnto straungers, then wonderful for his skil in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples harts with a certen superstitious feare, bicause he did daily (after he had take the mans E gowne) vie to goe vp to the Capitoll, & fo into the church without any company; infomutch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret thinges in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that Numa Pompilius was taught by the Nymphe AEgeria. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of Scipio, as in olde time they had of Alexander king of MACEDON, to wete: that oftentimes there was a shake feene in his mothers chamber. But let thefe things go. Scipio departing out of ITALY with ten Scipios inthowfand footemen, & a fleete of thirty gallies, every one of the having flue owers to a bank in into he failed into Spayne, & in few dayes arriving at Emporia, he landed his men, and marched by land to TARRA CON. There he kept a counfell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their

confederats came thither, who being curteoufly receyued, returned to their lodgings with

had taken upon him, he thought it best to joyne the remayne of the olde bandes with his are

my, which had bene faued through the manhood and valiantnes of Lucius Martini. For after

F fuch aunswer as they liked. After this, Scipio beeing carefully beneto profecute the warre he

ouerthrowen and put to flight: L. Martins a Romane Knight, having gathered together the

Mariius a

remnant of both armies, relifted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnes, and vnfpeakeable industry he mainterned warre in Spayne, against three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, Now Scipio being comen to this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, euery man did certainly perswade them selues that the warre should prosper: and when they sawe him, they remembred their old Captaines, infomuch that there was neuer a fouldier could have his fill, with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the fouldiers for their noble corage, not dispayring for the calamitie of their contry: he greatly honored Lucius Martius, to shewe. that who fo trusteth in his owne vertues, neede not enuy the glory of another man. So winter R being past, he tooke the old and newe bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to goe and lay fiege vnto new CARTHAGE. For of all the cities of SPAYNE it was the wealthieft, and none more meeter to make warre both by sea & land, then that. Moreouer, the captaines of the CART HAGINIANS had bestowed in this citie all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the citie, and castel. But the Captaines them selves were deuided in divers contries, to the end that they three might kepe the whole region from spoile, least of all looking then that CARTHAGE should be beleeged. So Scipio having put all in readines, he came to befeege new C ARTHAGE with all his army both by fea and land. This femed to be a maruelous hard enterprise, and would continue long, both bicause the citie was very geth new Carftrong of it felfe, and also for that the men within it were so coragious: that they did not one- C ly thinke them selues able to defend the citie, but their harts serued them also to make salves out vpon the enemie, and to skirmish with them, even to the very trenches of the ROMANES campe. Howbeight happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by industrie. Now Scipto knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the walls of CAR-THAGE, did ebbe and flowe with the tyde, and that it was passable by forde on that side where they might easiliest come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occasion, and that he could not possibly meete with a better denise to take CAR THAGE: when he saw his time he set his menin battell ray, and having deuided them into feuerall foundrons, gaue a more desperat affault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the valiantest men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to scale the walles D on that fide, where they within the towne made least accompt of it. So, these fouldiers that were commaunded to give this attempt, after they had passed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, bicause the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other fide of the citie. Therefore they eafily getting up on the wal, came and affayled the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, percevuing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly for looke the walles, and feeing them felues charged on every fide, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The Ro-MANES purfued them fo hottely, that they wanne the citie, and facked it: where they found a wonderfull great spoyle, and aboundance of all things necessary for warre. Scipio greatly praysed his souldiers, & did reward them, for that they had done so valiant seruice. Howbeit when F. he should come to give the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that got vp vpon the wall: there were two fouldiers at fuch variance for the matter, that all the army was in daunger of division and mutinie vpon that occasion. Thereuppon Scipio called his men together, and in open affembly told them, that he knewe they both got vp on the wall together, and fo gauethem both a scaling crowne : & by this meanes their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he fent vnto all the cities of SPAYNE, the hostages that were found in the city, which were a maruelous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curtefie and clemency. whereby he allured many nations to yeld them felues vnto the ROMANES, and to forfake the CARTHAGINIANS. But one thinge about all the rest, chiefly increased his prayse, and wanne

him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady p

taken prisoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whome he carefully

raused to be kept, and preserved from violence and dishonor. And afterwards when he knew

the citie of new Carshage by offault.

then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of raunsome. Among the prisoners, there rainte to his was a young gentleman of the kings blood, and nephew vnto Masinista, whom when he had n vied verie honorably, he fent vnto Masimisa, with great and rich gifts: to shew thereby that a Venuerment Generall of an army should be as bountifull & full of civill vertues, as otherwife skilfull & ex- for a General. pert in martiall discipline. For the ende of warre is victorie: the benefit where of confishinh bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praises due to Captaines: as it happened in those things whereof we now treate. For a great humber of Spany-ARD's being present, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the Roman's sithey coulde doe no leffe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But Sciplo frake Sciplo called that word dead straight, the which was no common found to the Roman exerces, and there done, by the fore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knewe to be hatefull to the noble men spannade. of his contrie, and also vnmeete for the libertie of the Romanes. He onely prayed the Spathen they would be faithfull and louing to the people of Rome. So whileft there things were done by Scipio, the other two Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (Mago, and Hafaribal, the fonne of Gifgo)after they understoode of the ouerthrows of their men by the river of Bellila: they made all the speede they could to soyne together, and shortly after came and mer with Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, to confult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had laved their heades together, and confidered all thinges, they concluded this that Hafdribal Hafdribal BARCINIAN (hould go into I ratin to his brother Annibal, where the ware was greated and few my ten that Mago, and the other Hafdrubal shoulderemaine in Spayne, shouldestende for aidestrom the chair desired

EEEEE iiii

1159 A that she was maried vnto Luceius, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he sent for her husbande that was a verieyoung man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched, or dishonored. Luceius not forgetting his noble curtefie vnto her, did let all his subjects vnderstand the great bounty, modestie, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this Romans Generall: and shortly after he returned agains to the ROMANBS campe, with a great number of horsemen. The three Captaines of the Carthag in ians (Mago, Hafdrubal Barcinian, and the other Mago, Hafdrubal, the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of new Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of new Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of new Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of new Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the Carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the sonne of Gifgo) knowing that the losse of the carthage did them great hurs, similarity much label to the carthage did the sonne of Gifgo) knowing the carthage did the carthage d as well in the impairing of their credit with other straunge nations, as also by the coniecture had Gife, divers made of the successe of this warre: they first practifed to dissemble the losse of it, and the three fathen in speach to make light of it as much as they could, Scipio having soined vnto him divers the status of the B nations and Princes of Spayne, (among the which were the two litle kings, Mandonius, and Carbaginati. Indibilia) vnderstanding where Hasdrubal BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his armie, to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hasdrubal came to joyne with him, Hasdrubal BARCINIAN lay in campe by the river of Befula, & was verie defirous to fight, trufting Befula ft. wholly to his strength and army. But when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretie strength. The ROMANE legions followed him, and gaue him no respit, but pursued so neere, that they came and affaulted his campe at their first comming. So they fought it out voon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the affault of a citie, The CARTHAGINIANS trusting to the strength of the place, and driven vnto it of necessities. (the which maketh cowards most desperat) they valliantly resisted their enemies the best they C could. The ROMANES in contrarie maner, being valliant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustely like men, and the fight was so muche more cruell, for that it was in the fight of their Generall Scipio, and of all the armie belides: infomuch that their valliant fertice there could not be hidden. Therefore they never gave over the affault, vntill that having done their vttermost endeuor, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in divers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. Hafdrubal, Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, faued him felfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMANES entred into their fort. After this battell, Scipio according to his maner, caused all the spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and Scipios libe. F NYARDS, that if they had any mind & defire not to flew them felues with ankefull to himsthat CARTHAGE, & should not fight with the ROMANES vitil all their forces bored for weter af " of the same F fembled, and so might make a great and pullant armie. When Haldrabal was gone into Tra-LIB, Hanno was fent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practifing in his forney to makethe CELTIBERIANS to rebell, M. Syllanus came and fer upon him by Scipioes commandement,

Hanno,the chiefe of the contrarie fa-Hafdrubal Barcinian. ouercomen i

unto the Re

Syphax king

and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Nowe there A was a citie which the contrie men called O RINGE, the which was verie wealthie, and meete to renewe the warre. Lucius Scipio was fent thither with parte of the armie to befiege it : but finding it a verie strong scituacion, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he enuironned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and facked it. Winter came on a pace, and the bened, and time of the yeare made them both to retire into their garrifos, for the winter. So Scipio having take priform. had so good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: Mago, and the other Hasdrubal, the sonne of Gifgo, went to the sea side. The next sommer, warres growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower Spayne, the Romanes and Carthag inians met, and joyned battell by the river of Befula, and fought fet battells. After they had fought a long time together. Scipio at length got the victorie, & made the enemies flie: (of the which there were B flaine a great number in the field) and geuing them no leasure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, and followed the chase so hottely, that Hasdrubal and Mago were driven to leave the maine land, and to flie to GADE s, after they had loft all their armie. In the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble corage, and verie wife, called Masinissa, who finding meanes to have secret conference with Syllanus, he was the first man that offred him frendshippe, either being brought to it through Scipioes liberalitie, or else bicause he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the Romanes, which were the conquerors. It is that Masinissa that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the Romanes) became the great and mighty king of N VMIDIA. and in deede he was divers wayes a profitable frende vnto the Romanes. Furthermore, the felfe C. fame yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the seconde warre with the Africans) Spayne was the first nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered vnder the happie conduct of the Viceconful Scipio: howbeit it was the last realme that was made a province long time after, by Augustus Cafar. Now Scipio not contenting him felf with the great victories he had obteined in verie short time in Spayne (for he had an imagination & good hope also to coquer A FRICKE) he thought that his best way, to make all the meanes he could possible to get Syphax, king of the MASESYLIANS, a frend to the ROMANES. Wherefore after he had felt the kinges minde, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMANES: he presently set all his other affaires aside, and sailed into AFRIKE with two gallies onely, at fine owers to a bancke. At the felfe fame time also came Hasdrubal, D the some of Gifgo thither, from GADE s: so that both these valliant & lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kinges good will, vnto their contrie and common wealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his Court, and did vie them verie honorably and curteouslie, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lye in one felfe chamber, bicaufe the one shoulde not thinke his enterteinment better then the other, It is reported, that Haldrubal wondering at the magnanimity and great wifedom of Seipio that was present, he considered with him selfe the great daunger the citie of CARTHAGE and all AFRIKE besides was in through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continuallie obtained fuch victories, and therefore confidering the luftie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was ynpossible to perswade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was affraied also that Syphax, moved by the personage and authoritie of him that was present, would take parte with the ROMANES: and in deede his minde gaue him rightlie, for so it happened. For though Syphax at the first shewed him selfe indifferent to them both, and had moved talke to end the warre between the Romanes and the Carthaginians: yet afterwards when Scipio tolde him he coulde conclude no peace without confent of the Senate of Rome, he rejected Stehax, king Hafdrubal, and inclining to Scipioes request, he made league with the people of Rome. So Sciof the Mar- pio being returned againe into SPAYNE, him felfe partely by force, and partely also by L. Martius meanes, conquered ILITYRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refused to the Romanes, yeeld them selves ynto the Romanes. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kinde

he was come to newe CARTHAGE, he caused the sensers to prepare them selves to fight with

of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunatelie obtained so many famous victories : when

SCIPIO AFRICAN. 1341 A great pompe, where there were many great estates, not only to see that passime, but also they them selues to handle the weapons in person. But amongest other Spanyardes of noble houses, there were two called, Corbis, & Orfais, which were at strife together for the kingdom; The on first but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being flaine by the others hand. The fight was mar fight of verie lamentable & grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was flaine, troubled germant. them much more, for they were both coufin germaines. After all this, Scipio having his mind still occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then those which he had already brought to paffe: he fell ficke. His fickenes being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happeneth often, his disease being reported to be muche greater and daungerous then it was in deede: thereuppon, not only the nations of Spayne beganne to rife in hope of chaunge, but B the armie selfe also of the Romanus, the which he had left at Svero, First of all, martiall discipline was corrupted, through the absence of the Generall. Afterwardes also, the report of Therebollion his fickenes, and daunger of his life being spred abroad in the armie, raifed suche a rebellion of the Romans among them: that some of them litle regarding the authoritie and commandement of the gainst their head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and chose two meane souldiers for their Captaines, in Captaines, who presumptuouslie tooke vpon them the name genen vnto them by men of no Scipiots fick authority, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundells of roddes and axes to be carried before them. Such follie doth furie and vaine ambicion oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other fide, the SPANY ARDS flept not, and specially Mandonius and Indibilia: who aspiring Mandonius to the kingdom of Spayn s, came to Scipio when he was conqueror, after he had taken newe Indibitio, in C CART HAGE, But afterwards, being offended to fee the power of the Romanes increase daily; Sponto they fought occasion to make some alteracion. So after they had heard, not onely of Scipices ficknes, but also how he was at deathes dore, and did beleue it: they presentlie leavied an armie, and went and made warre with the Sybssitans which were confederates of the Ro-MANES. But Scipio being reconcred againe of his fickenes, like as vpon the faller umor of his death enery man beganne to rife : even so after the truth was known in deede of his recoverie; they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durft proceede any further in their rebellion, Scipio being more skilfull in martiall discipline, then acquainted with fedition and Scipiou wife rebellion: although he was marueloully offended with the fouldiers that had committed this done finance. follie, yet in shelend, least following his anger, men should have thought him to have excect fing his anger, b ded all boundes of reason in punishing of them, he referred all vnto the counsell. The most parte of them gaue aduise, that the authors of the rebellion shoulde be punished, and all the rest pardoned for by this meanes fayd they, the punishment shall light vpon a few that have deserved it; and all the rest shall take example by them. Scipio followed that adule, and pre- Scipios great fently fent for all the feditions bandsyto come to new CART BAGE to receive their pay. The "Ifdome in fouldiers obeyed his commaundement; forme of them making their fault leffe then it was; as offender men doe often flatter them folues : others alfo trufting to the Captaines clemencie, as know wing him not to be extreame in punishment. For Seipia was wont to fay, that he had rather Seipiae care faue the life of one Romane citizen, then rokill a thow land enemies. The rumor ranne also, of his connic. that Scipio had an other armicreadic, the which he looked for to lovne with them, and then E to fee vpon the kings, (Mandonius & Indibilia) who made warre with the Swessitans, Thele fouldiers departing fro Swere; with good hope to obtaine pardon; came vinto Carrano b How beit the next day after they were congested the towns, they were brought into the many ker place: where their armorand/weapons being taken from them, they were entirouned with all the legions armie. Then the Romana Generall fitting in place of judgement showed him felfe beforeall the copany in as good health & good disposition of bodie as ever he was heall his youth. Then he murde he barpise barter or action, full of grienous complaints infomuch as there was not one of all the fouldiers that were vnarmed, that durft caff up their eyes, we Booke their Generall in the face they were for athamed For their confeiences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the feate of death did take their wits and fences from

H them, 8 the presence of their gratious Captaine, made them blush as well that were innocents

as the parties that were offendors. Wherefore there was a generall and forowfull filence of

all men. So after he had ended his oration, he caused the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

Scipio did put brought forth before the whole affembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable fight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other fouldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against Mandonius and Indibilis. For they confidering with them selves, howe the ROMANE souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to deaths they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leavied an army of twentie thowland footemen, & two thowland horsemen, and came downe with them against the Ro-MANES. Scipio having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, & that other nations could rebel he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speede as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted fo to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the B battel if it were offred them. Howbeit it chaunced by the nerenes of both campes, that within few dayes, they being prouoked by the Romane s, came downe & fet their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with Scipio: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody & cruel. But at length the SPANYARD seeing them selues compassed in behinde, and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on every fide, they were overcome: fo that the third parte of them scarcely faued them selves by slying. Mandonius & Indibilis seeing them selves ytterly. vndone, & that there was no hope nor remedy left : they fent Ambaffadors vnto Scipio, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well Anobic thing how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANES, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemie by curtesie and elemency, then by force : he did pardon them, and only C the enemie by commanded them to gene him money to pay his fouldiers. In the meane time Malinissa came from GADES, & landed: bicause he would him selfe in person confirme the frendship he had cometh unto offered Scipio in his absence, by the meanes of M. Syllanus, and also speake with him face to face, whom he judged to be a worthie man, for the famous victories he had obteined. And in truth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valliantnes & vertues of Scipio, but found him the felfe fame man whom he beforehad imagined him to be in his minde; the which but feldom happeneth fo notwithstanding. For besides the great rare giftes of nature that Scipio had about all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and maiestic. Furthermore, he was maruelous gentle & curteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne enerie man. He was verie graue in his gesture Dr. and behaulour, and euer ware long heare. Maliniffs being come to falute him, when he fawe him, he had him in suche admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes of him. nor have his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him manuelouslie for fending his Nephewevento him, and promifed him that his deedes thoulde confirme and witnesse the frendshippe agreed uppon between them: the which he cuerafter inuiolablic kept vato the Ro-MANES, even to the hower of his death. So all the nations of Seave became subject to the Empire of Rome, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of Gades also follow-The entiqui- ing the example of others, came and yeelded themselves water the Roman Bar This is a verie auncient nation, and if we may credit the reporte of it: as Carrange was in Afrike, and Scipios noble THEBES in BOE OTIA, 10 was GADES vpon the fea, a Colony of the Tyrians. Scipio after he E had conquered all SPAYNE, and driven out the CARTHAGINIAMS, confidering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the government of the province ynto L. Lentulus, and to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to Rome. When howas arrived at Rome, the Senate gave him audience out of the citie, in the temple of Bellows. There, when he had particularly told the of the things be had valliantly senfortunately brought to end: & further, that he had ouercome foure Capraines in divers foughte fields & alfoiput to flight foure armies of the onemics, & drive the CARTHAGINIANS out of both Spannes, & that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the Romanus, the Senate gave judgement, that all thefe things were worthy of a poble triumphe. But bicause never man yet was suffred to enter into Rome in triúphe, for any victories he had obrained, whileft be was only but Viceconful, R and had not yet bene Conful the Senators thought it not good, and Scipio him felfe alfo made no great fure for it bicause he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome,

A Princely Maiefie in

personage.

clemencie.

Masinista

deedes.

Scipioes remarne out of Spayne to

SCIPIO AFRICAN. 1164 A and to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwardes declared Conful, Scipio made with the great good will and consent of the whole affemblie. It is reported that there never consul came such a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for the affemblies fake, but more to fee P. Cor. Scipio. Wherefore, not the Romanes onely, but all the ftraungers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon Scipio, and sayd both openly and prinately: that they should send him into A FRIKE, to make warre with the CARTHAG INIANS, at home in their owne contrie. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduise of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthic enterprise. For amongest the peres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inueyed against that opinion, and among the rest, Fabius Maximus speciallie, a man of great fame and authoritie. Scipio went forward with B the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to drive Annibal out of ITALIE, but that only: and that all other counsells were in vaine, and vnproffitable. After this matter was long debated in counsell, S1-CILIA was appointed vnto Scipio: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with all his armie into AFRIKE, if he thought it meete and proffitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, euerie mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perswaded them selues A FRIKE was alreadic their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit Scipio faw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, bicause of the pouertie of the common treasure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyce of the which was vtterlie gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes Annibal had genen C them. Howebeit to satisfie euerie mans expectacion of him, he made all the possible speede he could, to prepare thinges necessarie for the warres. So divers people of Thysean, and of the V MBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gaue him timber to builde his shippes, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kinde of vittells and munition for his armie. The shippes being built, and all the armie by sea put in readines, in the space of fine and fortie dayes, a thing incredible to many: Scipio propa-Scipio departed out of ITALIB, and failed towards SICILB. But when he came to take muster redhis armie of his armie, he speciallie chose those that had serued long time in the warres, vnder the con- sea 14. duct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for veric expert souldiers. And for the S1- days. CILIANS, he partely wanne them by curtefie, and partely by compulsion compelled them to n geue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in Afrika, when the time of the yeare should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that Scipio chose out of divers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the fayd prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euerie man with horse schious poliand armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the cie in Sicilia, Conful bad them choose whether they would followe him in the warres of A FRIKE, or else deliuer vp their armor & horse, to as many other Romans as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, Scipio appointed three hundred other young ROMANES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITHEFE with him vnarmed, bicause he would mount and arme them at the Sicilians cost, as in deede it chaunced. Af-E terwards, they did him great service in A FRIKE, in many great battells. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his armie in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syrac'vsattaking order not only for the preparation of warre, but also for the affaires of Stortes. There when it was tolde him by complaint of divers, that there was a great companie of ITALLAN

fouldiers in that citie, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the warres,

but kept them stil in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyeed them by spe-

ciall commaundement to make restitution to the Syrac vs ans: he straight compelled them

by proclamation, to accomplishe the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the

peoples hartes of Siciliamand was reported to be a just and vpright Conful. In the meane

time he was aduertifed by Caius Lalius, that returned out of A FRIKE with great spoyle: howe

would come into A FRIKE, as soone as he coulde possible, so it were without the prejudice of

the common wealth. Moreover, that divers nations and people of A FRIKE had the like de-

F king Masinissa was very desirous of his comming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he

fire: who hating the gonernment of the CARTHAGINIANS, defired nothing more then some A good occasion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through Scipices fault or negligence, confidering that fuch a Captaine could hardly be founde that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of Sicilia, and the oportunitie he had to recouer Lockes againe, did hinder him that he coulde not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenaunt Pleminius disorder grieued him much: bicause that having left him at Lockes, he fell to all forces of insolencie, as to deflowre women, and to spoyle the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruelously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the gouernment of so vile & wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arrived at ROME, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the R great wrongs and injuries Pleminius did them: the noble men tooke the matter fo grieuoufly. that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same Pleminius, but also against P.C. Scipio himselfe. Wherupon Scipioes enemies having gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the injuries offred the Loc RIANS, with the licentiousnesse of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had fuffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duety of a Conful. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in Sicile was altogether vnruly & vnferuiceable, & regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine him felfe was careleffe, & altogether geuen ouer to pleasure and idlenes. But aboue all others, Fabius Maximus Q. Fabius was his heavy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceded the bounds C a great adof all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of Sicilia, and to difmiffe him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreame. Wherefore following Quintus Metellus counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into Sicilia, to make diligent inquiery, whether the accusations objected against Scipio were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they thould commaund him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they fould that he was vniuftly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: then that they should fend him to his armie, and encorage him valliantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arrived in Sicilia, after they had made diligent inquiery according to the articles of their commission: they coulde not finde that Scipto was D faultie in any thing, fauing that he had too lightly passed ouer the wrongs and iniuries Pleminime had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For Scipio was verie liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred fo much to fee the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to Rome, they greatly commended Scipio, and rejecting all the accusations of his accufers, they did promise the Senate and people of Rome, affured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at Rome were taken away, there chaunced other outward troubles a broad that grieued him much. For the Ambaffadors of king Syphax came and told him that King Sphar their maifter had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become frend to Haf- E drubal, whose daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his contry good, to make no attempt vpon AFRIKE, for he was determined to reckon the CAR-THAGINIANS frends his, & also to set vpon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. Scipio quickelie returned the Ambassadors againe vnto Syphax, bicause the effect of their comming should not be blowen abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praied king Syphax, that remembring his league and faithfull promife, he should beware he attempted nothing unworthy the name of a Romane, and faith of a king. Afterwards calling

his men together, he told the, that the Ambassadors of king Syphax were come into Sicile.

to complaine of his long tarying, as Masinista had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his

readines, and to provide all things necessary for their iorney. The Consuls commaundement

being published through all Sicils, there repaired immediathe vnto Lilybes a multitude of

iorney to goe into A FRIKE, and thereupon comaunded all his fouldiers to put them selues in B

people

A people, not only of those that were to faile into A FRIKE, but of others also that came to see the fleete & army of the Romanes: bicause they neuer saw an army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with fouldiers, then that. So Scipio, all things being ready, imbarked at LILY BEA with so carnest a desire to passe ouer the sea, that neither owers nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies failing, to the promontory or mountaine called fayer, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying straight to CARTHAGE, all the city was presently in such an uprore, that sodainly they founded the alarom, and garded the gates & walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus time, vnto that present day, it was almost fifty yeares space since any ROMANE Captaine euer entred AFRIKE with force of armes. And therefore it was no B maruell though they were affrayed, and grew to vprore. The name of Scipio did encrease their fearethemore, bicaufe the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him, Hafdrubal the sonne of Gifgo had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithstanding bene ouercome, and driven out of Spatne by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the hope & fafety of their contry in him, & in king Syphax that mighty king: they neuer left intreating the one, nor perswading the other, to come & helpe the affaires of A FRIME, with all the spede they could possible. So, whilest they two were preparing to joyne both their armies together, Annibal the sonne of Hamilear, being appointed to kepe the next contry adjoyning to it, came against the Romanes. Scipio after he had destroyed the contry, & enriched his army with great spoyle:he camped by the city of V TICA, to fee if it were possible for him to win C fo noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the warres both by sea and land. At the selfe same time Masinissa came to the Romanus campe, and was inflamed with a Theready & vehement desire to make warre against king Syphax, by whom he had before bene driven out faithfull good of his kingdom & inheritance. Scipio, that had knowen him in SPAYNE, a young Prince of an will of Magexcellent wit, and quicke & valliant of his hand: he fent him to discouer the army of the enemies, before the Carthag inians could gather any greater power, and willed him to vie all the deuise and meanes he coulde possible to intile Hanno to fight. Masinisa as he was commaunded, began to prouoke the enemy, and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where Scipio lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hower to fight. The armie of the enemies was nowe wearied, when the ROMANES came to fet vpon them with their freshe D army, Hanno at the first onset was our comen, & slaine, with most of his men: and all the rest Hannounce fled, and dispersed them selves here and there, where they thought they might best scape, After this victory, Scipio returning backe againe to befrege the city of VTICA: the fodaine com- faine. ming of Hafdrubal and king Syphax, made him to leave of his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horsemen, and came and camped not farre from the ROMANES. Scipio perceiuing that, raised his siege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill, from whence he might go & fight with the enemy, and moleft them of V-TIC A, and also keepe his shippes safe that road at ancker. How beit the time of the yeare being comen, that both armies were to dispose their men in garrisons for the winter season: he determined to fend vnto king Syphax to feele his minde, and to make him leave the frendshippe E of the Carthaginians if it were possible. For he knew well it was his mariage with Sophanisba, that through her flattering perswasions had brought him to that furie, that he had not king Spring only for faken the frendshippe of the Romans, but also ment to destroy them, contrary to his wife. faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought

SCIPIO AFRICAN.

then he might be called home againe, Syphax having vnderstoode Scipioes message fent him, he answered, that in dede it was time not only to leauetheleague with the CARTHAO INTANS, but also to geue vp all thought of warre: and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. Seipio gaue good eare vnto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine deuife. He seiphurafte

vpon the Ambassadors, and gaue them instructions what they shoulde doe. These fellowes, whilest the Ambassadors and king Syphax were in talke together about the articles and condicions of peace, and that the confultation helde lenger then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to see all the wayes and entries into

chose the valliantest souldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaues, and made them waite

gaine to Scipio. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, Scipio feemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) & to make his army ready by feapreparing engines of batterie to returne to beliege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the contry, to perfwade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pety Captaines of his army together, he made them print to his intent & enterprise. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a funder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents & cabbons of wodde: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Wherupon having sent for Maliniffa, and Cains Lelius to come vnto him, he gave them charge about midnight to geve alarom vnto Syphax campe, and to fet it a fire: and that he him felfe on the other fide, would fet B yponthe CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeying Scipices commaundement, performed his will without delay, & came at the hower appointed the to affaile the NVMIDIANS campe, and so did set the houses of reedes afire, which tooke fire in such fort, as the slame was immediatly rounde about the campe. The NVMIDIANS at the first, thinking the fire had comen by missfortune, ranne thither straight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found them sclues among the legions of the ROMANES, and that there was nothing but killing downeright, feeing them selues so compassed in on all sides, they saw their best remedie was to flie. On the other fide also, where Scipioes army was: the CARTHAG INI AANS campe was almost all burnt, A manuelum an the enemies put to flight with fuch cruell flaughter, that some wryters affirme there were gree flags. flaine that night about fortie thow fand men, as well Carthaginians as Nymidians. This C great ouerthrow and slaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that some thought best to send for Annibal out of ITALIE: and others gaue aduise to make peace with Scipio. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich and wealthy, & altogether against the peace makers: they so preuailed, that they leavied a new power to begin warre againe. King Syphax and Hafdrubal, having leavied a great multitude of footemen and horsemen againe, renewed their armie sooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitche their campe directly ouer against the enemies. Scipio hauing vnderstanding of that, would not tary, but determined to geue them battell, whileft his men were in good hart, and willing to fight. So it chaunced at the first, by the necrenes of both their campes, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to joyne battell, and the Romanes D fought with fuch corage & terror, that at the first onset, they made the NVMIDIANS & CAR-THAG IN IANS flie, and flue the most part of them. Has drubal and Syphax scaped, by flying out of the flaughter. Scipio sent Masinissa, & Caius Lalius with the light horsemen to give them chase. Syphax being comen into N v MIDIA, & from thence into his owne realme & kingdom he leauied an army in hast, of all forts of people, & came to meete with Masinissa & Caius Lalius, and was not affrayed to geue them battell. But it was a fond parte of him, confidering that he was nothing like fo ftrong as his enemy, neither for nuber of fighting men, nor yet in likely hood of fouldiers. For neither the fouldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the foul-Syphar, king diers & Captaines of the Romanes cape: & therfore king Syphan was eafily ouercome by such of the Majar skilful fouldiers, & moreouer was him selfetaken in battel, with many other great noble men, B. whom Masinissa woldhardly hauelooked for: & the they were brought vnto Scipio. At the first there was a maruelous ioy amog the, when it was told the that king Syphax should be brought prisoner vnto the cape:but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were al fory to see him in such pitysull state, remebring his former greatnes & regall maiesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bene but a litle before, what wonderful great wealth he had, & also the power of so great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit Scipto the ROMANE Conful, received him very curteoutly, & gently asked him what he ment to chaunge his mind in that fort, & what moued him to make warre with the ROMANES. Then the king remebring his former frendship & faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife Sophonisha, who only had procured him to deale fo dishonorably with the Romanes: how-F beit, that he had fo smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame miA fery, to see that his mortall enemy Massaiffa was also taken with that franzie and mind bumor, 1107 wherewith he before was poffeffed. For after Syphan was ouercome and taken; Maffinffa went vnto CYRTHA, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found sopposition there; Majorifa with whom he fell in fancy: who after the had finely wrapped him in with her decential dates were the eleteries and kindnes, he promifed her also to deliuer her out of the Romanns hardely & bicause where he had been also to deliuer her out of the Romanns had been shown in full he might the better performe his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, & maried her. Whe in the was Scipio was informed of these things, it grieued him maruelously. For it was knowers to all men; that Syphax was ouercome under the conduct, & through the Roman as meanes and there with fore all that was belonging to Syphax, was at the disposition of the ROMANES. Wherefore if Masinissa had without Scipioes consent, vndertaken to defend Sophonisbaes quarrell: then traps

B peared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, & the maiesty of the people of Roxes Furthermore, his filthie lust did agrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so me h more intollerable, by how much the continency of the ROMANB Conful was the greater, the which The great of Massins and ally before his eyes, and might have bene a paterne and example vote him. For Scipio, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where heobtayned victory, he alwayes kept the women vndefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, sepio being much offended with Masinista, (though he shewed it not before company) received him very louingly at his returne to the campe : yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he fo tharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a fee uere Captaine. Whereupon Masinissa went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way

C he should take : howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was vnpossible for him to keepe promile with Sophonisha, which grieued him to the hart; he fent her poyfon, & a meffage withall, Sophonisha mife with Sophonisha, which grieued him to the hart; he tent her poyton, & a metage withall, Sophonush the which the dranke immediatly, & fo willingly made her felfe away. Furthermore, the C. R. Poyland be THAG IN IAN'S after they had received fuch wonderfull great loffes and overthrowds one after Majorifier an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to suche a straight and extreamitie, that Post they were no more to looke after the inlarging of their dominions, but only to cofider which way they might keepe their owne contry: they fent for Annibal to come out of I TALER. Who returning with great speede into Arkins, before hedid any thing elfe, he thought good first for monthly

to talke with P. Scipio about peace: either bicause he was affrayed of the good fortune of this "" young man, or else for that he mistrusted he coulde not otherwise helpe his contrie and com-D mon wealth, which he saw decaying, & like to be destroited, Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meete according to his defire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, Scipia offred Annibal fuch condictions of peace, that by them it appeared the Romanes were notwearie of warre, and that Scipio him felfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great delire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being fet aside, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthic Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selues to battell, either to geue or take away in short time from their comor weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the worlde. The place where they imployed all their sorce, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the citie of Zante: in the Bandle Zd.

E which the ROMANES being conquerors, did first make the Elephants slie, then the horsemen, ma, and Sch and in the ende brake so singuistic the source that they ouerthrew all the annies It is reported that there were slaine and taken by the Romanes, about sortic thow sande Carriers of the source that there were slaine and taken by the Romanes, about sortic thow sande Carriers of the source that there were slaine and taken by the Romanes, about sortic thow sande Carriers of the source that the sande State St BINIANS. Annibal fled out of the fury of the battell, & faued him felfe, though that day he had shewed him selfe like a valliant and samous Captaine. For at this battell he had sethis armie in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with she commoditie of the place, and reliefe besides? and even in the verie surie and terror of the battell he so besturred him selfe among his souldiers, that the enemies them selves did command & praife him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, Scipio meeting with Fermina king Syphan fonne, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS: he put him to flight, and came and brought F his army to the walls and haven of CARTHAGB, thinking (as in deede it fel out) that the GAR

THAG IN IN BE WOUND fige to him for peace. For, as the CART HAGINIANS before had benevery good fauldiers, & readio to make warres: fo were they now become timerous & faintharted,

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Scipio and fen Confuls

specially when they saw their Generall Annibal ouercomen, in whom they chiefly reposed all A their hope and trust, for defense of their contrie. Wherefore they being (as I have fayed) out of hart, fent Ambaffadors vnto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemencie he woulde graunt them peace. Nowe was great fute made at Rome, to have the go-Bernment of the province of AFRIKE, and one of the newe Confuls made hast to come and make warre with fuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that an other shoulde carie away the glorie for ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAG INIAN Ambaffadors requestes. So, the capitulació of the articles of peace was offred vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, according to the conquerors mind: and besides all other things, the whole sleete of all their shippes and gallies (in the which confifted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole R fleete was burnt, it was such a lamentable sight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bene destroied and Fine hundred rafed to the very ground. For as some doe write, there were fine hundred shippes burnt of all Bipper of the fortes. These things therefore should make vs all beware of humaine frayeltie, the which we Canbaginia, often forget in our prosperitie. For they that before perswaded them selves to conquer the world, after they had wonne so many great battells and victories of the enemie, and in maner conquered all ITALIE, and so valliantly besides besieged the city of Rome: were in short time after brought to fuch mifery and extreamity, that all their power and force being ouercome, they had left them no more but the walls of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not fure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and fauor of the enemie. After these things were done, C Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not only restore king Masinisa to his realme againe, but also adding thereunto the best part of all king Syphax contrie, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all A FRIXE; and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deferued. In fine, after he had fet all the affaires of A FRIKE at good ftay, he brought his army backe againe into ITALIE: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to see so great and famous a Captaine, returning from fuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Roma with pompe of triumphe, Terentina Cules following of him with a hatte on his head, bicaule that through his fauor and frendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybius wryteth, that king Syphax was led in triumphe: how beit fome say he dyed before Scipio triumphed. In deede diuers that did triumphe, some before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, and o- 13 thers afterwards in the warres of MACEDONIA & As ta, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold and filuer in their triumphe, and led also a greater number of prisoners; howbeit one onely Annibal that was our come, and the glorie of fo great a warre ended, did make the triumphe of P. Scipio to excellent and famous, that it facre passed all the golde and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after A FRIKE was conquered, no nation then was afhamed to be ouercome by the ROMANES. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the Empire of Rome, both in Machon, and also in A. SIA, and in other parts of the world befides. Now Scipio (whom I may rightly call African, after the conquest of AFREED being returned to Rome, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the counfell holden for the election of Cenfors, although there were divers o- R there of the noblest houses of Rous that fued for that office : yet he him selfe, and AElius Pethe were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwards the Cenfors that followed them, didfill one after an other choole Scipio AFRIC AN Prince of the Senates the which dignitie was wont to be geuen to them only, that obtained the type of all honor; through their great conquests and benefits done to their contry. Shortly affect, he was againe chosen Conful with Sempronius Longus, the fonne of that Sempranius whome Annibal ouercame in that great operation, at the battell by the river of Trebia. They two were the first (as it is reported that deuided the noble men and Senators from the people, in the showe place to see pastime. This separation was verie odipus to the people of Rome, and they were maruelouslie in offended with the Confuls for it: bicaule they tookeit, that increasing the honor of the state of the Senators; they thereby illo difcountenaunce and imbase them. Some san also, that

SCIPIO AFRICAN. A Scipio African afterwardes repented him selfe that he had taken away the olde custome; and brought in a newe. At that time there fell out greate variaunce between Majiniffiand the CARTHAGINIANS touching their borders and confines. Whereuppointhe Senate fent Scipio thither with two other commissioners: who after they had hearde the course of their quarrell, they left the matter as they founde it, and would proceede no further noit. And this The confidence of the con they did, bicaufe that the Carthao inians being troubled with citil waires at home, should solve take vpon them no other warres abroade, neither shoulde haue leasure to attempt any alteract cion otherwise. For the Romanes had great warre with king Antiochas & Annibat Carthas GINIAN was there with him, who still stirred vp the olde enemies against the Roulewes, and practifed to raife up new enemies against them, & in all thinges to counsell the Canting or B NIANS to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the ROMANE s had broughe them into wilder

the title of peace, & to proue the frendship of the kings. Howbeit shortly after, the Romane hauing obtained victorie, and driuen king Antiochus out of GRECE they insended also to conquer Asia: and therefore all their hope was in Stipio African, as a man that was borne to ende warres of great importaunce. Howbeit Lucius Scipio, and Caine Lalius were Confides & either of them made fute for the gouernment of Asia. The matter being confuted vpon, the Senate stoode doubtfull what judgement they should geue, between two so samous men's Howbeit, bicause Lelius was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater estimacion: the Senate beganne to take his parte. But when P. Cornelius Scipto A FRICAN, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, prayed the Senate that they would not dishonor his house so, and tolde them

C that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides verie wife, and that he him selfer alfo woulde be his Lieutenaunt: he had no fooner spoken the wordes; but the Senators seceiued him with great ioy, and presentlie did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayised in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio shoulde goe into GRECE to make warte with the Eros LIANS, and that from thence he (houlde goe into ASIA, if he thought good, to make warre) with king Antiochus: and also that he shoulde take his brother Scipio Arkican with him. bicause he shoulde goe against Annibal, that was in Antiochus armie. Who can butwonder at the loue and naturall affection of Publius Cornelius Scipio A FRICAM, the which he first The naturall shewed from his youth vnto his father Cornelius, and asterwardes also vnto his brother Lu-lous of Scrib

eius Scipio, confidering the great thinges he had done ? For, notwith thanding he was that A bridge he had oue comen. D FRICAN by name that had ouercomen Annibal, that had triumphed ouer the CART HILD IN Sopio. NIANS, and excelled all others in praise of martiall discipline: yet of his owne good hature. he made him selse inseriour to his younger brother, bicause he might have the horsour of obtayninge the gouernment of that pronince from his fellowe Conful Lalini, that was fo well beloued, and of fo great estimacion. Lucius Scipio the Consul brought great honor to his contrie by that warre, for that he followed the founde and faithfull counsell of his brother. For first of all goinge into GRECE, he tooke truce sonfixe monethes with the A-TO LIAMS, through the aduise of his brother A FRICANS who counselled him, that setting all thinges a parte, he shoulde straight goe into Asia, where the warre was ryfest. Alterwards also he wanne Prussas king of BITHYNIA from Antiochus frendshippe, who before

E was wauing up & downe, doutfull which fide to take, and all through his brother A FRICANS meanes and practife. So the authoritie of the African was verie great, and all those that woulde obtaine any thing of the Conful, cathe first to the AFRICAN to be their meane and intercessor. Nowe when he came into Asia, Antiochus Ambassador, and Heraclides Bi-ZANT IN B, CAME VIITO him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly tolde their meflage, perceiping that they could not obtaine reasonable condicions of peaces, they primately talked with Scipia A PRICAN as they were commaunded, and practifed the belt they coulds to make him king Antiochus frende. For they tolde him, that Antiochus would lende him his youngersonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he woulde willinglic make him his companion in the government of all his realme, only referring the name and ride of the king.

Howebeit P. Scipio, excelling no lesse in faithfulnesse and bountie, then in many other very The fidulise suess, after he had anniwered them to all other matters, he tolde them, that for his forme, meline of the woulder take him for a maruelous frendlie offer; and that for a private good time. he moulde take him for a maruelous frendlie gifte : and that for a private good tunes, his course

FFFFF iii

A FRICAN was growen to such height and greatnes, as no private man could withe to be any of the Cornell greater in a free citie. How beit the fecret malice of wicked harts, which could no lenger abide

this greatnes and authoritie, began at length to burst out, and to light voon those that were the authors of so great things. For two Tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by The incomfa-

he would doeshe best he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counsell A the king about all things to leave of thought of warre, and to receive those offers and condicions of peace, which the Senate and people of Rome would offer him. Shortly after, Antiochus fent P. Scipio his fonne according to his promile: who (as it is reported) had bene taken prisoner from the first beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE, vnto ORICVM: or as other wryters fay, as he passed by in a pinnase. Yet some holde opinion, that he was taken as he went to discouer the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent againe vnto his father, lying ficke at the citie of ELEA. This great curtefie of king Antiochus was marbelous well thought of of the African, and not without cause: for to see his some after he had bene away fo long, it did greatlie lighten his spirites, and diseased bodie. But P. Scipio, to shewe some token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambassadors that came vnto him, B greatlie to thanke king Antrochus for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to sende him his sonne. Afterwardes he gaue Antiochus aduise also that he should not geue battell, till he vnderstoode of his returne from E LEA to the campe. So Antiochus being perswaded by the authoritie of so worthie a man, he kept close in his campe for a certaine time, and determined to drawe the warre out at length, hoping in the ende that he might come to speake with the Conful, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwardes, the Conful camping hard by Ma-GNESEA, did for vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the king came out to battell, and fette his men in battell ray. It is reported that Annibal him felfe was present at the battell, being one of the Generalls for the king. So Antiochus being ouercome, and his armie discomfitted, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires : he came vnto the African, (who being C newlie recourred of his fickenes, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne and by his meanes obtayned of the Conful to be contented to talke of peace. When Antiochus Ambassadors were come to the campe, and that they had humblie craued pardon in the behalfe of their king, and also prayed that they would geue them suche condicions of peace, as they best liked of Serpio AFRICAN with the consent of them all aunswered them, that it was not the manner of the Romanes to yeeld to adversitie, neither also to be prowde in prosperitie and therefore that he nowe made him the selfe same offers and condicions of peace, which he did before the victorie. That the king shoulde not meddle with EVROPE, that he should surrender up all he had in Asia from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the river of Tanais: that he shoulde pay tribute twentie yeres together: that he shoulde also put in suche oftages D as the Conful would choose out and that specially aboue all the rest, they should deliuer Annibal CARTHAGINIAN unto the Conful, who was the only author and procurer of this warre. But he, as we have wrytten in his life, perceiuing that king Antiochus armie was ouerthrowen both by fea and by lande, escaped the Romanes handes, and went vnto Prusias king of BITHYNIA. Antiochus hauing accepted the offers and condicions of peace, fayd, that the Ro-MANES vied him verie fauourablie, to ridde him of so great care, and to appoint him so fmall a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouermuch wealth which euerie man coueteth, are full of great and fundrie troubles infomuch that Theorrisus wordes are as true, as otherwealth are ful wise excellently written.

Antiochus

being ouer

The things I wish are nother welth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne, Nor yet of swiftnes and of strength to beare avvay renouvne: But finging volth a mery hart in fimple shed, to looke Aloofe upon the promblous feas, that are fo hard to brooke.

So when the mighticking of Asia was ouercomen, and that fo great a warre was foeafelie ended beyonde all mens opinion: the Conful L. Scipio returned to Rome, and made his entrie into the citie, thewing a great and honorable triumphe. He also deserved the far-2. Scipio fir. name of the province and contrie fibdued by fills. So that as his elder brother before was named Affan, called A FRICAN, for that he had conquered AFRIKE: euen fo was Lucius Scipte furnamed for his coquest Asian, for conquering Asia mor Rous! And P. Scipio, through whose counsell his bro-T.Q. Floris ther Lucius had brought his warres to happie ende, he went not cleere without honor allo. For thortlie after, two noble Cenfors, T.Q. Flaminius, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chofe him Prince of the Senate the thirde time. Nowe at that time, the house and familie of the

the authors of to great things. For two 1 ribunes of the people, inbornen (as it is reported by 2 of the fer in Caro: they accused P. Scipio A FRICAN for keeping backe king Antiochus moneyyand would fing bicause he brought it not into the common chamber or treasurye. Seipio A FRICAN knowing Great min his innocencie, being called by the Magistrate, shewed him selfe obedient, and came into the most entirel; market place with a bold countenaunce, and there made an oration, declaring what thinges he had done for the benefit and commoditie of his contry and common wealth. The refreshed B of these thinges did not mislike the common people that were present: bicause he did a rather to auoyd the daunger prepared for him, then otherwife for any vaine glory or oftentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no iniurious words, but accused him as though he had in deede bene in fault, howbeit vponsuspition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commaunded to come before them againe, he appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole affembly, and went up to the pulpit for orations, Wisen he faw that euery man kept filence, then he spake in this manner. I remember my Lordes, that

on fuch a day as this, I wanne that famous victory of Annibal and the CANTHAGIN PHYSIAND therefore leaving a fide this contention, I thinke it good we go vnto the Capitol to give God C thankes for the victorie. So he departed thence, and all the whole affembly followed him not onely to the Capitoll, bur also to all the other temples of the citie, leaving the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeaunts. That days was the very last days of all the A PRI CANS good The Lastin fortune, for the great affembly and multitude of people that wayted upon him; and for the the Africant great good will they bare him . For from that day forward he determined to get him into the good farinet. contry, farre from all ambition, and the company of people; and fo went write Lind ER NY M The volume in a maruelous rage, that for reward of his fo great fernice, and fo fundry benefits as he had y baniforms. brought vnto his contry, he received but shame and reproache or els for that in deede being from Rome,

as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honor willingly to give place to his entities, then to seeke to mainteyne his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accluse D him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his absence by reason of his stekenes: Tiberius Gracchus, one of the Tribunes that was against the A FRIC ANS tooke his excuse (be-T. Gracchus youd all mens opinions) for good payment, and did fo well defende Bergines cause, sometime honorably praying him, another time also threatning his enemies that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were marueloufly offended for the great injurie they did him. Some doewrite, that P. Scipio him felfe, before he went vnto Liw YER NVM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate) to deliuer the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride what have he boldnes of mind he had aforetime vied to the treasurers, when he did again the the require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present needle of the state : Nowe formethere be principally

E alfo that faye, it was not the African, but Scipio As Ink that was worked before the Tit. on should be but the standard of t bunes: and that Scipio A FRYCAN was fent in commission at that time Hite They's control to designation of vnderstanding of his brothers acculation at his returne to Rome, and finding his brother Dacius condemned, and the Sergeaunts wayting on him to cary him; being the lift of hits pelfon: he was in suche a rage withall, that he refeued his brother by force the bergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report belider that Therius Gracchus one of the Tribunes, complayning first that the authoritie of the Pribune finp was troden vnder feete by a prinate person: he afterwardes letting fall all the maliferand enuy he bare voto the Scipioes, defended their cause, bicause the Tribunes Hould rather seeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a private person. They sayd thoreour that the selfe same daye the Se-

F nate supped in the Capitoll, he perfereded the A raire auto let Tiberius Gracehus mary his younger Daughter . This promife was no former made? but P. Scipio comming home to his house, tolde his wife that he had bestowed their Danghter: Whereuppon she being angry,

told him againe, that he should not have married her without consent of her mother, though Ahe could have bestowed her vpon Tiberius Graechus. This auswer liked Scipio maruclous wel. when he faw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage of their Daughter. I knowe

it is thought of some, that it was attributed to Tiberius the sonne, and to Appius Claudius his father in lawe. For Polybius, and other auncient writers affirme, that Cornelia, the mother of Caises and Tiberius Gracchi, was maried vnto Gracchus after the Africans death . For Scipio

A FRICAN was maried unto AEmylia the Daughter of L. Paulus AEmylius Conful, that was flavne at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two Daughters, of the which the eldest was maried vnto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the younger vnto Tiberius Gracchus, either before, or aften

the death of his father. Nowe towching his fonne, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We have spoken of his younger sonne that R was taken by king Antiochus, and afterwards franckly fent vnto his father: of whome notwith-

standing afterwards I find no mention in writing fauing that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of Cicereius his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing also, that the younger African was adopted by the sonne of P. Scipio. Cicero

in his booke intituled Cato Major fayth, how weake (fayd he) was the fonne of P. A FRICAN that adopted thee his sonne? And in his sixth booke also de repub. A Emplius the father exhorteth Scipio his sonne, to follow instice and piety, as his grandfather Scipio A FRICAN had done.

And touching the death of P. Scipio AFRICAN, writers doe diverfly varye: for some fay that he dyed, and was buryed at Rome. And for proofe thereof they doe bringe forth the monument that was fer vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which stoode three statues or i- C

mages, two whereof were the images of P. and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of Q. Ennius the Poet. And furely that which Cicero wrote, feemeth to confirme it true: our Enniue, fayd he,

was maruelously beloued of A FRICAN the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buryed in Scipioes tombe. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common

report) that Scipio A FRICAN dyed at LINTERNYM, and that there he was buried at his owne appoyntment: bicause his contry so withankfully acknowledging his service, should do him

no honor at his death; and that there they fet him up a tombe, and his statue upon that, the which afterwards was blowen downe by a tempest of wind, and the which Linie him selfe wit-

neffeth he faw. Furthermore, by CAIET Athis Epitaphe was grauen in a plate of copper, fet in a marbell tombe.

> The man that vanquishs Annibal and conquerd Carthage towne, And eke increase the Romanes both in Empire and renovune, Lyes beere a beape of dust and earth hid underneath this stone:

His deedes, his prouve fe, and his life, are altogether gone. Whom nother Europe could wwithftand nor Africk in time past, (Beholdmans frailtie) heere he lyes in litle roome at last.

Now southing the time of his death, having made great fearthe for it, I have found in certaine Græke Authors, that the A FRICAN lived foure and fifty yeares, and dyed shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendacion for martiall discipline, and belides excelled in all other vertues : the which did so delight his mind, that he was E wont to fay, he was never leffe idle, then when he tooke his eafe; nether more folitary, then

when he was alone. For fome times he would withdraw him felfe out of the affembly, & from all mens company, and thought him felf fafe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was fo great, that wherefoeuer he went, all fortes of people would come

and fee him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTER-NYMAThere came certaine rouers ynto him to fee fo famous

a man, and to kiffe that fo faithfull and victorious

Total a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all fortes of people: bicause it doth not enely make the good but the cuil alfo

noquing 1/1 herologe and honoric.

Herius C

THE COMPARISON OF

Annibal with P. Scipio African.



90 W let vs compare Annibal and Scipioes deedes together as tout ching their civill discipline . First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest that both of them have bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they have not onello bene comparable with the noblest Kinges and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres florished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much arther sharthey hauing great and heavy enemies in their contry, (who fought to ouerthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly goe thorough

with fo great matters, and to obtayne fuch happie and famous victories in firaunge and for-B revne warres. Therefore paffing ouer all other matters, what a doe had P. Seipie, before he could obtayne to be fent into Africa, to make warre with the Charmagin rans? Fabius Maximus, and other noble men of the citie being greatly against it? Againe, what themy had Annibal of Hanno, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now, they both having ouercomen fuch great troubles at home, did not with standing bringe thinges to end worthy perpetual metriorie: not by chaunce, as it hapneth vnto many, but through their industrie, great wisedom, and counsell. So, divers doe wonder greatly at Annibalocorage and noble mind: who after he had facked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the furdeft part of the worldinto LTALY, and brought with him a great army of footenien and horsemen, and came tomake warre with a great state and common wealth, the which his predecessors C alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battells, and flayne fundry Confuls and Captaines of the ROMANES, he came and cambed hard by the citie of Rome infelfe, and procured Rraunge kings and farronations to make warre with the Romanus . He that was able to doe fo great things as thefe, medican not otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captairle Others allouspeaking of Scipio, doe greatly prayle and commend him for the foure Chiefraines he outercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and purto dight in Spa was, and allo for that he our reame and tooke that great king sophan prifoner. In fine, they come to prayfe that famous battellin the which Seipio out carre Annibal at Than 6. For if Fabius (fayd they) were prayled phicanie he was not outercome by Annibal: what effimation will they make of the A FX 1 CAN; that in a pinched battell outercame that for famous & D dreadfull Captaine Annibul, and also didentite so daungerous a warre? Befides alforthae Scipio did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy implaine field. Where Annibal in contrary manner did alwayes we craft and findely, and was full of first ageames & policie. And therefore all Authors both Grake and Dayny doe count him very fine and luttell. Furthermore, they greatly commend annibation that he mayneyated his army of to him-

THE

ons touching she death of P.Scipio. Statues of the and Enniue the Fost,by she gase Capena at Rome. can dyed as

Scipio Afri-

dry nations, so long time in peace, as the had warre with the Romanus: and yet that there A was neuer any mutinie of rebellion in his campe. On the other fide they blame him againe, bicause he did not follow his victory, when he had ouercomen the Romanes at that famous battell of CANNES: and also bicaute he spoyled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of CAMPANTA and APVLIA, whereby they were so chaunged, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had ouercomen the ROMANES, at the sundry battells of TREETA. THRASY MENE, and CANNES. All writers doe reproue these thinges in Annibal, but fpecially his crueltie. For amongest other thinges, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them alive? What shall a man say of them whome he cruelly put to death, in the temple of Iuno Lacinia, when he departed out of ITALY? For Scipio AFRICAN on the other fide, if we shall ra- B ther credit the belt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malitious writers: we may fay he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely lively and valiant in fight, but also curreous and mercifull after victorye. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquithed his mercy and clemency, & all other men his faithfulnes. Now therfore, let vs tel you what his continency & liberalitie was, the which he shewed in SPAYNE Vnto a young Lady taken prisoner, and vnto Luceius Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: dothit not deserve great prayse? Nowe for their private doings, they were both vertuously brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, Annibal was very famillier with Socillus LACED EMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with Enniue the Poet. Some faye alfo,

that Annibal was so wellearned in the Græke tongue, that he wrote an historie in Græke tou- G ching the deedes of Manlius Volfo. Now truely I doe agree with Cicero, that fayd in his booke de Oratore, that Annibal heard Phormio PERIPATETICIAN in EPHES vs, discoursing very largely of the office and duety of a Chieftaine and generall, and of the martiall lawes & ordinaunces: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should aunswer in no very perfit Græke, but yet in Græke, that he had seene many old doting fooles, but that he had never feene a greater doterd then Phormio . Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & Annibal had asharpe tawnting wit in his aunswers. When king Antiochus on a time prepared to make warre with the Rouanns, and had put his army into the field, not forwell furnished with armor and weapon, as with gold and filuer: he asked Annibal, if he thought his army fufficient for the ROMANES? yea (Sir) o he, that they be, were D the enemies neuer fo couetous. This may truely be fayd of Annibal, that he obtayned many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his contry. Scipio in contrary manner did preserve his contry in such safetie, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof: that as many as shall looke into his defert, they can not but call Rome vnthankefull, which liked rather that the African (preferrer of the citie) should goe out of Rome, then that they would repreffe the fury and infolency of a few. And for myne owne opinion; I can not thinke well of that citie, that so yuthankfully hath suffred so worthy and innocent a person to be injured: and so would I also have thought it more blame worthy, if the cirie had bene an ayder of the injurye offred him . In fine, the Senate (as all men doe report) gaue great thankes vinto Tiberius Gracchus, bicause he did defend the Scipions cause: and the E Common people also following the AFRICAN, when he visited all the temples of ROMB, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shewe how much they did loue and honor the name of the Scipioes. And therefore, if we should judge the Citizens harts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemne shem for cowards, to have suffered such outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that confentell to fo wicked a deede, and all of them in manner were very fory for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of a great minde, not minch regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leave the citie, then by civill warres to destroy at . For he would not come against his contry with enfigings displaied, neither would be folicite straungenations and mighty kings to come with force and their ayde to deflire the citie, the which he had beautified with fo many spoyles and triumphes: as Martine Coriolania, Blaibiades, and divers others did, by record of anneient flories. For we may eatily perceive howe carefull he was to preferue the libertie

A of Rome bicause when he was in Spayne, he refused the title and name of king which was offred him and for that he was maruelous angry with the people of Rome, bicause they would have made him perpetual! Conful and Dictator: and confidering also that he commaunded they should set up no statue of him, nether in the place of the assembly, nor in the iudgement seate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were gluen by the Citizens vnto Cafar, that had ouercomen Pompey. These were the civill vertues of the African, which were great and true prayfes of continency. Now therefore, to deliuer you the fumme and effect of all these thinges: these two so famous Captaines are not so much to be compared together in their civill vertues (in the which Scipio chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous victories. To con-B

clude, their deathes were lomewhat a like: for they both dyed out of their contries, although Scipio was not condemned by his contry as Annibal was, but would by voluntary banishment dye out of the citie.

> The ende of the whole volume of Plutarkes lines.



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